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A QUARTERLY JOURNAL EDITED FOR THE MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

BY

J. G. ROBERTSON

CHARLES J. SISSON

AND

EDMUND G. GARDNER

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THE REVISIONS OF 'PIERS PLOWMAN'

Piers Plowman exists in three versions: the A-text, the B-text, which is a revision with interpolations and a continuation, and the C-text. Professor Manly (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, ch. i) divides the A-text into two portions, A_1 (Prologue and Passus i–viii), and A_2 (Passus ix–xi and part of xii), which he assigns to different authors; and I have suggested a division of B into B_1 (Prologue and Passus i–x, the revision of A) and B_2, the continuation from Passus xi–xx (*Mod. Lang. Review*, XVII, pp. 403–9). I use these symbols to represent these divisions of the text, and also, for brevity, their authors, whether different individuals or identical. The C-text is a minute revision of the whole of B, with interpolations and (a point in which it differs from the B revision) alterations of order where the reviser found the same subject treated in different parts of the poem. Thus the description of Activa Vita in B xiii is worked into the Vision of the Seven Deadly Sins, C vii and viii. A more elaborate rearrangement is seen in his treatment of the speech of Clergy, B x, 230–330, which contains his explanation to the dreamer of Dowel, Dobet and Dobest. C keeps only the first of these, dismissing Dobet and Dobest in two lines. From the rest he detaches the conclusion, ll. 292–330, which ends with the prophecy of the suppression of the monasteries, and adds it to the speech of Reason in B v, where a similar prophecy is more vaguely made (ll. 47–8). Immediately before this passage in B x (ll. 280–4) was a reference to the sons of Eli, as an example of the harm that comes through wicked priests. This he works up into a speech by Conscience (C i, 95–124), suggested by the mention in B Prol. 95–6 of those priests who serve lords and ladies as stewards. This serves to introduce Conscience, who in the first vision belongs only to the C-text, and is brought in apparently in order to eliminate the personal references to the lunatic and the angel, who become Kind Wit and Conscience[1]. Having done this, he is removed with the king in order to clear the stage for the rats and mice. Hence in his reconstruction of the Prologue, C had in mind the parts of B x which he did not mean to use in their place. The C revision is thus much more thorough-going than was that of B.

In one case, I think, C has, while working on the later part of the

[1] G. R. Owst, *Mod. Lang. Review*, XX, pp. 270–9, identifies the angel with Bishop Brunton, who, he also suggests, may be represented by Conscience of A v.

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poem, gone back to the earlier and inserted a considerable passage, viz. C vi, 1–104. All the personal details concerning the dreamer, beyond the mere mention of his name, come from the Vision of Dowel, etc. The names of his wife and daughter are in B xviii, 426; A ix, 61 tells us that he is 'a muche mon'; in B xi, 46 and xii, 3 we have references to his age; in B xii, 16–17 Imaginative rebukes him for meddling with making when he might say his psalter and pray for those who give him food (presumably his proper occupation); in B xv, 148 he calls himself Long Will. These two last statements are omitted by C; and I think that it was at this point that he decided to insert an autobiographical passage earlier in the poem. Here he refers to his length (vi, 24), and tells how he says his psalter for the souls of those that help him, ll. 47–8. That the passage is interpolated can be seen from the catchwords 'and ry3t with þat ich a-wakede,' v, 196, followed by 'Thus ich a-waked,' vi, 1; and at the end 'and to þe churche ich wente' followed by 'And to þe churche gan ich go,' ll. 104 *b*–5 *a*. Also the interpolation makes the dreamer fall asleep on Malvern Hills and wake in Cornhill, an incongruity which C, who carefully removes so many obvious inconsistencies in B, would probably not have allowed if he had written the first six Passus consecutively[1].

In revising B, C collated with A[2]. The clearest example of this is in the opening of the Vision of the Seven Deadly Sins, where in A v, 11 the dreamer sees Conscience preaching with a cross. In B v, 11–12 it is Reason who preaches with a cross, and in C vi, 112–13 Reason preaches, with Conscience for his cross-bearer. Many other instances (one of which appears in another connection on p. 16) can, however, be given. A vii, 177–8:

> An Hep of Hermytes henten heom spades
> And doluen drit *and* donge to dutte (U dryuen) honger oute,

is expanded in B vi, 190–3 to:

> An heep of heremites henten hem spades,
> And ketten here copes and courtpies hem made,
> And wenten as werkemen with spades and with schoueles,
> And doluen and dykeden to dryue aweye hunger.

He has inserted two lines between those of A. C revises the passage in ix, 183–7:

> An hep of eremites henten hem spades,
> Spitten and spradde donge in despit of hunger.
> Thei coruen here copes and courtepies hem made,
> And wenten as workmen to weden and mowen;
> Al for drede of here deþ, such dyntes 3af hunger.

[1] See G. Görnemann, *Zur Verfasserschaft und Entstehungsgeschichte von 'Piers the Plowman,'* Heidelberg, 1916, p. 107, who considers this passage authentic but misplaced.

[2] Dr Görnemann (pp. 87–9) has given examples of passages where the C reading is found partly in A and partly in B.

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The first two lines are from A, the other three are from B. He replaces 'with spades and with schoueles' by 'to weden and mowen,' so as to improve the alliteration and avoid the repetition of 'spades'; he rewrites most of the last line (though keeping the d-alliteration) because he has already used its source in A.

Immediately afterwards, A vii, 182, 'Hungur hem' (i.e., the blind and broken-legged) 'helede wiþ an hot Cake,' is paraphrased by B into 'For þat was bake for bayarde was bote for many hungry' (vi, 196). C turns the A line into 'And lame men he' (i.e., Hunger) 'lechede with longen of bestes' (the words 'lame men' coming from A vii, 183), C ix, 189, and in l. 192 takes the B line literally.

In A vii, 194–5:

> And Mischef hit makeþ þei beoþ so meke nouþe,
> And for de-faute of foode þus faste þei worchen,

B alters the last half line to 'þis folke is at my wille,' vi, 209, and C again to 'folwen my hestes,' ix, 213. C then turns to the A text and paraphrases it:

> Hit is no þyng for loue thei labour þus faste,
> Bote for fere of famyn in faith, seide peers.

A viii, 181, 'I nolde ȝeue for þi pardoun' (T patent) 'one pye hele,' becomes in B vii, 194 'I sette ȝowre patentes and ȝowre pardou*nz* at one pies hele' (C pese hule, B peese hole), and in C x, 345 'Ich sette by pardon nat a peese noþer a pye hele,' which combines the pea shell of B variants with the pie heel of A.

In C xi, 202–3:

> Ho so lyueþ in lawe and in loue doþ wel
> As these weddid men þat þis worlde susteynen,

the first line and a half come from A x, 127–8, 'to folk þat ben I-weddet And libbeþ as heore lawe wole,' and the last half line from the parallel passage in B ix, 108, 'For þei mote worche and wynne and þe worlde susteyne.'

Such examples as these cannot easily be due to any collation by scribes; they show C's well known manner of paraphrasing. There are also numberless cases such as A Prol. 73, 'glotonis to helpen,' where B reads 'kepe' and C 'helpe.' These may be, and sometimes obviously are, as Professor R. W. Chambers has pointed out (*Mod. Lang. Review*, v, pp. 26–7), due to corruption in the extant B texts; but considering their great number, and the general excellence of B, together with the undoubted examples of C's collation, it seems unlikely that they are all due to this cause. Moreover, there are a number of cases in which B and

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C go back to different texts of A, and we will pass on to these. The variant readings are taken from the E.E.T.S. edition.

An examination of these passages shows that though both B and C used a very good text, C's was on the whole of the Vernon type, and B's of that of Trinity. The examples are as follows:

A Prol. 26: TDHUH$_2$ 'strayte,' so B; V 'harde,' so C.

A i, 11: VTH$_2$ 'what is þis to mene,' so B; HUD 'what may þis bymeene,' C 'what may þys be to mene.'

A i, 125: H 'lettered men,' so B; VTUH$_2$D 'lettrede,' so C.

A ii, 172: H 'wola loke,' B 'wil loke'; VTU 'lokeþ,' so C.

A ii, 183: 'Dreede at þe dore stood and þe dune herde,' TUDH 'doom, dome,' so B; V 'dune,' C 'dene, deon, done, dune,' etc. Here the right word is pretty certainly 'doom,' not 'din'; and therefore C is founded on a corrupt text.

A ii, 202: VTU 'kneuȝ,' H 'couþe,' B 'knewe'; D 'knowith,' so C.

A iii, 29: THD 'lastiþ,' so B; VU 'dureþ,' so C.

A iii, 107–8:

> ȝe lord quaþ þat ladi Lord forbeode hit elles
> Bote Ich holde me to oure heste honge me sone.

In V these lines end with 'elles' and 'sone.' In U both lines end with 'elles,' evidently by a scribal slip, as the sense is not good. H rectifies this by rewriting 108 *b* and spoiling the alliteration. TDH$_2$ omit the second line, probably because they derive from a text with both lines ending in 'elles.' But in B the lines (iii, 111–12) follow V. In C (iv, 148–9) the second line ends with 'elles' as in U, and the first is altered, in order to avoid the repetition, to 'lord it me forbede.' The passage now runs: Lord forbid that I should not be at your commandment; *otherwise* (elles) let me be hanged. A single change has avoided the repetition in U, and also made good sense of U's erroneous 'elles'[1]. This is very characteristic of C's method of revision, and again shows him working on a corrupt text.

A iii, 134: TU 'fle where hym likeþ,' so B; VH 'and fleo where hem lykeþ'; all C texts have 'and,' except F, which has rationalised it to 'to,' and all but IFM read 'hem.' Here again B has the better reading.

A iii, 136: H 'harm dide,' so B; VTU 'harmede,' so C.

A iv, 12: TD 'lerist,' H 'lernest,' B 'lernest'; V 'ledest,' U 'rewliste,' C 'ledest.'

A iv, 14: THUD have verbs in present tense, so B; V in past tense, so C.

[1] In MS. R of the B text we have 'lord it me forbede.' But the next line ends with 'sone,' not 'elles,' and therefore the passage makes nonsense. This is a clear case of R being emended from C.

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A iv, 97: TD 'summe men,' so B; VH 'þenne summe,' C 'somme.'

A iv, 129: TD 'myn eres,' so B (O 'boþe myne eres'); VHU 'boþe myn eres,' C 'boþe myn handes.'

A v, 24: TU 'wastour,' so B; VHD 'wastors,' so C.

A v, 111: H 'broun,' B 'tauny'; VTU 'tore(n),' so C. The H reading, which should alliterate on *t*, is obviously a scribal substitution for 'tauny.'

A v, 153: VH 'Hastou ouȝt I þi pors quod he,' so B, omitting 'quod he'; U 'Hastou ouȝt quod he,' T 'Hastou quod he,' C 'What hauest þow quaþ he' (I omits 'what'). The unalliterating 'pors' looks like an afterthought, in which case U is the correct reading, followed by C, while B follows the worse text.

A v, 243: THU 'swiþe,' so B; V 'ful,' so C (I 'wonder,' M 'wel').

A v, 250: TU 'þis Robert,' B 'þis robbere'; VH 'me Robert,' so C (I 'vpon R.').

A vii, 162: VH 'þat boþe his eȝen watreden,' so B (except R, which follows TU or C); TU 'þat al watride his eiȝen,' so C.

Of these twenty cases, B follows T in thirteen, H alone in four (with VTU for the C text), and VH in three; C follows V in fifteen cases, HU once, D once, and TU three times (counting iii, 107). Hence it would appear that C and B used different A texts for their revisions, and that in three cases C's copy of A (and once B's) shows corruption. This suggests that at any rate C was not the original author.

The traces of the direct influence of A on C are much more frequent at the beginning of the work than elsewhere. As has been noticed by Dr Görnemann, pp. 99–100, where two versions differ greatly, the third either differs from them, or omits the passage. This may be otherwise stated as follows: where B treats A freely, C does the same to B. This principle, which runs very regularly throughout the poem, suggests to me that, assuming multiple authorship, where A and B agreed, C had too much respect for the established version to make large alterations, but that where they diverged, he felt himself free to paraphrase and expand as he wished. It is only in the passages where the differences are very small that we can make a comparison. In the Prologue there is no essential difference between the three versions until after A 83; and a line by line comparison of them over this passage gives, out of twenty-five cases where C agrees with either A or B against the other, eight only in which it derives from B (ll. 5, 26, 44, 47, 59, 68, 70, 77) against seventeen in which it derives from A (ll. 7, 20, 22, 26 *b*, 34, 36, 41, 43, 48, 56, 60, 64, 66, 71, 73, 74, 80). Then comes B's first interpolation, which C

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follows, and himself interpolates with the speech of Conscience. When the three texts come together again at the beginning of A i, his reliance on B against A is distinctly greater. I find in the first forty lines six cases of agreement with A against seven with B. In A vi, 3–52 the proportion is eight to nine, and in the concluding passage of *Piers Plowman* proper, A viii, 160–87, it is four to eleven. Hence, after C in his revision had passed the passage where B first seriously diverges from A, he gave more weight to B in his use of his two texts.

At all times, C loves to paraphrase[1], often apparently with no object except to weaken his original, often by substituting a generality for some graphic detail, e.g., when he turns B Prol. 89–90:

> And signe þat þei sholden shryuen here paroschienes,
> Prechen and prey for hem and þe pore fede,

into

> Ben chargid with holy churche charyte to tulie,
> þat is leel loue and lif a-mong lered and lewed,' (i, 87–8)

or B iii, 167, 'For pore men mowe haue no powere to pleyne he*m* þou3 þei sm*er*te,' into 'For pore men der nat pleyne ne here pleinte shewe.' In particular, he likes to alter the second half of the line, e.g., B i, 178, 'And as chaste as a childe þat in cherche wepeth,' which C concludes 'þat no*per* chit ne fyghteþ.' This tendency to flatten his original is in strange contrast with the vividness of his own style when he is writing on a theme about which he feels strongly. This is strikingly seen in Passus x, where, moved to indignation by the precept in B vii, 76–83 (whether his own earlier belief or another man's) to give to all who ask and leave the responsibility with God, he breaks into impassioned verse on the suffering in the homes of the respectable poor, where 'there's little to earn and many to keep' (C x, 91), where they are too proud even to ask their neighbours for help:

> þat reuthe is to rede o*þ*ere in ryme shewe
> The wo of þese women þat wonyeþ in Cotes.

These it is charity to help, or the lunatics who are God's messengers and his minstrels, but not the able-bodied beggars whose churches are brew-houses. The whole passage (x, 71–160) is full of vivid picturesque expression, and has not a dull line. He also refers to the same subject again in xii, 28–30[2]. He often shows that he is interested in social, as well as

[1] See Note at the end of this article.

[2] It may be noted that in the description of Charity in B_2, where one might expect, on the theory of single authorship, to meet the Gregorian teaching again, there is no reference to it; Charity gives to those who need (B xv, 216). B_2 has many reminiscences of B_1, the most literal being in the description of Activa Vita's coat, which continually turns into a direct confession, see B xiii, 329, 363, 405. Ll. 400–9 (in R only), where Activa Vita is called Glutton, are so close to B v, 374–9 that C, when supplementing his Passus vii by extracts from B xiii, only takes the one line 404.

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in theological problems, as when he inserts C xx, 232–46, telling how, if Dives won his riches fairly and yet went to hell for his use of them, much worse must be the lot of the rich men now who have won their riches unjustly. We may also note Satan's spirited command to bar hell gates, C xxi, 283–96, and the excellently pointed couplet, ll. 328–9.

C is certainly more particular than is B to have regular alliteration of the form *aaax*, and continually emends for this purpose, e.g., he alters B Prol. 95, 'And some seruen as seruants lordes and ladyes' to 'Somme aren as seneschals and seruen oþere lords,' and emends l. 103, 'Amonges foure vertues, þe best of alle vertues,' by altering 'best' to 'most vertuose.' This is done throughout the poem, e.g., B Prol. 182, 200, 205; i, 18, 42, 68, etc., but it is very rarely that B improves the alliteration of A. In the lines where this occurs, it is very often effected by the change of a single word, and we may suspect that it is in reality a case of corruption in all the extant A texts, the original reading being preserved in B, e.g., A i, 8, 'Hauen heo worschupe in þis world kepe þei no betere,' where B reads 'wilne' for 'kepe'; A i, 106, 'And ouer his meyne,' B 'and ouer his mene meyne.'

Passing from these differences between B and C in their methods of revision, we come to a number of cases in which either B or C has had a bad text before him, or has not understood the text at some point. It is not always possible to tell exactly at what stage the error arose. For example, A v, 207 reads 'Ne durst lape of þat laueyne.' The rare word 'laueyne' has been corrupted in B to 'leuynges,' in C and the R MS. of B to 'leuynge.' But it is not certain whether the B reviser is himself responsible for this, or whether, correct in the original B, it has become corrupted in all the B MSS., and hence in C. In any case, C follows a corrupt text. Among the most striking cases in which I have noted some sort of misunderstanding in the revision, or a revision based on a bad text, are the following:

(1) A Prol. 34: 'And gete gold wiþ·here gle, giltles, I trowe,' so T, the line being omitted in V. HUD read 'synles' (spoiling the alliteration), H_2 'synfullyche.' The B readings are: LWC 'synneles,' OC_2 'not synles,' i.e., they follow an A text already corrupted. C remodels the whole line (probably, according to his custom, because he had defective alliteration before him) to 'þat wollen neyþer swynke ne swete, bote swery grete oþes.' This was not his general opinion of minstrels (cp. C x, 128–33, and note his alteration in iv, 169 of the disparaging reference to them in A iii, 128, B iii, 132); it was dictated to him by his text, which I conjecture to have been 'not synles.' It is characteristic of C, in remodelling

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a line, to keep the same alliterating letter, though he may alter all, or nearly all the words, e.g., B vii, 14, 15; A xi, 285. Here he retained the *s* of 'synles.'

(2) A ii, 16: 'þat is Meede þe Mayden, *quod* heo, þat haþ me marred ofte.' 'Marred,' which is essential to the alliteration, is found in V alone; all other texts have 'noyed,' and B and C follow them.

(3) A iii, 29. VU 'Forte worche þi wil while vr lyf dureþ.' The alliteration here is on *w*, for A allows the adverb 'while' to take the alliteration from a following noun (ii, 74 *b* 'Whil god is in heuene,' vii, 52 *b*, and xi, 101 *b* 'while my lyf dureþ'; cp. *Mod. Lang. Review*, XVII, pp. 403–9), while B and C do not. In THD 'dureþ' was scribally altered to 'lasteþ,' giving a false alliteration *aabb*. In this form it reached B, who rectified the alliteration by taking away the stressable word 'lyf,' and writing 'þe while þow myȝte laste' (iii, 28). C, who also emends for metrical reasons, has 'þe while we mowe dure' (iv, 29), and three lines lower, in an addition, 'while ȝoure pans lasteþ.' He therefore had before him both B and the VU form of A, i.e., a better A text than that which B had. It may be noticed that in inserting this addition (C iv, 32–3), C spoils the grammatical construction, placing in the middle of a series of parallel infinitives ('louen, make, do calle') two imperative plurals ('porchace, bigge').

(4) B iii, 76–7:

> Meires and maceres that menes ben bitwene
> Þe kynge and þe co*mune* to kepe þe lawes.

This, in both A and B, is an example of the infinitive absolute (cp. Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, § 399, etc., and cp. A viii, 49), 'mayors must keep the laws.' C alters the construction, which he does not seem to have understood, and spoils the sense, by prefixing 'ȝut mede myldeliche þe meyre [hue] bysouhte' (iv, 77), taken from B iii, 87. Hence he makes Meed ask the mayor, sheriffs, etc. to punish dishonest retailers, in spite of the fact that in C iv, 115 she asks the mayor to accept their bribes.

(5) A iii, 88: 'þat Fuir schal falle and brenne (TDU forbrenne) atte laste.' B has taken the inferior VH reading 'brenne,' and emends the alliteration by concluding the line 'al to blo askes.' C follows B, though most MSS. read 'for-brenne,' others 'to-brenne,' 'eke brenne.' Either C has combined A and B here, or C scribes have attempted to improve the alliteration.

(6) A iv, 157: V 'I graunte gladly, *quod* þe kyng.' TUD omit 'gladly,' and H substitutes 'wel,' all spoiling the alliteration. B follows TUD.

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(7) A v, 96: 'For I wolde þat vch a wiht *in* þis world were mi knaue'; TU omit '*in* þis world,' which makes the line unmetrically short, but B follows them (v, 116).

(8) A v, 176: T 'þo risen þei vp in a rape (VHU þei risen vp).' The pronoun refers to the arbitrators chosen in l. 174. B v, 333 has 'Two risen vp in rape' (R 'þo' for 'two'), C vii, 383 'Two rysen rapliche.' Either B has not understood that the judges were already chosen, and should all confer together (in which case R is contaminated from A), or R gives the original B reading, and C has taken a bad B text. If B v, 338 'For to trye þis chaffare bitwixen hem þre,' not in LWR, is genuine, the mistake is B's, but it corresponds freely to A v, 182 'for he schulde *preise* þe penyworþes as hym good þouȝt,' which is in H only. Probably both are additions. C's 'rapliche' seems to come from VH.

(9) A vi, 25: V 'Nay so God glade me.' TUH have 'helpe' for 'glade,' a scribal substitution of the more common phrase at the cost of the alliteration, and B and C follow them.

(10) A vi, 81: 'Wiþ no lede bote *with* loue as Breþeren of o wombe,' which omits the chief alliteration. TD have 'loue and louȝnesse,' which would give a good line if 'of o wombe' were omitted and the cesura placed after 'loue,' as in B v, 600 'With no lede but with loue and lowe speche as bretheren.' The phrase was probably not in the original (cp. *Rom.* xii, 10, 1 *Pet.* iii, 8), and was added scribally because the cesura was misplaced. VU then omitted '& louȝnesse,' because the line was now too long. C substitutes two lines:

> With no lede bote with loue and with leel speche.
> The barres aren of buxumnesse as breþeren of on wombe, (viii, 238–9)

C has therefore combined B with a bad text of A.

(11) A ix, 18–19:

> And hose sungeþ I seide certes as me þinkeþ
> Þat Dowel and do vuele mowe not dwelle togedere.

TUH_2 omit 'as.' This is correct; 'hose' = 'if a person,' cp. A vii, 1 'þis weore a wikked wei bote hose hedde a gyde'; also A viii, 79 and C iv, 365. 'If a man sins, I said, certainly I think that, etc.' B misunderstands the construction, and emends to:

> And who-so synneth I seyde doth yuel as me thinketh
> And dowel, etc., (viii, 23–4)

spoiling the alliteration. C combines A and B so as to restore the alliteration, but keeps B's grammatical construction: 'And ho so syngeþ ich seide certys doþ nat wel' (C xi, 25).

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(12) A x, 22: 'þeose sixe,' i.e., Inwit and his five sons. B writes 'þise fyue,' not reckoning Inwit, and C follows. The alliteration of course shows that six was the original number.

(13) A xi, 133–4:

> T And alle kynne craftis I contreuide here
> Tolis of carpenteris & kerueris & kende ferst masons.

This seems correct, except for the line division. B x, 177–8 has:

> Of alkinnes craftes I contreued toles
> Of carpentrie of kerueres and compassed masouns.

Here the second line has become corrupted, and C does the best he can with it, 'and contreeuede þe compas.'

(14) A xi, 253–4:

> I was markid withoute mercy & myn name entrid
> In þe legende of lif longe er I were,

i.e., I was noted down without (giving) any thanks, i.e., without my knowledge...long before I was born. B x, 375 has become 'And þat I man made was,' which in the context is nonsense, and has arisen from a corruption of 'markid' to 'maked,' either in the A or B text. C follows it, 'þat ich man maked was,' xii, 205.

(15) A xi, 255: 'Or ellis vndir-writen for wykkid,' i.e., as a wicked person. B and C read 'for somme wikkednesse,' which is again bad sense, the whole passage referring to predestination.

From this point onward we have only two texts to consider. I have noted the following cases of misapprehension by C:

(16) B xi, 102: 'Neyther for loue laude it nouȝt ne lakke it for enuye,' where the verbs are obviously contrasted. W paraphrases 'laude' to 'preise,' R reads 'lakke' from the second half-line, B 'lab' from the sense of the preceding line, 'publice þow it neuere,' C 'labbe hit out' (except T 'loue it nouȝt'), following, or possibly emending, a corrupted text.

(17) B xii, 68–9:

> Of *quod scimus* cometh clergye and connynge of heuene,
> And of *quod vidimus* cometh kynde witte, of siȝte of dyue[r]se peple,

i.e., learning and knowledge of heavenly things comes of *quod scimus*, natural understanding comes from what we see of different people. C xv, 30–2 reads:

> Cleregie comeþ bote of siht, and kynde witt of sterres,
> As to be bore oþer bygete in suche constellacion
> That wit wexeþ þer-of.

This looks as if he had a B text which had interchanged 'clergye' and 'kynde witte,' and reversed the lines, i.e.,

> Of *quod vidimus* cometh clergye, of siȝte of dyuerse peple,
> And of *quod scimus* cometh kynde witte, of connynge of heuene.

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The best way he could interpret this obscure passage was to condense the first line as much as possible, and to explain 'connynge of heuene' as astrology. Professor Manly has pointed out (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, p. 31) that here C believes in astrology, whereas A xi, 152 ff., B x, 209 ff. (a passage omitted by C) reject this science. It may also be noted that in B xv, 248 Charity 'ne loketh vp sterne,' and this statement is omitted by C.

(18) B xviii, 5, 7:

> And lened me to a lenten, and longe tyme I slepte...
> Rested me þere and rutte faste tyl *ramis palmarum*.

The treatment of this passage is rather striking. L. 6 seems to be misplaced; it would stand better after l. 7 (see Skeat's note). 'To a lenten' is the reading of all B MSS. except G_2, which omits 'a' (see Mrs Blackman, *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Phil.*, XVII, p. 542); and 'lenten' is the thing against which the dreamer leaned (cp. 'þere,' otherwise unintelligible, l. 7), when he slept till Palm Sunday. I am inclined to connect it with 'lintan,' the U.S. dialect form of 'lean-to,' which is first noted by *N.E.D.* in 1736 (see under Linter(2)). 'Lean-to' itself first appears in 1461. C, however, takes it as 'lent,' and writes 'til (IFT to) lenten,' IF 'lentoun,' M 'lente.' He omits the misplaced l. 6, and also l. 7, either to avoid the unreasonably long sleep from Ash Wednesday to Palm Sunday, or because he observed that, since the dreamer awoke on Easter morning (B xviii, 425), he dreamed not on, but of Palm Sunday. This is just the type of correction which C is fond of making, as I hope to show later (see pp. 20 f.).

(19) B xviii, 214–15:

> For til *modicum* mete with vs, I may it wel avowe,
> Wote no wiȝte, as I wene, what is ynough to mene,

i.e., 'till short commons is our lot, we do not know what "enough" means, we do not appreciate the joy of having enough,' cp. ll. 203–4. C alters 'modicum' to 'moreyne,' and spoils the argument. The only other occurrence of 'moreyne' in Skeat's glossary is C iv, 97, where it is mentioned as one of the punishments sent by God on false men. It is possible that C took the last half line to mean 'what is sufficient to complain about.' The rather unusual order seems peculiar to B_2; cp. B xix, 58, 89.

(20) B xviii, 224–6:

> her foly & her synne
> Shall lere hem what langour is & lisse with-outen ende;
> Wote no wighte what werre is þere þat pees regneth,

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i.e., 'shall teach them to suffer and (hence) to rejoice, etc.'; cp. ll. 218–19:

> And sith he suffred hym synne, sorwe to fele,
> To wite what wele was,

which is exactly parallel. C does not understand the argument, but thinks that 'langour & lisse' are to be contrasted with 'foly & synne'; he therefore emends 'langour' to 'loue.'

(21) B xviii, 267: 'þer hym lyketh'; R 'þer lazar is,' so C. But this would mean that Christ would lead the souls that he had harrowed from hell back to earth. Either R or C, whichever is the original, seems to confuse 'lazar' with the beggar of the parable, who is in Abraham's bosom. C has therefore either taken R's bad text, or misunderstood the reference in B xviii, 264.

(22) B xix, 147–8:

> Come knelynge to þe corps & songen *christus resurgens*
> Verrey man bifor hem alle & forth with hem he ȝede.

A line seems to have been omitted between these, saying how Christ rose from the tomb. It does not appear in C, who constructs an intermediate line (C xxii, 152), '*Christus rex resurgens*, and hit aros after,' where '*rex*,' which is not in the original (the Easter anthem, from *Rom.* vi, 9) is inserted for the sake of alliteration (though omitted in MG). It must be noted that F omits this line, and follows B.

(23) B xx, 258–9:

> And if þei wage men to werre, þei write hem in noumbre,
> [Or] wil no tresorere hem paye, trauaille þei neure so sore.

'Or' is found in no B or C MSS., but only in Crowley's text, though it is necessary to the sense. WOB restore the sense by placing l. 259 after l. 261. C (xxiii, 259–61) adds a line: 'Bote hij beon nempned in þe numbre of hem þat ben ywaged.' If 'or' is correct, C had a corrupt text; if not, then as in LCR, the order is wrong, and again C had a corrupt text.

In addition to the foregoing, I have also noted the following examples, which, though less definite than those given above, seem in varying degrees of clearness to point towards multiple authorship:

(24) A Prol. 60: 'For Moneye *and* heore Marchaun*d*ie meete*n* ofte to-gedere,' so VH; TUH_2D 'for here mony.' The sense is that their merchandise is exchanged for other people's money; VH are therefore correct, yet B and C follow TUH_2D.

(25) A i, 23: U 'þat on is vesture ver*r*ailiche.' TH_2 have dropped the adverb, spoiling the alliteration, which is on *v* and the *f* of 'from'; VHD read 'clothing.' a further corruption. B follows TH_2, with only two alliterations. C, in difficulties as to alliteration, compresses two lines into one (ii, 23).

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(26) A i, 67–8:

> He is a lettere of loue and lyȝeþ hem alle
> Þat trusteþ in heor tresour þer no truþe is Inne.

So VH, the meaning being 'he lies to all those who trust in their treasure, where no truth is.' TH_2D alter the second line to 'þat trusteþ on his tresour betraid arn sounest.' The sense now can only be 'he lies to them all; those who trust in his treasure are soonest betrayed,' and there is no noun for 'them' to refer to. VH therefore gives the better text, but B follows TH_2D, R reading exactly as they do, the other MSS. 'bitrayeth he sonnest.' C follows the non-R B-text version; he sees the grammatical difficulty, and removes it by substituting 'alle tymes' for 'hem alle,' —'he lies always; those who trust, etc.'

(27) B i, 151–2:

> For heuene myȝte nouȝte holden it, it was so heuy of hym-self,
> Tyl it hadde of þe erthe yeten his fylle.

The reference is to the Incarnation, cp. the Athanasian Creed, 'not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God.' C does not understand the mystical paradox of becoming lighter by eating the earth, and renders the second line 'Til hit hadde on erthe ȝoten hym-selue' (ii, 151), till it had poured itself upon the earth.

(28) A ii, 84: VH 'and seide to Siuyle, serwe on þi lokkes,' TUH_2D have corrupted this to 'bokes.' B (ii, 115) has changed this to 'sorwe mot þow haue,' probably because his A-text had 'bokes.' C iii, 117 follows B; but F agrees with TUH_2D. This, however, is due to contamination. For C has changed 'Siuyle' of the A and B versions to 'Syre Symonye' (cp. C iii, 127), whom he has made the reader of the charter, and to whom he has given a prefatory speech (iii, 75–8). But MF in l. 117 read 'ciuile.' Both 'ciuile' and 'bokus' must have come in from an A text.

(29) A ii, 127. TH_2D 'Iugge ȝou Ioyntely in ioye for euere,' so B. But the passage is incorrect, for 'iugge' should be followed by 'to.' Hence H alters 'in ioye' to 'to be Ioyned,' and C alters the whole passage, retaining only 'iuge.' The original verb is probably found in U, 'Ioyne.' 'Join' and 'jointly' were used in alliterative connection, cp. *Troy Book*, 1538, 'þre iorneys ful iointly to ioyne hom by dayes.'

(30) A iii, 134: see p. 4. C, going back to A, follows an inferior reading.

(31) A iii, 215: V 'Men þat knoweþ Clerkes Meede hem craueþ,' TUD 'Men þat ben clerkis crauen of hym mede,' H '& þese kunnynge clerkes crauen vpon mede.' The context shows the meaning to be that those who give services deserve payment. The original line was therefore 'men that kenne clerkis crauen of hym mede,' 'kenne' being corrupted into

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'ben' in TUD, and 'knowep' in V. But B has become 'men þat teche chyldren,' while C reads 'Maistres þat techen (I kenne) clerkes.' All these variants point to uncertainty on the part of revisers as to the original line.

(32) A iii, 262: 'Suche a Mischef Meede made þe kyng to haue.' B (or more probably a B scribe) has spoilt the alliteration by inserting 'Saul,' probably because in A iii, 257 the king is Amalec. C, in order to restore the alliteration, rewrites the line, retaining the intrusive 'Saul,' —'Thus was kyng saul ouercome for couetyse of mede' (iv, 434).

(33) A iii, 278–82. The sense of the passage is that Meed has made men so rich that law has become lord and loyalty is poor; but Kind Wit and Conscience shall come and make law a labourer. B iii, 295–8, altering the passage, says that Meed makes many lords, and rules the realms above lords' laws; but, etc. Here Law, instead of being 'lordly,' is overruled by Meed. There is therefore no point in saying that it shall be made a labourer, and A's allegory is spoiled.

(34) B iii, 307–8:

> Eche man to pleye with a plow, pykoys or spade,
> Spynne or sprede donge or spille hym-self with sleuthe.

Here it is C who does not appreciate B's argument. He changes the last line to 'Spynnen and (IFS or) spek of god, and spille no tyme.' But the sense of the original passage was that all the laity should do manual work.

(35) A iv, 15: 'Seyde as þe kyng sende.' H has 'bade' for 'sende,' spoiling the alliteration, and B (iv, 14) follows H. C changes to 'saide.'

(36) A iv, 133: V 'Forte Construe þis Clause and distinkte hit after'; U '& declyne aftir,' TH_2 'declynede fast,' H '& wite what it mened,' D 'declyned it faste.' TH_2D can only mean 'refused quickly,' which is too abrupt. The original meaning is to be traced in U, where 'declyne' is, I think, a corruption of 'declare,' i.e., interpret. Cp. *Cleanness* 1617–18 (of Daniel's interpretation of the writing on the wall):

> & þaȝ þe mater be merk þat merked is ȝender,
> He schal de-clar hit also [cler], as hit on clay standeȝ.

In an early MS. the word 'declare' was written 'declyne,' either through illegibility or scribal carelessness. This was altered by TH_2D so as to make a certain sense and keep the alliteration. V altered 'declyne' to 'distinkte,' losing the alliteration; H's reading looks like a paraphrase of the rather rare word 'distinkte.' B rewrote the passage as follows:

> Alle to construe þis clause, and for þe kynges profit,
> Ac nouȝte for conforte of þe *comune*, ne for þe kynges soule

(iv, 150–1), which suggests that he had a text which he did not understand. C (v, 147) writes 'To construe this clause kyndeliche what hit

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menede,' which is based on H, with C's characteristic emendment of the alliteration.

(37) A v, 89: VU 'and my brode schete'; TH 'broken,' and so B. But thieves would not take away the torn sheet, if there was any choice. Ashmole reads 'That broken my bolle & borne away my schete.'

(38) A v, 207: see p. 7.

(39) A v, 213: 'þe furste word *þat* he spac.' 'Spac' is a scribal substitution for 'warpe,' which is in all B texts. But C has 'spak.'

(40) A vi, 45:

T I shal wisse 3ow wel þe ri3t way to his place.
U I schal wisse 3ow þe wey right to his place.
V I wol wissen ow þe wey hom to his place.

These three texts seem to mark progressive corruptions of the original. B v. 562 reads 'I shal wisse 3ow witterly þe weye to his place,' which stands nearest to, and may be superior to, T. C viii, 198 has 'Ich wol wissen 3ow wel ryght to hus place,' which derives from a reading somewhere between T and U, but not from the best text of either A or B.

(41) A vi, 110: V 'Charite and Chastite beoþ tweyne ful Choyse Maidenes'; TUD 'beoþ hire chief maidenes' (U omits 'maidenes'). But Truth is masculine, and it is not likely that the chief maidens would be placed in the middle of the list. V therefore is probably the best text, but B follows TUD, changing 'hire' to 'his,' and so does C.

(42) A vii, 5–6:

T Hadde y herd þat halfe akir, so me god helpe,
I wolde wende wiþ 3ow til 3e were þere.

The second half of l. 5 does not alliterate well; moreover, if the pilgrims need only wait for the ploughing of the half acre, it would not be a sufficiently 'long lettynge' for the ladies to make chasubles. H reads:

hadde y erid þat, þe*n* wolde y wiþ 3ou wende
and wissen ou þe rihte weye til 3e were þere,

and U, 'Hadde eryed myn halue acre I schal brynge 3ou þere.' V is very near H, the first line being altered so as to alliterate on *w*, the second corrupted by a scribe for the sake of clearness:

Weore he wel I-Eried þe*n*ne *with* ou wolde I Wende
And wissen ou þe rihte weye til 3e fou*n*den treuþe.

It looks as if the second half of l. 5 was missing; T filled up with a stopgap, alliterating, but irregularly; U and H moved up a part of the next line, not alliterating. B writes:

Hadde I eried þis half acre and sowen it after
I wolde wende with 3ow and þe way teche, (vi, 5–6)

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and C follows (ix, 3–4). This reading does not alliterate, but it does provide the time required, and it agrees with the story (cp. A vii, 59, 'For I wol souwen hit my-self and seppen *with* ou wende'). I should conjecture that the original line was '& harwed it after,' and that it became illegible in an early A MS. Something of the same sort has happened in A vii, 60 'For hose helpeþ me to heren or eny þing to swynken,' where the second half line looks like a stop-gap. B writes 'or sowen here ar I wende,' spoiling the alliteration, which C emends by 'oth*er* elles to weden.'

(43) A vii, 116: 'And playneden hem to pers with suche pitouse wordes.' In B vi, 125 this becomes 'And made her mone to pieres and preyde hym of *gra*ce.' Here the alliteration is spoilt, and C, instead of going back to the original line, rewrites the second half, 'how þei mowe nat worche.'

(44) A vii, 126: 'ȝe eten þat þei schulden eten þat eren for vs alle.' V has corrupted 'eren,' which is found in THU, to 'swynken.' B vi, 135 has 'ȝe wasten þat men wynnen with *tra*uaille and with tene,' alliterating *aabb*, and losing the special reference to land-workers (cp. p. 20). C ix, 139–40 emends the alliteration by writing:

> ȝe ben wastours ich wot wel that wasten and devouren
> That leel land-tylynge men leelliche byswynken,

combining B with the corrupted V text.

(45) A vii, 140: V 'þenne wastours gu*n*ne arise,' UH 'wastour,' T 'þe wasto*ur*.' It is clear from the context that 'wastour' is a common noun. cp. ll. 31, 123, 125, 149, etc. B (except W) has 'a wastoure,' but C goes back to the UH version of the A text, except M 'wastours,' and writes 'wastour,' as if he were an allegorical character.

(46) A vii, 207–8:

> And ȝif þou fyndest eny Freik þ*a*t fortune haþ a-peiret
> W*ith* fuir or w*ith* fals folk (THU men).

In B the second line has become 'Or any maner fals men.' This, which does not alliterate, is probably corrupt, for Fortune acts through fire and false men, not alternatively with them. C observes this, and condenses to 'And yf þow fynde eny folke wham fals men han apaired.' He does not appear to have taken note of the A text here, for the connection of fire with false men had a special interest for him, cp. his interpolation on the subject, C iv, 90–107.

(47) A viii, 28: 'and make meson-deu *per-with*'; for 'make' B has 'amende,' caught by a scribe from the following line, and C follows.

(48) A viii, 37: TU 'diȝe whan ȝe diȝe,' probably corrupted from 'diȝe

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whan ȝe schulle'; cp. V 'whon ȝe dye schulle.' B, finding a corrupt passage, rewrites to 'ne fere ȝow in ȝowre deyinge,' and C changes 'fere ȝow' to 'despeir' for the alliteration.

(49) A viii, 45: T 'men of lawe hedden lest for lewid þei ben alle.' 'Lewid' = worthless; cp. A i, 163 'as lewed as a Laumpe þat no liht is Inne.' This was turned by some conscientious scribe into 'lettrid,' which we find in UV. H rewrites the passage, taking a hint from the subsequent quotation from Ps. xiv, 5: 'for þey beþ loþ To mote for mene men but ȝif þei hadde money.' B also rewrites: 'Men of lawe lest pardoun hadde þat pleteden for Mede' (vii, 39), either because he did not understand the sense of 'lewid' (which when used of people in *Piers Plowman* always = ignorant), or because he had a bad text. C x, 44–5 follows H, emending the bad metre and alliteration, and taking the verb 'plede' from B:

> Men of lawe hadde lest that loth were to plede
> Bote þei pre manibus were payed for pledyng atte barre.

(It may be noted that three lines further on (C x, 48–9), C again goes back to A rather than B.)

(50) A ix, 38: 'þe False world,' BC 'frele.' But the world, i.e., the water, is not frail; it is the body, i.e., the boat, which is brittle, cp. the preceding line, 'þe Bot is liknet to þe Bodi þat Brutel is of kuynde.'

(51) A xi, 56: V 'Clerkes and kete men,' TUH_2 'kid men,' which looks like a corruption of the rare word 'kete' in V. This is found in *William of Palerne*, signifying 'quick, prompt.' B reads 'other kynnes men' (x, 69), an obvious stop-gap replacing some difficult word in his text, and C has 'knyghtes' (xii, 52).

(52) A xi, 66–8:

> VH_2 Whi wolde God vr saueor suffre such a worm
> In such a wrong wise þe wommon to bigyle
> Boþe hir hosebonde and heo to helle þorw him wenten.
>
> TU Whi wolde vr saueor suffre such a worm in his blisse
> þat he gilide þe womman & þe wy (U man) aftir
> þoruȝ whiche a werke & wille þei wenten to helle.

B x, 105–7 follows TU, with the same corruption of 'wy' to 'man.' But 'gilide' must have been corrupted from 'wilide,' and this, though commonly found in alliterative verse, does not appear in any text of *PP*. The word used in this poem is 'begile,' which alliterates on *g* in all texts. The TU version of l. 67 is therefore a scribal emendation, and l. 68, which depends on it, must be the same (it may be noted that the question is repeated, in the VH_2 form, in A xi, 74–5); and the text, thus emended, was taken by B.

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In the first line of VH_2 either there is cross-alliteration, *abba*, or the first alliteration is missing, cp. A xi, 109, 'þenne was I as *f*ayn.' The words 'God,' 'Christ,' are constantly found in an unalliterating position, e.g., C xxii, 24 'Is Crist more of myght,' *Piers Plowmans Crede* 587 'God forbad to his folk.'

(53) A xi, 144: 'For Dobet and Dobest beoþ drawen of loue scole,' TH_2 'louis skile,' V 'lore in scole.' The sense is that Dobet and Dobest proceed from the school or the teaching of Love, and 'skile' is a corruption. B further corrupts the passage to 'ben of loues kynne' (x, 188). C goes back to the original idea with 'here doctor is dere loue' (xii, 136).

(54) B xv, 217–18:

> Edmonde and Edwarde, eyther were kynges
> And seyntes ysette tyl (R 'so,' F 'for') charite hem folwed.

R, which gives sense and alliteration, is probably the original reading; 'tyl,' in its northern significance of 'while,' would not be easily understood. Consequently C, in the middle of a passage which he is taking quite literally, remodels into:

> ayþer were seyntes,
> And chief charite with hem, and chast al here lyue. (xvii, 345–6)

(55) B xviii, 156: 'þorw venym of hym-self,' R '*ver*tue'; so C. But the analogy, ll. 152, 157–9, points to 'venym' as the right word. Therefore either C has missed the argument, and corrupted the text to the more ordinary phrase, or he has followed a corrupt text in R.

We now come to some matters less textual. It has been pointed out by Professor Manly that B is lacking in A's remarkable faculty of visual imagination. Whereas the original version is marked by a clear visualisation of the scene described, and a dramatic handling of the characters as individuals rather than as allegorical types, B's interest lies in the abstract rather than the concrete, in ideas rather than in men. This often leads him into incongruities, which, when they are sufficiently obvious, are methodically removed by C. Specimens of this can be collected from the well-worn ground of the Seven Deadly Sins. It has been observed by Dr T. A. Knott (*Mod. Phil.*, XIV, p. 536) that the one character which is entirely the work of B stands apart in that he is a spirit inciting others to wrath, not himself a wrathful person. It will be noted that the C additions tend to remove this incongruity, see in particular C vii, 105–14, 144–6. Hence, where each other penitent, originated by A, is the centre of his picture, Wrath is continually diverted from himself to the quarrels between friars and parish clergy, the failings of nuns and the virtues of monks. Finally he apparently becomes identified with the author, '*Esto*

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sobrius, he seyde, and assoilled me after' (B v, 186–7). C modifies this very abstract attitude by substituting a more personal passage (vii, 105–14) for the gardening allegory, cutting down the cooking allegory by substituting vii, 137, 'Thus þei sitte, þo sustres, som tyme and disputen,' for B v, 162, 'Of wykked wordes I, wrath, here wortes I-made,' and altering the pronouns in the last two lines.

Similarly, in describing Sloth, B depicts, not an actual person, but the abstract quality of Sloth as seen in different people. He is an ignorant layman who does not know his Paternoster as the priest sings it, and who lies in bed till the parish mass is over and only rises in time to hear the last words of the friars' mass (v, 419). Three lines later he says he has been priest and parson for thirty years, and yet his promise of amendment is not to say his Matins and Mass, but to hear them as regularly as if he was a monk (v, 460).

Again, in the same Passus (B v, 371), although Glutton never arrives at the 'fair field,' he is rebuked by Repentance, and not, as in A, who visualises the scene, by his wife alone. C removes the speeches of Repentance, and makes Glutton address his confession to God (vii, 424–5, 436–8).

Finally, at the end of the episode, a very slight touch in B v, 516 is interesting inasmuch as it shows C's careful methods of correction. After the final address of Repentance, the mystical B says that Hope blew a horn, and all saints in heaven sang at once. The alliteration is defective and the scene is changed. The practical C meets both difficulties by writing that all saints with sinful men sang with David (viii, 154).

Turning to other parts of the poem, we find the same peculiarities of revision—A's clear dramatic pictures blurred by the more abstract-minded B, and where this treatment results in obvious inconsistency, corrected by C. This is first instanced early in the Prologue, where A is describing the people he saw on the 'fair field.' There was a pardoner preaching (Prol. 65), the sight of whom leads A to a digression on the duty of bishops and parish priests with regard to pardoners, and on the parish priests who forsake their flocks to go to London. He then returns to his field—there were sergeants of law there (Prol. 84); he saw bishops (Prol. 90, this reminds him of the archdeacons who also leave their people to serve the king), also barons, burgesses and bondmen (Prol. 96). All the time he has his field in view. B, on the other hand, revising the passage, and coming to the parish priests who go to London (B Prol. 83–6), connects them with the higher clergy who do the same, and

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forsakes his field altogether to write of the cardinal virtues and the papal election.

In this passage B has left no literal incongruities for C to correct; in B ii, 21–2, where Lewte the 'lemman' of Holy Church, is made feminine, there was an obvious opportunity for him. It seems to me that the idea B wishes to express is that Holy Church and Lewte have a natural affinity, and that he uses metaphors from human relationships without visualising those relationships. In the same way, a few lines later (B ii, 31), Holy Church speaks of Mercy as her promised spouse, explaining the allegory by stating that every merciful man shall be united to her in heaven. Again, B sees no incongruity in making False Fickle-Tongue both father and promised husband of Meed (ii, 25, 40), although in A her sire was Wrong. In all these three instances C alters the text, making Lewte masculine (iii, 21), removing the mention of Mercy, and replacing it by a generality to the effect that those who love Holy Church will go to heaven (iii, 34–5), and making Meed daughter of Favel and affianced to False Faithless (iii, 25, 42).

Other passages showing these characteristics are:

A ii, 146: B (ii, 168) gives this speech of Civil to Civil and Simony, in spite of A ii, 149, 153 (which he takes without alteration), where Simony is spoken of in the third person, and Civil alone is the speaker.

B iv, 41: B inserts the speech by Conscience, ll. 33–41. In the last line, 'for Conscience knoweth hem nouȝte,' he forgets that it is Conscience himself who is speaking. C, who gives a paraphrase of the speech (v, 33–9), omits this line.

B iv, 67: Waryn is here Wit's name, though in l. 26 it was Wisdom's. It may be noted here that C is distressed at such a dubious character being called Wisdom. Hence in C v, 27 he becomes 'waryn wysman,' in l. 31 'wily-man' or perhaps 'waryn wrynge-lawe,' in l. 77 'wyles,' in l. 83 'a wis on.' To A and B 'wisdom' means worldly wisdom, but not to C. Again, he omits the speech by Waryn Wisdome in B iv, 154–6.

A vi, 33–7:

> I haue ben his felawe þis fiftene wynter,
> Bothe I-sowed his seed and suwed his beestes,
> And eke I-kept his Corn, I-caried hit to house,
> I-dyket and I-doluen, I-don what he hihte,
> *With*-innen and *with*-outen I-wayted his profyt.

Here Piers is the typical ploughman, with a ploughman's occupations. To B he is the symbol of all those who labour with their hands; therefore he adds:

> In tailoures crafte and tynkares crafte what treuthe can deuyse
> I weue an I wynde. (v, 554–5)

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C, seeing the incongruity, shortens the whole description to:

> In alle kynne craftes þat he couthe deuyse
> Profitable to þe plouh he putte me to lerne. (viii, 190–1)

A vii, 230. In the parable of the talents, the master gives sentence on the unprofitable servant so that 'his servants heard it.' B, thinking of the application rather than of the story, changes, in spite of the alliteration, to 'so that Holy Church heard it.' C paraphrases the passage, and dispenses with an audience.

A xi, 117: 'And eke þe longe launde that Lecherie hette.' B x, 161 writes 'þe likerouse launde,' a small touch, but one which illustrates his habit of turning away from the picture to the moral.

A xi, 179, etc. In A the pilgrim is instructed by Scripture. B omits Scripture's exposition of Dowel, Dobet and Dobest (A xi, 179–200) and substitutes a different address by Clergy (B x, 230–90). In ll. 332, 348, however, where the dreamer interposes questions, he forgets that he has made this change, and follows A without alteration in making Scripture the speaker. C, as has been said before (see p. 1), omits almost all this speech of Scripture-Clergy, but in xii, 163–5, where he follows B xi, 1–2, he inserts l. 164, 'And contynaunce made to clergie to congie me, hit semede,' to show that it was Clergy alone who had been in charge of the discussion[1]. It may be noted, in dealing with this passage, that A xi, 174–5, which gives so pleasant and homely a picture of a medieval host receiving a visitor:

> Curteisliche Clergye Clupte me and Custe
> And asked hou wit ferde and eke his wyf Studie,

is omitted by B. He was eager to get to the definitions of Dowel, etc.

Dr Mensendieck (*Zeitschrift für vergleich. Lit.*, xv, p. 10) considers that this falling off in dramatic power may be attributed to the bewildering effect wrought on a thinker in the confusion of a time of transition, when old formulas are losing their power, and compares the development of Hauptmann. However far this may be true of the general difference of tone and subject matter between A and B, it will not to my mind explain such inconsistencies as have been noted above in the character of Sloth in B, or the speeches of Repentance to Glutton, and the various other examples of an abstract way of looking at human character which seems to me to mark a difference of personality, and not merely a changed attitude to the outer world.

[1] It has not, I think, been noted that in A xii, 1 it is Clergy who has been the speaker. This suggests to me that John But wrote the whole of A xii, having knowledge of a B or C version.

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Finally, let us compare the character of Piers himself in the three versions. Here we shall find in B_2 mystical developments which nothing in the earlier part leads us to expect, and which, except where Piers is identified with the Church, are obliterated in C. In *Piers Plowman* proper, i.e., A_1, he is the ideal labourer, who serves Truth, and will guide others to do the same. He will keep his own subordinate place in the commonwealth, trusting to Knighthood to protect him from his enemies, and to the Church to pray for his soul. He can take advice from Hunger when his own wisdom is insufficient, both in matters of policy (A vii, 191, etc.) and rules of health (A vii, 240, etc.). In this characterisation there is very little difference between the three texts. We may note that, though in A it is Piers' servants who have overeaten, in B and consequently in C Piers himself has fallen into the same fault. So far is B_1 from the mystical presentation of Piers which is found in B_2. Again, on any theory of authorship, only C had actually before him in this early part the later development of Piers. Hence possibly it arises that he omits the rather undignified bickering between Piers and the priest in A viii, 100–26. It would certainly seem unsuitable to anyone who had read to the end of B. It would also seem incongruous that Piers should swear 'bi þe peril of my soule,' as in B vi, 119, 173; and C alters these two lines. On the other hand, in C viii, 200 (= A vi, 47, B v, 565) he keeps the same expression (B is probably corrupt, and originally stood as A and C).

In A_2 and the BC revisions of it we hear nothing of Piers. He seems to have passed out of the story, which is now concerned with the search for Dowel, Dobet and Dobest. The only reference is that by John But to the name of the poem in A xii, 97. It is in B_2 that we find the striking developments in his character. In B xiii, 123 he is quoted by Clergy, in opposition to the learned doctor, as scorning all science but the love of God alone, and using philosophical language about infinites which would have been beyond the earlier Piers. In l. 237 Activa Vita says that on Sundays the priest tells the people to pray for Piers Plowman and his followers, that is, for all true labourers. This seems to be the first conception of Piers. All this C accepts, adding, besides short references in C xvi, 34, 195, a sudden appearance of Piers himself (C xvi, 138), who mysteriously vanishes, taking Reason with him.

In B xv, Piers is identified with Christ. Anima says (l. 190) that without help of Piers, the dreamer can never see Charity. Clerks can judge by words and works only, Piers can see the will, 'Et vidit deus cogitaciones eorum.' This is softened by C (in xvii, 337), who, though keeping the

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Latin, only says that Piers best knows Charity. But when B adds that words and works are deceptive, and that no creature on earth knows the will but Piers, 'Petrus, id est Christus,' C substitutes 'By words you can tell where Charity walks; operibus credite,' an entire reversal of B's sense.

In B xvi Piers Plowman at last appears. Anima tells the dreamer of the Tree of Charity, which grows in the garden called Heart, leased out to Liberum Arbitrium under Piers Plowman. At hearing his name the dreamer swoons for joy (l. 19) and falls into a dream, in which Piers himself shows him the tree. This vision within a vision is probably not an oversight, but is intended to make Piers more mystical, more removed. The tree is supported by three piles, which represent the three Persons of the Holy Trinity. Against the threefold assault made on the tree, the first two of the piles are used by Piers, the third by Liberum Arbitrium, his lieutenant. The passage is an imitation of Duns Scotus' allegory of the tree of creation in his *De Rerum Principio*, and the part played by Liberum Arbitrium illustrates the characteristic Scotist doctrine of man's free will as above everything but the Divine will (see *Rev. Eng. Stud.*, III, pp. 333–4). When the dreamer asks further concerning the mystery of the Trinity, Piers looks 'egrelich' on him, and he asks of the fruit instead. Piers shakes it down, and the devil gathers it up. Piers 'for pure tene,' the Son, hastens after him by the will of the Father and the grace of the Holy Spirit, taking the one pile, presumably the middle one. This represents the Incarnation, which is next related. We are then told (B xvi, 103) how Piers taught Jesus leechcraft. This is again Scotist, and signifies that the human soul of Christ acquired knowledge by the contemplation of the Logos (see *Rev. Eng. Stud.*, *l.c.*).

C makes important changes in this Passus. To avoid the identification of Piers with Christ, he removes Piers altogether from the vision. Liberum Arbitrium shows the tree himself and uses all the three piles himself. The fruit is shaken down by Old Age; and when the devil gathers it, Libera Voluntas Dei takes the middle pile (C xix, 119), and hastens after the fiend. This is C's version of the Incarnation. Jesus is taught by Liberum Arbitrium (l. 138).

What did C mean by Liberum Arbitrium? In xvii, 158 (not in B) he introduced him as one of the aspects of Anima, and as the leader of Activa Vita. Hence he represents man's free will. But as the teacher of Jesus Christ, he cannot be so identified; nor again when he uses the three piles, for man's free will could not have brought into action the power of the Father and the passion of Christ. Here he is practically

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identified with Libera Voluntas Dei, the will of God, and hence most probably with the Liberum Arbitrium Dei of C xxi, 20. In B, after Piers has used the first two piles, Liberum Arbitrium can use the third; i.e., man's free will can avail itself of the grace of the Holy Spirit. Here he is the Scotist Liberum Arbitrium. But in C, though he belongs to a vision which is a close imitation of Duns Scotus, he has no connection with the Scotist conception of Liberum Arbitrium as set forth in B, but represents first man's free will and then God's. The allegory becomes still more confused if we take into account C xvi, 195 (not in B), where Activa Vita describes himself as Piers Plowman's prentice, for this seems to equate Liberum Arbitrium also with Piers Plowman. We must conclude that C did not recognise how carefully B had defined the limits of man's free will according to Duns Scotus.

After this vision, B's conception of Piers changes. In xviii, 22–4, Jesus Christ will joust for Piers' fruit in Piers' arms, that he may not be known for God. Piers here stands for humanity, a slightly broadened view of the Piers of A; and C, who leaves these last Passus almost untouched, accepts it. In xix, 1–14 the idea is the same; Christ, robed in flesh, looks like Piers. But in ll. 177, etc. Christ gives Piers power to bind and loose; the Holy Spirit (or Grace) falls on Piers and his fellows, and makes Piers his procurator (l. 253). From the cross and passion of Christ Grace builds a house for Piers to keep his grain in, and calls it Unity or Holy Church (l. 325). Grace then makes Priesthood the hayward, or guardian of the enclosure, while he goes all over the world with Piers to cultivate truth.

When Piers is gone, Pride attacks the Church. It is defended by all Christians under Conscience, who feeds them with God's Body in form of bread, which Grace has given Piers power to make (ll. 383–5). Finally, when evil presses hard, Conscience sets forth as a pilgrim to wander over the world in search of Piers Plowman, who can destroy Pride; and here the poem ends.

Here again there is a change in the presentation of Piers. Though at first when receiving the gifts of Pentecost (xix, 196) he is identified with the Apostle, the conception gradually glides into that of the Church (as when Conscience administers the Sacrament of the Eucharist under the powers given to Piers), and hence to something more abstract, the vital spirit of religion in the church, that bloweth where it listeth.

Hence we have seen that all through B_2 the conception of Piers is continually changing, and is far removed from the original picture of the ideal labourer as set forth in *Piers Plowman* proper. C removes

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everything which identifies Piers with Christ, incidentally changing the whole meaning of the character of Liberum Arbitrium.

The results of this investigation I would sum up as follows: B and C are revisions undertaken on different lines. The former is rather a repetition with certain additions and a sequel, the latter a thorough-going revision based on a good B text and an A text of a different type from that which the B reviser had used. The C reviser seems to have had great respect for the accepted text when his two exemplars agreed, but to have felt himself free when this was not the case. At first he relied on A rather than B, but as he continued the reverse became his practice. Though both revisers used good texts, the examples cited are, I think, enough to show that neither had a perfect one, and that neither was the original author. Again, certain differences of treatment, such as the handling of character in A and B, or the correction of alliteration in C and not in B, or the obscuring in C of the Scotist theology of B, and especially the difference of the significance of Piers himself as portrayed first in the original poem, secondly in the B sequel (or B_2), and finally in the C revision, are more suggestive of multiple than of single authorship.

NOTE ON R (see p. 6)

C's habit of paraphrasing is seen in the C-versions of most of those B passages which are only found in R. Hence they were in the B text by the time it reached C, and are not introduced into it from C by scribes. Note the following:

B x, 411–13: this comes at the end of a long B interpolation (x, 390–413), which C has taken, paraphrasing freely, e.g., B x, 406–7 becomes C xii, 245–7. In the same way he paraphrases ll. 412–13, while taking l. 411 literally (C xii, 251–3).

B xi, 154–64: C omits this, as he has B xi, 148 *b*–51. He evidently does not wish to dwell at great length on Trajan. But his xiii, 91, not found in B, catches up the 'loue and leute' of B xi, 161, and he returns to it again in xvi, 133, 137.

B xi, 374–84: found in C except the last two lines. Ll. 374–5 and the included Latin are paraphrased by C into three English lines (xiv, 202–4).

B xii, 57–9: ll. 57–8 are a summing up of the preceding argument, which C has omitted. He therefore takes them literally, only changing 'so' to 'ac'; and paraphrases the third together with l. 60 (which is in all B MSS.) into C xv, 19–22. Thus:

> Sapience, seith þe boke, swelleth a mannes soule,
> And ricchesse riȝt so, but if þe Rote be trewe,

becomes 'Ac comunliche connynge and vnkynde rychesse,' etc.

B xiii, 164–71 is very freely treated by C, who condenses B's

> þere nys neyther emperour ne emperesse, erl, kynge, ne baroun,
> Pope ne patriarch,

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into 'Ther nis wyght in þis worlde' (xvi, 166); this recalls his treatment of B's picture of Lady Meed (B ii, 12–16).

B xiii, 293–9, 437–54 are both transferred in C, along with other passages found in all B texts, to the Vision of the Seven Deadly Sins, the first freely, the second very literally. They cannot therefore be interpolations in B from a C text, and the same applies to B x, 291–303.

B xiii, 400–409 opens by following very closely B v, 374–9, even so far as to name Activa Vita Glutton. C therefore took only one line from it, which he transferred to C vii, 430 (see Skeat's Critical Note).

B xiv, 227–37 is taken literally in C, except that the last two lines are paraphrased into one. The passage is, however, essential to B, who is treating each of the seven sins with respect to poverty; the lines contain a part of Wrath and the whole of Gluttony.

B xv, 239–43 is again treated very freely in C xvii, 363–6, but the alliteration is improved, this also being characteristic of C's revision.

Some passages have, it is obvious, been omitted from the non-R MSS. because of catchwords; e.g., B xi, 126–7:

> Ac Resoun shal rekne with hym, and rebuken hym at þe laste,
> And conscience a-counte with hym and casten hym in arrerage,

where a scribe has omitted ll. 126 *b*–7 *a*. Similar cases are xi, 419 *b*–21 *a*, xvii, 68, 176 *b*–8 *a*, xviii, 310 *b*–11 *a*, which are all in C; and xv, 564 *b*–7 *a*, not in C, possibly because C is here treating the B text very freely. Other passages are in C in so nearly the same form as in B, that it is impossible to tell which is the original; these are B x, 381, xii, 152–3, xvii, 307–8, two lines after x, 77, and one line after xx, 36.

B xv, 539–56 presents difficulties. The R and C versions vary, but not more than can be accounted for by ordinary scribal variations. Also, though the other long passages peculiar to R are self-contained wholes, which can easily be detached, this is inserted in a sentence, and its insertion (or removal, as the case may be) has necessitated an alteration in l. 557, R and C reading 'And nauȝt to huppe aboute' (i.e., he is an example that they should not, etc.), against the non-R text 'þat hippe aboute in Engelonde.' Moreover, 'busshoppede' in C xviii, 268 appears to be corrupted in I to 'bisshemed' and in R to 'bischiued.' Perhaps the passage is one of C's expansions, copied into R on account of the reference to St Thomas of Canterbury.

B xi, 104–5:

> Ac þe matere þat she meued, if lewed men it knewe,
> The lasse, as ich leyue, louyen it þei wolde.

C omits 'it' in l. 105, and adds 'The by-leyue of oure lorde þat lettrede men techen' (xiii, 43). This line is found in R, slightly corrupted, but the fact that R keeps the 'it' which C omitted, shows that it is an interpolation.

Some of the R-additions are omitted in C. Here it nearly always happens that C has omitted the contiguous lines: single lines after B v, 283, xi, 190, xv, 388 (all of which look like marginal glosses); xv, 298–9, where C omits the whole incident from l. 296; xv, 464–77, where C has omitted everything between ll. 409 and 483. This last passage is an integral part of the argument.

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The feast is composed of fatlings and hand-fed fowls; the symbolism of the former is explained in ll. 458–63, that of the latter in the R passage.

The conclusion I draw is that, although R is sometimes contaminated from C, those passages which have gone through a process of paraphrasing were certainly in C's version of B, and very probably those which agree identically were there also. B xv, 539–56, alone among the longer passages, appears to be an interpolation in B from C. But why these passages were omitted in the non-R MSS. I have no idea.

There are also several omissions in R. Some are obviously accidental, as v, 481, viii, 99 *b*–104 *a*, ix, 113 *b*–16 *a*, x, 425. Four, which come near together, are of a different type: viii, 14–17, ix, 158-9, 177–85, 199-202. These are all new in B, they are complete sentences in themselves, and so easily detachable, and their omission brings the text into line with the A-text. They have the appearance of being original B work, and are all in C. The fact that they exactly coincide with the B-additions shows that they were not omitted accidentally. They can be explained if we imagine a scribe who, while copying Passus viii, and ix, determined to omit as far as possible all passages which had not justification in A. For the other B-additions in this part of the poem, ix, 142–50, x, 26–31, 38–44, 75–100, are not so easily detachable, on account of differences in A and B; and earlier and later in the poem there are no such omissions. It may be noted here that B ix, 166, omitted in R, although it is in A (x, 184), is in a different place, so that its omission appears to restore the A-reading.

MABEL DAY.

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JOHANN ELIAS SCHLEGEL IN DENMARK

In 1743 Johann Elias Schlegel went to Copenhagen as secretary to Geheimkriegsrat von Spener of the Saxon legation in that city; here he found an atmosphere that was not altogether foreign to a German. At that time and for some time to come German influence was strong in Denmark. The consort of Christian VI had come from Brandenburg and spoke no Danish, and the higher nobility, the official classes and the well-to-do citizens of Copenhagen contained many German elements[1]. But in spite of this widespread knowledge of the German language, there was but little acquaintance with German literature, such as it was at that period, and, in letters to Hagedorn and Bodmer, Schlegel emphasises the isolation in which at times he felt himself to be. The biggest handicap, he said, lay in the fact that he had no friends in Copenhagen who were competent to give an opinion on his works[2]. He had no opportunity of seeing new books. Although he had the use of a library which contained many Greek, Latin and French books, there were none by German authors[3]. Such German books as Schlegel did see he borrowed from his friend, Kapellmeister J. A. Scheibe[4].

To Schlegel Copenhagen offered a generous welcome. His personal charm, his surprisingly thorough knowledge of the Danish language, of Danish customs and needs, the zeal with which he studied Danish history and literature, and, finally, his personal friendship with Holberg, aroused in the Danes a favourable opinion of him and of German writers in general. And this impression still persisted when, one and a half years after Schlegel's death, Klopstock came to Copenhagen. Schlegel's learning and his modesty soon procured him highly-placed patrons who were interested in literature and art. In von Spener's house there was much social intercourse and Schlegel gained a wider experience in this respect than had been possible for him in Leipzig. His later comedies and his

[1] 'Bei Hofe und in den vornehmsten Häusern wird gar kein Dänisch, sondern lauter Deutsch gesprochen; alle Bürger nehmen auch deutsche Mägde in ihre Dienste, damit die Kinder von Jugend auf diese Sprache lernen mögen, dass also die dänische Sprache bloss den Bauren übrig bleibt; welche jedoch das Deutsche auch ziemlich verstehen, ob sie es schon nicht sprechen können' (*Kurtze Reise-Beschreibung von Hamburg bis Coppenhagen im Jahre* 1742. See E. Wolff, *Gottscheds Stellung im deutschen Bildungsleben*, II, p. 56).

[2] J. E. Schlegel, *Werke*, herausg. von J. H. Schlegel, V (1770), Einleitung, p. xxxviii (Letter to Bodmer, 1745).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Letter to Hagedorn, October 26, 1743 (Hagedorn's *Poetische Werke* (1800), V, p. 288). Further, the letters to Hagedorn of August 10, 1743 (E. Wolff, *J. E. Schlegel* (1889), p. 93), and of April 2, 1749 (Hagedorn's *Werke*, V, p. 299).

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periodical *Der Fremde* show the beneficial effect of these new opportunities. Schlegel was particularly fortunate in finding in C. A. Berckentin[1], J. L. Holstein[2] and J. S. Schulin[3] sympathetic patrons and supporters. All these men were born in Germany. They were all ministers and possessed considerable influence at the court of Christian VI. It was Berckentin who, with J. L. Holstein, induced the Danish government to support the arts and sciences and on November 13, 1742, the Danish Academy of Science was founded in Copenhagen. Holstein was much more Danish in his sympathies than Berckentin, who, like his close friend, Bernstorff, saw the chief hope of creating a Danish literature in the transplantation and encouragement of German writers; the idea does not seem to have occurred to him that Danish literature could be developed from within by native talent. With Bernstorff, then in Paris, Berckentin was in communication and, possibly, absorbed some of his literary ideas. Bernstorff knew of Schlegel and other members of Gottsched's school. He had followed the literary movement in Leipzig with interest, particularly the drama; for the theatre, so Bernstorff thought, was particularly well fitted to raise the spirit and heart of a nation. French drama he followed closely, and he was always careful to inform Berckentin of the new plays which he saw in Paris. It is, however, of German and not of Danish literature, that Bernstorff writes more particularly in his correspondence with Berckentin. He wishes that the German theatre might be raised to a level with the French theatre; and he deplores the lack of encouragement of German dramatic literature, the eternal imitations of the French drama on the German stage, and that unpatriotic humility, which declared the German language to be unfitted for the expression of a great dramatic literature. It is quite probable that Berckentin passed on these ideas to his young *protégé*, Schlegel; it may well be that, from Berckentin, and indirectly from Bernstorff, Schlegel's impulse to write plays for the Danish theatre gained strength. Schlegel's *Canut* was rated highly by Bernstorff, who thought it the best German drama that he had read. But Schlegel's ideas for the development of the Danish literature were, as we shall see later, more patriotically Danish than those of either Berckentin or Bernstorff, Danish statesmen although they were.

[1] C. A. Berckentin (1694–1758) was born in Mecklenburg, and studied at Kiel; in 1740 he went to Copenhagen where he became minister and a member of the Council.

[2] Johann Ludwig Holstein (1694–1763) was also a native of Mecklenburg; he was educated in Hamburg and Kiel. As a patron of the University of Copenhagen, he left it a library of 20,000 volumes and many manuscripts.

[3] J. S. Schulin was born in Anspach and educated in Germany and Holland.

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Schlegel was not the kind of man to stand idly by and take no interest in Denmark and the Danes[1]. He had begun to study Danish immediately on his arrival in Copenhagen, and within two months he had mastered it sufficiently well to be able to read a translation of a work by Gottsched and Holberg's *Stundesløse* in the original. He could make himself understood in the language, although the pronunciation seems to have presented some difficulty to him[2]. *Der Fremde* shows how familiar he had become with the social and literary conditions of Denmark; and those pages which deal with ancient and modern Danish writers show how wide his reading was[3]. Schlegel's last work, *Coniectura*, a historical treatise in Latin, is a tribute to his interest in Danish history, and a kind of introduction to his brother, J. H. Schlegel's historical works. The attitude which Schlegel adopted towards the literary taste of the Danish public was a fair one, neither flattering nor unduly censorious[4]. He declares that, although the Danish people had no great literary or æsthetic training, yet their taste was unspoilt. In this connexion he quotes Holberg, who had complained of the poor taste of the higher classes and had said that the Danish middle classes had the best taste, and, indeed, a taste which he preferred to that of the French or English[5]. Schlegel adds that he could see the love which the Danes had for 'witty and pleasant pieces,' not merely from the deserved applause which they have given to Holberg's comedies, but also from the attention bestowed on translations of German pieces[6].

As to the taste of Danish authors, Schlegel declares it to be bad, and says that, since his arrival in Copenhagen, he had not seen a single good line of poetry, while the literary taste in court circles is not so much bad as lethargic and indifferent[7]. French literature is more popular than

[1] 'Hele hans Virksomhed i Danmark er præget af Viljen at være dansk; Sproget havde han, som Holberg siger, i Grund udstuderet' (G. F. Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XV, p. 172).

[2] 'Ich habe in den ersten Monaten meines Aufenthalts allhier mit grossem Eifer ein Dänisches Buch verstehen lernen, und ich habe es seit der Zeit noch nicht so weit gebracht, dass ich mich rühmen könnte, einen lebendigen dänischen Mund nur mittelmässig zu begreifen' (*Der Fremde*, I, 6 April, 1745, *Werke*, V, p. 16).

[3] *Der Fremde*, Letter XXX, where Schlegel quotes from Arrebo's description of the reindeer in his *Hexæmeron rhythmico-Danicum*.

[4] 'Ich habe niemals den Willen gehabt, weder ein Bewunderer noch ein Tadler noch ein Verteidiger des dänischen Volkes zu sein. Und diejenigen, die mich hin und wieder als das letztere betrachten wollen, können versichert seyn, dass ich es vielleicht seyn würde, wenn ich erst überzeugt wäre, dass diese Nation einen Verteidiger nötig hätte' (*Werke*, V, Vorrede).

[5] Letter from Schlegel to Bodmer, 18 September, 1747 (*Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, XIV, p. 50).

[6] *Ästhetische Schriften*, herausg. von J. Antoniewicz, Stuttgart, 1887, p. 198.

[7] Letter from Schlegel to Bodmer, 8 October, 1746, in G. F. Stäudlin, *Briefe an Bodmer* (1794), pp. 39 f.

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German[1], in spite of the fact that in court circles everyone talks German and talks it as well as his mother tongue. Several of the foremost Danish ministers of the Crown are well versed in literature. They do occasionally praise native productions, but more in order to encourage their authors than from any real conviction of their excellence; of such encouragement, however, there has not been enough. Schlegel adds that many of the young Danes of fortune and position do take a keen interest in the history and language of their own country. Holberg's comedies, says Schlegel, are appreciated chiefly by the lower classes who provide the material for them[2].

From the *Abhandlung von der Nachahmung* (1742) of his Leipzig student years, to 1747, Schlegel had written nothing concerned with the drama except the Preface to his translation of Destouches' *Der Ruhmredige* (1745). During that time Schlegel had changed. In von Spener's house he had met the best society that Copenhagen had to offer; his taste had become more refined, and this was now reflected in his style, in its greater carefulness and elegance; and, just as social intercourse had affected his style, Schlegel now sought to elevate social conditions by his writings. This he attempted to do by publishing in Copenhagen a 'moralische Wochenschrift' on the English model. Germany had already had a vogue of such periodicals[3], a vogue which was already declining when Schlegel came to Copenhagen. Schlegel was well aware of the influence of these periodicals; he knew how much they had done to improve the literary taste and moral standard of the average man. Their popular style and form had attracted a large circle of readers and had given them an interest in questions which they would otherwise have considered outside their sphere. Before Schlegel arrived in Denmark there had been Danish periodicals, but they were, for the most part, translations or imitations of English, Swedish and German periodicals. The *Dänische Bibliothec* (1737–9) was edited by Langebek and Harboe and was written in German that it might circulate outside Denmark. J. Ries' *Den danske Spectator* (1744) was in Danish and the oldest original periodical on the English model; its tone was, however, somewhat peevish and sharply critical. Schlegel's journal *Der Fremde*[4] was suaver and less censorious.

[1] This may be partly explained by the fact that before Schlegel's arrival in Denmark, all that was known of German literature there consisted of the production of such wandering theatrical companies as those of Spiegelberg and Von Quoten.

[2] Letter to Bodmer, 8 October, 1746, in G. F. Stäudlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 f.

[3] 'Man hörte foruden tale om poetiske, juridiske, theologiske Spectators, og andre, som vare i Arbejde, saa Folk omsider begyndte at frygte, at der vilde opreise sig Sandemænd udi ethvert Quarteer, ja at der vilde blive ligesaa mange Spectatores om Dagen, som Vægtere om Natten' (Rahbek and Nyerup, *Danske Digtekunst* (1819), Introduction, p. lix).

[4] Fifty-two weekly numbers were issued between 6 April, 1745 and 6 April, 1746.

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Der Fremde was not the only periodical to be edited in Copenhagen by a German writer. J. A. Cramer published *Der nordische Aufseher*[1] there during the years 1758–61. Cramer's position in Copenhagen was very different from Schlegel's, and his periodical reflects the difference. He represented governmental circles; through Klopstock and Moltke he had the royal ear; and he enjoyed great prestige. His periodical was the organ of the German circle in Copenhagen. Schlegel, on the other hand, stood alone. He had made an effort to ingratiate himself with the Danes by learning their language, literature and history; but the party to which he belonged, that of which Holberg and Langebek were the leaders, was opposed to the pietism which, with the pietistic Christian VI on the throne, was then in favour. The style of *Der nordische Aufseher* is unctuous and heavy, that of *Der Fremde* is delicate and playful.

Schlegel's interest in Holberg's plays, shown by the frequent allusions to them in *Der Fremde*, probably did not begin with his arrival in Denmark. Holberg's *Wochenstube* had been performed in the Hamburg opera-house as early as March 29, 1742; it was the first of Holberg's plays to be produced in Germany; and it was followed by *Jean de France*, *Bramarbas*, *Der politische Kannengiesser*, and several others. When Schlegel came to Copenhagen in 1743 he brought with him a letter bearing the greetings of Gottsched to Holberg. And in a letter to Gottsched of September 18, 1743[2], he tells him that he has met Holberg and delivered the letter, but adds that he is not sure that he will be able to follow up this introduction, since Holberg does not like society; in order to see him he had had to use a little strategy. In a letter to Hagedorn[3] Schlegel writes in more detail of the same interview, and later describes to him another[4], at which Holberg said that he did not understand much German, but had read Hagedorn's poetry. There is no direct evidence of further meetings between Schlegel and Holberg, but Schlegel subsequently alludes in a letter to Bodmer[5] to Holberg's opinion of literary taste in Denmark, and it seems fairly certain that their intercourse did continue. Holberg was interested in *Der Fremde*, and later made strenu-

[1] Cp. B. Kahle, 'Holberg,' in the *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, XIII, pp. 144–172.

[2] 'Mit dem Herrn Professor Holberg habe ich übrigens Bekanntschaft gemacht und ihm bei dieser Gelegenheit das Compliment abgestattet, welches mir Ew. Hoch Edelgeb. aufgetragen haben. Ich weiss nicht, ob er mir erlauben wird, diese Bekanntschaft fortzusetzen, weil er gar keine Gesellschaft liebt, und ich das Glück vor ihm gelassen zu werden, welches Rittern von Danebrog und sogar Ambassadeurs abgeschlagen worden, ohne alles Verhoffen durch eine kleine List erlanget habe' (W. Söderhjelm, *J. E. Schlegel som Lustspeldiktare*, Helsingfors, 1884, p. 13).

[3] October 26, 1743, *ibid.* [4] November 9, 1743, *ibid.*

[5] 'Holberg beklagt sich über den schlechten Geschmack der Grossen und behauptet, dass der Mittelstand allhier den guten Geschmack besitze,' September, 1747, *ibid.*, note 27, p. 14.

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ous efforts to get Schlegel appointed to Sorø. In the biography by his brother J. H. Schlegel, the latter says that Holberg had a strong liking for Elias Schlegel; and the frequent references to Holberg and his works in *Der Fremde* are usually in terms of unqualified admiration.

In 1743, the year in which Schlegel arrived in Denmark, Holberg's was the only name of importance in the Danish theatre, and Schlegel was at first impressed by Holberg's great prestige. There were points of similarity and contact between the Danish dramatist and the young editor of *Der Fremde*. Both were men of commanding intellect, independent in their views and reserved by nature. In *Der Fremde* Schlegel quotes and uses illustrations from Holberg's comedies. He borrows types and characters from him and makes frequent laudatory references to him[1]. Just as Holberg in his comedies, so here Schlegel attacks the vulgar farces and harlequinades of the wandering German troupes, and thus, in Denmark, Gottsched's pupil was continuing the fight which Holberg had begun. But with Gottsched's pedantry and discouragement of youth and its enthusiasms Schlegel was by no means in agreement.

During the years after 1745 Schlegel retains in some measure this attitude of admiration of and agreement with Holberg and his ideas. In his *Gedanken über das Theater und insonderheit das Dänische* (1747) Schlegel advocates, for the Danish stage, many features of which Holberg's plays offered outstanding examples. He demands variety in the characters so that all classes may be represented; he justifies the vulgar and democratic element in Holberg's plays as a necessary 'propædeutic' for the education of the masses; and he demands that the follies and weaknesses shown on the stage should be native follies and weaknesses. Schlegel admires the simple action of Holberg's plays and the successful way in which he avoids, on the one hand, the confused intrigue of the French plays and, on the other hand, the actionless German comedy of the period. He demands that every character should speak according to his condition and that these characters should be familiar to the audience. Schlegel sees in the national spirit of Holberg's plays a better tonic for the theatre than in Gottsched's false classicism.

But Schlegel did not regard Holberg's farces and comedies as the final goal of the Danish drama. A refined theatre, he says, refines a nation's manners; and he urges that the theatre should gradually rise from comedies dealing with the lower classes to those dealing with the middle

[1] Cp. *Der Fremde*, No. 39, where Holberg is alluded to as Hans Michelsen Brauer (under which name he wrote *Peder Paars* and *Die Verwandlungen*), and where Schlegel praises the fertility of his invention, the naturalness of his language and his freedom from bombast and low vulgarity.

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classes, and thence to the court and high tragedy. The regularly constructed French classical tragedy is still Schlegel's ideal of dramatic form, though he demands native themes. When Holberg later fought, and not altogether successfully, against French comedy, Schlegel's inclinations were on the side of the French. It is possible that his attitude helped to spread the idea that Holberg's plays were a collection of rather vulgar popular farces[1]; but in his *Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters* he is careful not to express such ideas too openly. Schlegel's criticism of Holberg, however, we do not find in his theoretical writings subsequent to 1745[2], but in his letters to Bodmer. In one of these[3] he says that the famous Holberg does not enjoy in Copenhagen the reputation which his translators and imitators claim for him, and that his comedies are admired only by the lower classes, from which he gathers his material. In another[4] he says, evidently in answer to an enquiry, that most people in Copenhagen think with Bodmer that Holberg should write comedies of higher type and more refined style, and that his works are regarded by some as a mere collection of platitudes. Holberg's moral treatises are rather *jeux d'esprit* than the fruit of deep thought, although they contain, he admits, much good sense and truth; and in a letter[5], also to Bodmer, speaking of the small number of original authors in Denmark, Schlegel says that the Danish Court has no liking for Holberg's comedies.

But the debt which Schlegel owed to Holberg was by no means a small one. Schlegel's emigration to Denmark had brought a new and strong influence to bear on his literary development. The Danish art of the theatre was not so old as that of France or England, but it was the first in the North, and it was fully developed at a time when the German theatre was still in its 'Wanderjahre.'

Holberg's democratic theatre showed Schlegel that the theatre must make its appeal to a wide audience, and that there should be no separation of the 'people' from the educated classes.

Schlegel's comedies of the pre-Copenhagen period had at least one serious fault: their characters lacked real life. He realised this and with his habitual thoroughness, he set himself to remedy this shortcoming; the masters

[1] O. Skavlan, *Holberg som Komedieforfatter* (1872), p. 308.

[2] With two possible exceptions: in *Die Langeweile* (1747), written for the Danish theatre, and in the *Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters* (*Werke*, III, pp. 261 ff.), in both of which works Schlegel attacks vulgarity on the stage, without, however, mentioning Holberg's name.

[3] Dated October 8, 1746. G. F. Stäudlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 f.

[4] September 19, 1746. See W. Söderhjelm, *Schlegel som Lustspeldiktare*, p. 15.

[5] March 31, 1749, *ibid.*

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whom he studied, with a view to improvement, were Holberg and Molière. *Der Fremde* is full of little portraits of characters and types on the model of Holberg and Molière. Schlegel's thorough study of Holberg's comedies is reflected in the plays which he wrote in his Copenhagen period. The middle and the lower classes he now brings from the 'moralische Wochenschriften' on to the stage. In the construction of plot and in the drawing of low comic characters he is now much more mature. To see this one needs only to compare *Die Pracht zu Landheim*[1] (1742) with *Der Geheimnissvolle* (1737).

In Copenhagen Schlegel grew away from the blind admiration of Racine and Corneille towards the realisation of a really native and national theatre; he sees more and more clearly the impossibility of founding such a theatre on a false classicism. In this development Holberg played an important part; he showed the aspiring young dramatist the truth and wealth of Molière. Schlegel now saw that even farce was justified, since it fulfilled the needs of a certain class. Neither Molière nor Holberg was a master acceptable to the school of Gottsched, but it was through the earnest study of their plays that Schlegel gained as a writer qualities of naturalness and simplicity, and as a critic greater clarity in his ideas as to the needs of the German and Danish theatres.

With the accession to the throne of Frederick V in 1746 a change came over the spirit of the nation, and the possibility of a national theatre began to be discussed[2]. Holberg's name was still the only great name in the Danish theatre. The first period of his dramatic activity (1722–8) had been unusually prolific and successful. He was still mentally active but he was no longer so keenly interested in the theatre, possibly because with the upper classes and court circles his comedies were not popular, and it is to Schlegel that those interested in the revival of the theatre turned. It was probably Schlegel's highly placed friends, and patrons, Moltke[3], Holstein and Berckentin who asked Schlegel to give his opinion concerning the foundation of a Danish National Theatre.

[1] Antoniewicz maintains that *Die Pracht zu Landheim* contains much that is reminiscent of Holberg's *Jean de France*, which had been translated into German by Detharding in 1740. One can hardly call the similarity very striking.

[2] It is not easy to determine how much the foundation of the Danish National Theatre owed to a personal interest in the theatre on the part of Frederick V, and how much to the influence of the men about him. Certainly he never betrayed any special pleasure in theatrical performances and, as soon as he conveniently could, he shifted the financial responsibility for the theatre to the municipality of Copenhagen. It is possible that he took more interest in the plastic arts, for he spent much money on works of art; and his generosity to the library should not be forgotten. For a discussion of Frederick V's attitude to the Danish theatre see Edvard Holm, *Danmark-Norges Historie*, Copenhagen, 1898, II, xxii, pp. 420 ff.

[3] It was to Count Moltke that J. H. Schlegel dedicated his brother's works (1761–70).

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In *Zur Errichtung eines dänischen Theaters* Schlegel discussed chiefly the material conditions for the establishment of such a theatre in Copenhagen. It was written at the end of 1746 when there was still some doubt of the feasibility of such a theatre[1]. The *Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters*, the best German work on drama and theatre before Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*[2], presents a fuller consideration of the means of realising such a theatre and its proper aims. Schlegel says that since there were so many different people now giving to the actors the benefit of their experience, he himself felt impelled to do so by his love for the theatre and by the constant interest he had taken in it for the past twelve years[3]. He will not, he says, write what will please himself most, but will put himself in the nation's place. The theatre is the best field for the exercise of the best intellects of a nation[4], and should instruct, not as does a pedant, but easily and indirectly, like a man of the world. 'A good theatre is to a people what a mirror is to a woman adorning herself; it shows, especially in externals, what is wrong or absurd. It gives examples of conversations, of fine wit and good manners; it spreads taste for literature and science; it teaches the meanest of citizens to draw reasonable conclusions and to grow more polite'[5]. Schlegel points to the Athenians whose manners and politeness improved as their theatre developed; the theatre and the people, says Schlegel, are like two stones grinding and refining one another[6]. He remarks that whereas in many countries the theatre in its beginnings had to suffer much at the hands of worthless strolling players, the Danish theatre has received a better start, and has not had to suffer so much in that respect[7]. He pays a tribute to the decency of the Copenhagen stage and declares that the Danish women show a greater dislike of vulgarity than is to be observed in most other countries[8].

The idea in the *Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters* which Schlegel emphasises most strongly is that the material and manners of both tragedy and comedy must be national. He does not wish to exclude from tragedy all subjects which are taken from the histories of foreign nations, but he makes a strong plea for native manners and native wit, and says that a National Theatre should produce the works of native playwrights. The characters should be familiar to the audience. Foreign pieces which are unsuitable to Danish tastes,

[1] Schlegel's *Werke*, v, Introd., p. xliv.
[2] H. Hettner, *Literaturgeschichte des* 18. *Jahrhunderts* (ed. of 1913), III, i, pp. 353, 355.
[3] *Ästhetische Schriften*, p. 193.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 226.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 205.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 206.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

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should be excluded and dramas more French than Danish in spirit should not be represented at all. Every nation, says Schlegel, if it is to have a theatre, which will please it, prescribes through its native manners certain rules, and a play made for one nation will seldom please another[1]. The simple action, characteristic of Holberg's plays should be used in plays for the Danish theatre, thus avoiding the confusion and intricacy of action of many modern German pieces. There have been, says Schlegel, native Danish writers who have called their own nation steady and almost dull[2], but the Danish stage should not on that account confine itself to extreme farces only. 'Wit,' which has both truth and delicacy should be introduced, and he cites the great success enjoyed by Holberg's *Maskeraden* and *Den honette Ambition*[3]. The object of a national theatre should at all times be to give pleasure to all classes of spectators. The public is to be educated gradually and without their being aware of the fact. Their taste is to be made more refined, better able to appreciate the subtleties of something above mere farce. Schlegel never seemed to regard comedy, even the highest type of comedy, as the ultimate aim of any great playwright. Poetic tragedy was, in his idea, the noblest form of dramatic art, and he has not altogether freed himself from Gottsched's idea, that farce and comedy have to do with the lower classes, and tragedy with the nobility and the court. Schlegel proposes that in a National Theatre one might start with comedy and the lower classes, and proceed through the 'bürgerliche Trauerspiel' and the 'weinerliche Lustspiel' to tragedy of a higher aristocratic type.

To avoid the vicissitudes incidental on changes in the occupation of the throne, Schlegel demands for the Danish National Theatre the appointment of a salaried official, well versed in theatrical matters. Such an official would superintend the engagement of actors and actresses and the selection of plays. The actors are to be in receipt of a steady salary and Schlegel proposes that the proceeds of the fifth performance should go to the author[4]. Prizes should be offered by those patriots interested in literature in order to encourage native talent[5].

The *Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters* was not published until 1764, but Schlegel was in close touch with many men of influence, who were interested in the theatre, and it is not improbable that the

[1] *Ästhetische Schriften*, p. 194.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 200.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 226. Gottsched had already proposed that the author should receive a share of the takings.
[5] *Ibid.*

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Danish National Theatre did owe something to the ideas which he put forward. The king provided a theatre, and in 1748 'das steinerne Schauspielhaus,' the Royal Theatre, was opened in Copenhagen on Kongens Nytorv. Its direction was placed in the hands of the city and some magistrates. Copenhagen had already had a Court Theatre, but a theatre of this kind, under artistic direction, was new. It was successful in the beginning, but later the directorship fell into the hands of incapable amateurs. As Schlegel had recommended, Holberg's comedies, as well as plays by other native writers, formed the basis of the repertory.

In addition to these theoretical writings, Schlegel wrote several German comedies and tragedies for production on the Danish stage. Of the comedies, *Die Langeweile* was translated into Danish under the title *Kiedsommelighed* and published in Copenhagen; *Der Triumph der guten Frauen* was also translated, but not published. The German originals of these two plays, together with *Die stumme Schönheit* were published in 1748 under the title *Beyträge zum dänischen Theater*. His comedies, like *Der Fremde*, treated in the main of small incidents in everyday life and they are, no doubt, a faithful reflection of life in the Copenhagen of the time. Schlegel's *Canut* is the first dramatic result of his studies in northern history, the fruit of his interest in Denmark's literature and theatre. As its name indicates, it is on a Danish subject, and in Canut's love of peace and self-sacrifice for the good of his subjects we may see the traits which, in the first years of the reign, made Frederick V so popular a king. *Canut* was intended for representation on the Danish stage and was translated into Danish, but in spite of its favourable reception, especially in Danish court circles, it was never played. Von Berckentin tried to get it translated into French and sent it to Bernstorff in Paris[1]. Both Berckentin and Bernstorff hoped that, if Schlegel continued to develop in this 'genre' of tragedy, German literature would have a German Corneille to boast of, although they could hardly hope to make of him a Racine, since, in their opinion, the German language did not lend itself to the Racinean type of tragedy[2]. Schlegel's idea of writing another tragedy drawn from northern history was to have been realised in his *Gothrika*, but it was never finished.

In 1748 Schlegel, who, since his arrival in Denmark, had been resident most of the time in Copenhagen, transferred the scene of his activities to Sorø Academy, to the staff of which he had been appointed as Professor Extraordinarius.

[1] Letter from J. E. Schlegel to Bodmer, April 15, 1747 (Stäudlin, *op. cit.*, p. 47).
[2] Letter from Bernstorff to Berckentin.

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According to one writer[1], who wrote about the middle of the eighteenth century, there were not many students at Sorø at the time of Schlegel's appointment. Count Lynar is the only German student mentioned by name, and most of the lectures were delivered in Danish, although all the students and professors could both understand and speak German. Occasionally, however, as a favour to students of German birth, a lecture would be delivered in German. The professors, in addition to their official lectures, gave from five to eight private lecture hours a week so that a hard-working student could get through the Academy in from two and a half to three years. Some of the professors would lecture from thirty-six to forty-two hours a week[2]. As to the subjects which Schlegel taught at Sorø various accounts have been given[3], but it seems certain that Political Science and Constitutional Law were among them. At that time the professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law taught all branches of Public and Private Law, and the constitutions of individual European states; he explained, too, International Law as it existed in Europe, the maxims which ruled between the states in time of peace and war; Schlegel lectured also on Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* and on the 'Hofschreibart'[4].

On his duties at the Academy, Schlegel started with great zeal. In a letter to Bodmer dated March 31, 1749, he speaks of delivering from six to eight hours of lectures a day. In addition to his scheduled lectures, public and private, he was giving courses on art, and he founded a debating society in this subject among the students[5]. He planned critical articles, as well as tragedies and comedies; and was also working on a new edition of Bayle[6]. His interest in poetry was not neglected; there is record[7] of a poem which he wrote at Sorø Academy on the occasion of the birth of Crown Prince Christian. He also continued his researches into the history of the German Middle Ages and of northern antiquity. In addition to all these various activities, Schlegel was librarian at the Academy, probably by reason of his previous experience in such work in Copenhagen, and there is every probability that he did

[1] Büsching, in *Søransk Tidskrift*, Heft I, 1865, p. 205.
[2] Büsching, *Nachrichten*, II (1756), pp. 352–353.
[3] According to Büsching, *Nachrichten*, II (1756), p. 358, and *Museum* (1893), Heft VII, p. 36, his subjects were Political Science and Constitutional Law; in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, IV, pp. 59–61, it is stated that he also gave lectures on 'deutsche Wohlredenheit'; and Bricka, XV, p. 171, and *Genealogisk og biografisk Archiv*, I, No. 1–2 (1840), p. 260, mention Constitutional Law, Modern History and Commercial Science (Handelfaget).
[4] Büsching, *Nachrichten*, II (1756), p. 351.
[5] *Genealogisk og biografisk Archiv*, I, No. 1–2 (1840), p. 260.
[6] Letter to Bodmer, March 31, 1749.
[7] Büsching, *Nachrichten*, II, p. 358.

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reorganise the library at Sorø[1]. Under the pressure and intensity of this work his health, never too robust, gave way. He died in 1749 at the early age of thirty, and was buried in the churchyard of Sorø Academy.

Such of Schlegel's works as were published in Denmark in his lifetime do not appear to have made much stir, to judge by the literary periodicals of the time. We find generally no more than a mention of their publication. Schlegel's death was recorded, but roused little interest. P. F. Suhm did, however, write a memorial which excited Dass's ire against the German-born Schlegel[2].

Nor have Schlegel's literary activities in Denmark in their relation to Danish intellectual life been treated in any detail by the Danish literary critics of later generations. They have admitted that Schlegel did do something towards improving literary taste in Denmark. One critic[3] points out that Schlegel, foreigner as he was, received an unusual, although well-merited honour, when he was appointed to Sorø, and he declares that although Schlegel was German by birth and in his works, yet he was Danish in spirit, and his coming to Denmark was a gain to Denmark and to Sorø. But another Danish critic[4] regards Schlegel as a foreigner in spirit, although he recognises the influence of his theoretical writings on the theatre and of *Der Fremde* on Danish literary taste.

It is true that Schlegel was a foreigner, but there were very few Danes of the time who took so keen an interest in the Danish language and literature as he did. Even so patriotic a northerner and so critical a judge of men as Holberg, acknowledges this. In Denmark Schlegel had found what had been denied to him in his own country, friendly encouragement and material help; and he was not slow in attempting to repay the debt. His comedies, influenced as they were by Holberg, symbolise the literary union between Denmark and Germany in the earlier eighteenth century. He opened the literary relation between Hamburg and Copenhagen; and Klopstock, by his frequent sojourns there, developed this intercourse. Schlegel continued what Holberg had begun, the work of bringing Denmark into contact with the restless spirit of eighteenth-century

[1] The disastrous fire of 1813 at Sorø destroyed most of the Academy buildings and among them the Library; it is thus impossible to trace Schlegel's connexion with it.

[2] In a letter from Dass to Suhm, dated June 5, 1756 (see Suhm's *Samlade Skrifter*, xv, Copenhagen, 1798, p. 245), Dass says: 'Klagetalen over Prof. Schlegel vilde jeg heller en Tydsk skulde have skrevet. Vi have længe nok gjort mere af Fremmede end af vore Egne. At Danmarks Historie kunde have ventet adskillig Forbedring ved ham, derpaa synes hans udgivne Conjectura ei at vise saa stor Prøve. Jeg mærker og ikke, at mange her gjöre saa meget af ham...Endelig, lad de Tydske parentere over deres Tydske.'

[3] C. Molbeck, *Om Sorø Akademi, dets Skiebne og dets Fremtid*, Copenhagen, 1847, p. 15.

[4] N. M. Petersen, *Den danske Literaturhistorie*, Copenhagen, 1871.

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Europe. He was one of the founders of the Danish National Theatre. With *Der Fremde* he prepared the way for the German circle in Copenhagen, by creating a public for the writers of this circle. He helped to make Copenhagen a literary centre. About the middle of the century, at the time of the death of Holberg, there is a sudden change in Denmark's literary atmosphere; Klopstock's coming to Copenhagen marks the turning-point; the critical sobriety of Holberg gives way to the enthusiasm of Klopstock. And in this change, Schlegel played an important part.

Elias Schlegel is the first after Vitus Bering, Ole Borck and Reenberg's adaptations of Horace and Boileau, to break with the old ideas and make of pleasure the chief goal of art. Before his time, outward form, modelled by pseudo-classical rules, was regarded as the really important element in poetry. Now faint stirrings were evident of a desire to judge poetry no longer by classical authority, but by a more subjective standard. It is significant that the first writer in Denmark to make a real contribution to æsthetic questions was not a Dane but a German.

In his ideas for the creation of a national literature and theatre, Schlegel, as we have seen, was more patriotic than ministers such as Berckentin and Bernstorff. But the national literature he called for was not to be a narrow or a stationary one. It was to reflect its own century and the novelty of its ideas. Here Schlegel is a true son of the eighteenth century, cosmopolitan and broad in his sympathies and interests. He saw, too, that a national literature, in order to have a foundation, must cast back to the past and understand and appreciate what had gone before. Hence his criticism in *Der Fremde* of the Danish writers; a criticism to the point and revealing a well-defined and æsthetically justified point of view. Hence, too, Schlegel's interest in the old northern literature and history. He declares them to be particularly rich in characters and great events; and he desired himself to 'pluck flowers in a field, which literature had, up till then, left almost untouched[1].' This new interest of Elias Schlegel was not inspired by any desire to create a false and imitative bardic literature. Like Herder, he found in all true and natural expression of a national spirit something worthy of admiration; whether in Shakespeare, in the classical literature, or in the 'bards.' The classically trained taste which he brought to bear on the Danish writers and on northern antiquities was not narrow and pedantic, and he succeeded in rousing among the Danes an interest in their own literature, and in beginning what was later in Germany to

[1] *Ästhetische Schriften*, p. 161.

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form part of the revolt against classicism. The national element in the writings of such later Danish writers as Sneedorf, Rothe and Ewald may be partly traceable to the 'national' idea of Schlegel. Schlegel continues the movement, which had been begun by Gram, Langebek and Holberg, that of popularising knowledge among the lower and middle classes; and, as he so often points out, one should teach, not like a pedant, but as a man of taste, without giving the appearance of teaching. This surprisingly democratic 'savant' declares that anyone may be a judge of literature if he has sufficient delicacy of feeling and is free from prejudice. Learning is not necessary. In this assertion of the rights of ordinary men to be interested in literature and art, matters which, up to then, had been considered the preserve of a few scholars, Schlegel plays a very considerable part in Danish intellectual development[1]. One quality marks all Schlegel's works, namely, courage: he had the courage indispensable to the true pioneer. He did not come to Denmark as the exponent of the pseudo-classical literature advocated by Gottsched. Schlegel knew that the ultimate path of development for a modern nation's literature could not lie there. It was rather as the champion of new ideas that he came; ideas which were later to have a profound influence on all literary Europe. That Denmark received its share of these ideas is largely Schlegel's work.

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[1] Holberg had already expressed ideas as to the educative power of the theatre in the Preface to the *Danske Skueplads* (1723), but there is no evidence of Schlegel having borrowed from this work.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Bishop Gunthorpe.

Bishop Gunthorpe belonged to the small group of English scholars, coming for the most part from Balliol College, Oxford, who about the middle of the fifteenth century prepared the way for English Humanism by studying the new learning at its sources in Italy and bringing collections of copies of classical authors back with them to England[1]. One of these copies is preserved in MS. Bodl. 587 in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, a large tract under the heading of 'Bishop Gunthorpe's Rhetoric.'

Until recently this tract has been looked upon as the Bishop's own work[2]. But on closer inspection it proved to be a copy (imperfect at the beginning) of the late Latin *Rhetorica* of Chirius Fortunatianus[3]. This was apparently a book for the use of teachers or a repetition-book for students, the whole material being subdivided into short questions and answers[4].

In MS. Bodl. 587 the *Rhetorica* of Fortunatianus is followed by passages taken from other Rhetoricians, viz. Augustine[5] and Martianus Capella[6], and a treatise on dialectics[7], also from Augustine, forms the conclusion.

The collecting of these pieces, however, is not the Bishop's own work either, the whole collection in the same order being found in Codex Vat. Urb. 1180[8]. The supposition that this manuscript was the original from which the English copy was taken is corroborated by the interesting

[1] Cp. L. Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, pp. 17, 23, and *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, Art. 'Gunthorpe.'

[2] *Ibidem.*

[3] Ed. Halm in *Rhetores latini minores.*

[4] It was this characteristic form which led me to the identification of the work. For a number of details concerning the Oxford Manuscript I am indebted to Mr Craster, Keeper of the Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. MS. Bodl. 587, fol. 1–37, 'sed adversarii sui—ut nihil sit in nobis notabile,' corresponds to Halm, p. 83, l. 15–p. 134, l. 19.

[5] Fol. 37 sqq., 'oratoris officium est—non aliter exorsus est,' corresponds to Halm, p. 137, l. 4–p. 151, l. 4.

[6] Fol. 42 sqq., 'Nunc locutionis cura est—incipit esse non figura,' corresponds to Halm, p. 472, l. 18–p. 479, l. 3.

[7] Fol. 46–47, 'Dialectica est bene disputandi scientia—ab ea quod est lepus deflexum est,' corresponds to Augustine: 'Principia dialectica,' ed. Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, XXXII, pp. 1409–1419.

[8] The Italian manuscripts and editions of Fortunatianus are dealt with by Sabbadini in *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 1903, pp. 286 ff. Of these Cod. Ambros. Q 35 does not contain Martianus Capella, Cod. Guarneriano 120 does not appear to contain the dialectics. All these additions are to be found in the editio princeps which however is later than Gunthorpe's copy.

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fact, that Vat. Urb. 1180 was itself a copy made for, or at least in the house of, an English collector. At the end of the codex we find the following note: 'finit. feliciter per Nicolaum Peroctum quum Firariae apud magnificum et generosissimum virum D. Gulielmum Grai esset duodevicesimumque aetatis suae annum ageret.' William Gray, Bishop of Ely, belonged to the same group of Balliol men who went to Italy about the middle of the fifteenth century as Gunthorpe and like him studied under the famous Guarino in Ferrara[1]. Perotti was born in 1430; so his copy was taken about 1451, and it is probable that the Bodleian copy was made about the same time, either from Perotti's or from a common original, which however does not seem to be extant. Of course this supposition could only be proved definitely by a careful comparison of the two manuscripts.

MARIE SCHÜTT.

HAMBURG.

THE SOURCE OF 'OTHELLO,' Act III, Sc. iii, ll. 157–161.

> Who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;
> 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
> But he that filches from me my good name
> Robs me of that which not enriches him,
> And makes me poor indeed.

This passage, so illustrative of the philosophy of the old order, of feudal society, which came to an end just about the time Shakespeare wrote these lines, is by most critics regarded as sufficiently general in thought to justify an assumption of Shakespeare's having hit upon it independently and without prompting as it were. As a matter of fact, the various parallel passages quoted so far (*Prov.* xxii, 1; Wilson's *Rhetorique, On Amplification*, Gifford's *Poesie of Gillaflowers*) are not quite apposite, or at least would account only for the general idea, not for both the idea and the form. So far as I am aware (and the bibliographical aids at my disposal are rather imperfect), no one has as yet pointed out a verse contained in Lodovico Guicciardini's *Ore di ricreazione*[2]. In this work, a collection of anecdotes current in Italy during the Cinquecento, the author tells the story of a literary plagiarism, not

[1] Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Art. 'William Grey,' and Einstein, *l.c.*, pp. 19 ff.

[2] I have at my disposal only the recent edition of the *Ore di ricreazione* (a selection), in the series *Classici del Ridere*, Roma, Formiggini (1924), p. 36, No. 56.

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to say worse, committed on the poet Palla Strozzi by a friend, to whom he had confided a number of his poems in manuscript. As a man of the world, Strozzi took no other revenge than reciting in the presence of the culprit and his company the following stanza:

> Chi ruba un corno, un cavallo, un anello
> e simil cose, ha qualche discrezione
> e potrebbe chiamarsi ladroncello;
> ma quel che ruba la riputazione
> e dell' altrui fatiche si fa bello,
> si può chiamare assassino e ladrone,
> e di tanto più odio e pena è degno,
> quanto più del dover trapassa il segno.

It will be readily seen that the form of this reproof bears such an unmistakable similarity with Iago's observation in the play that a direct dependency of the one upon the other must be assumed. On the other hand, it is well to observe that the fundamental idea in the two is not quite the same. True, the *riputazione* of the Italian text *may* correspond to the English 'good name,' but in this case it certainly does not. What Strozzi (if the anecdote be authentic) meant was evidently his reputation as a poet, his fame, which his doubtful friend chose to appropriate to himself. What Iago has in mind is of course reputation in a purely ethical sense, a synonym of 'honour.' Shakespeare, then (if it was he to whom the literary borrowing is to be attributed), did not take over Guicciardini's or Strozzi's stanza *literally* but 'twisted' its real meaning, to suit the situation of the play.

Othello was composed in the opening years of the seventeenth century. The first edition of the *Ore* was published in Venice in 1545. By the year 1600 seven different editions of the work had appeared in print, all in Italian[1]. The work may therefore be said to have enjoyed considerable popularity. Copies of it were undoubtedly to be found in Elizabethan England. Whether or no Shakespeare knew Italian is as yet a moot question. If it were certain that the poet himself took over the passage from the *Ore*, the problem would be settled. Unfortunately, however, we cannot be certain of it; for it is well known that in numerous cases he utilised older plays, and it is quite possible that he found the passage under discussion in one of these, without even being aware that it was an adaptation from the Italian.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., U.S.A.

[1] Giambattista Passano, *I Novellieri italiani in prosa*, Torino, 1878, pp. 378 ff. The first French translation was not published until 1636.

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CHAPMAN, 'THE TRAGEDY OF CHABOT,' Act III, Sc. ii, ll. 147–68.

In the trial scene Chabot's speech in his own defence is interrupted by a block of prose, which the Quarto attributes to the Proctor-General. It actually disjoins a verb from its object, and makes the last thirteen lines of Chabot's defence a fragment without grammatical structure. This interpolated section should be restored to its context in the Proctor-General's indictment.

The section begins as follows (l. 147, Parrott): 'And how this great and mighty fortune has exalted him to pride is apparent.' Nothing in the context accounts for the connective or for 'this. . . fortune.' But their meaning is at once clear if they are read immediately after the section describing how Chabot gained his fortune. That ends (ll. 94–97): 'but the improvement of his estate in so few years, from a private gentleman's fortune to a great duke's revenues, might save our Sovereign therein an orator to enforce and prove faulty, even to giantism against heaven.'

With this transference the order of the Proctor-General's speech is clear:

1. Introduction: flattery of the Chancellor—ll. 2–29.
2. Offences against the King:
   (*a*) ingratitude—ll. 35–65,
   (*b*) violence done upon the royal sign-manual—ll. 67–73.
3. Offences against the subject:
   (*a*) exactions and avarice in acquiring his fortune—ll. 75–97,
   (*b*) *ostentation and pride in disposing of his fortune*—ll. 147–168.
4. Peroration summing up offences against King and subjects—ll. 99–116.

This displacement occurred in the manuscript, not in the printer's forme. It is probable that a sheet of manuscript containing the equivalent of twenty-two prose lines in Parrott's text fell out after l. 97 and was reinserted two sheets later. The two intervening sheets would contain forty-nine lines of prose and verse, four of them half-lines, and this seems reasonably exact.

I observe that Mr G. C. Macaulay marked this displacement when he reviewed Professor Parrott's edition in *M.L.R.*, vol. VI, p. 256. The place to which he proposed to restore the section was the end of the Proctor-General's speech. But the context there has nothing to account for the phrase, 'And how this great and mighty fortune.'

A. S. FERGUSON.

ABERDEEN.

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Sir Aston Cokayne and the 'Commedia dell' arte.'

The question of the influence of the Italian improvised comedy upon English drama, which has been broached from time to time, is wisely turned aside by critics who refuse to pass judgment while so little is known of the 'commedia dell' arte.' As I hope to prove shortly in a history of the 'commedia dell' arte,' with special reference to Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, this uncertainty is due to the inaccessibility, rather than to the lack, of material. Meanwhile Sir Aston Cokayne's play of *Trappolin, creduto Principe, or Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince* is an indisputable instance of the connexion between the contemporary stages.

The Prologue to the first edition of 1658 hints at its origin:

> Gallants, be't known as yet we cannot say
> To whom you are beholding for this play;
> But this our Poet hath licens'd us to tell
> Ingenious Italy hath lik'd it well:
> Yet it is no translation; for he nere
> But twice in Venice did it ever hear....

Cokayne was in Venice in the autumn of 1632 and on 11 October entered himself as a student at the University of Padua[1]. According to the verse-epistle to his son written some years later he came home by way of Rome, Naples and Paris and landed in Dover in July 1633[2]. We need not follow his other travels: it was evidently on this occasion that he was occupied with *Trappolin*, for from the Epilogue in 1658 we know that here in London

> it was not writ
> In sweet repose and fluencies of wit;
> But far remote, at Rome begun, half-made
> At Naples, at Paris the conclusion had.

The tragic theme of Cokayne's 'trage-comedy' is in abeyance to the uproarious farce of the supposition plot. Lavinio, Great Duke of Tuscany, sets out for Milan to claim Isabella Sforza as his bride, leaving in Florence the two counsellors, Machavil and Barberino, in charge of his daughter Prudentia. Once the cat is away the counsellors lose no time in wooing Flammetta, Trappolin's sweetheart. This honest fellow protests, but he is clapped into prison, and after a mock trial is summarily banished. Horatio, Prince of Savoy, who is lurking at court disguised as a servant Brunetto for love of Prudentia, is sympathetic: Mattamoros, the braggart Captain, jeers. In the wood Trappolin meets with the conjurer who scares him with an apparition of devils and provides the cloak, hat,

[1] H. F. Brown, *Inglesi e Scozzesi all' Università di Padova 1618–1765*, 1925, p. 113.
[2] *Poems*, 1658, p. 93.

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mirror, and mandrake root which will transform him into the likeness of Lavinio.

Meanwhile in the city, the Captain has overheard Prudentia offering to elope with Brunetto; he betrays her to the counsellors who imprison this 'impudent slave.' As they congratulate themselves, the Supposed Prince arrives, reproves them for banishing Trappolin, enquires after his friend Brunetto whom he embarrasses with his kindness; and rides the counsellors pick-a-back into the palace.

Lavinio and his bride come back to a city that is topsy-turvy with the wild farce of mistaken identity and contradictory orders; and, when all are worn out with confusion, the Supposed Prince brings matters to a head by using his magic root to change the real prince into the likeness of Trappolin. He has him imprisoned, even the counsellors jeer, until at last the Magician intervenes, bargains for a general pardon, discovers himself as Trappolin's natural father and marries off the lovers.

The riddling statement, 'yet it is no translation,' is explained when we find that the play of the 'Supposed Prince' was one of the favourite themes of the 'commedia dell' arte' for over a hundred years. Nine versions are still extant. Six are manuscript *scenari* preserved in the miscellanies of play-plots which were drawn up for the use of improvising players, professionals or amateurs.

1. *Il Creduto Principe.* Bib. Casanatense, Codex 4186, c. 105. From handwriting and style Broüwer[1] judges that the MS. belongs to the second half of the seventeenth century, and a note to the first *scenario* says it was acted in 1642.

2. *Il Finto Principe.* Bib. Naz. Florence, Codex Magliabech. II, i, 90. A. Bartoli, who reprinted this collection in *Scenari inediti della commedia dell' arte*, 1880, notes that although the MS. is of the eighteenth century several *scenari* are demonstrably 100 years old. There exists moreover a MS., Fondo Riccardiano 2800 in the Bib. Laurentiana, which is a duplicate copy of Bartoli's MS. attributed to the seventeenth century.

3. *Il Girello, Dramma Musicale Burlescho del Signor N.N.* Dedicated to Amicco Sinibaldi. Ronciglione, 1668; and 1674. Here the plot is worked up as an operetta.

4. *Il Nuovo Finto Principe.* Bib. Naz. Nap. XI, AA. 40, I, 11. The *Gibaldone Comico di Varii Suggetti di Comedie ed opere Bellissime* was copied in 1700 by 'Antonio Passanti detto Oratio il Calabrese, Per comando Dell' Eccmo Sigr Conte di Casamarciano.'

5. *Il Finto Principe. Ibid.* I, 48.

[1] *Rendiconti della R. Acc. de' Lincei*, 1910, Serie V, x, p. 391.

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6. *Il Finto Re. Ibid.* I, 49.

7. *Pollicinella Finto Principe.* Perugia Bib. Communale A. 20. *Selva overo Zibaldone di concetti comici, raccolti dal P. D. Placido Adriano di Lucca*, 1734, c. 278. This *scenario* corresponds most nearly to *Il Finto Re* but admits the love-motive from *Il Nuovo Finto Principe.*

8. *Il Finto Principe, Comedia non meno ridicola che honesta.* Di Don Carlo Ambrosi. In Bologna. Per il Longhi....Re-imprimatur. Provicarius S. Officij Bononiae. The only edition of this rare play which I have been able to consult is undated, but Allacci's *Drammaturgia* gives another, 'In Venezia, per il Lovisa 1729 in 12o.' Ambrosi acknowledges 'che vi ritroverai qualche senso nelle parti ridicole sopra le scene in altri tempi udite. Io non ne sono l' autore.'

9. Codex Fonds Français 9328 in the Bib. Nat. Paris contains a transcript of Gueulette's translation of the memoranda left by Domenico Biancolleli, Arlequin in France between 1661 and 1668. Among these are notes for his part in *Arlequin Cru Prince* which is no doubt the *scenario* described by Parfaict in his *Dictionnaire des Théâtres de Paris*, 1756, 'Canevas Italien en 3 actes, le Jeudi 4 juin 1716....remise le vendredi 25 novembre 1740....Cette pièce est très-ancienne, on n'en connoît point l'origine.'

Of these the first *scenario* of *Il Creduto Principe* corresponds most nearly, but not exactly, to the English *Trappolin.* Even if we had no other evidence it would be quite clear that there was no play for Cokayne to translate; he had been enjoying the performance of the professional comedians who improvised their plays from a given *scenario.*

We can come within earshot, however, by following Cokayne's *dramatis personae.* The company which he saw must have been the 'Affezionati' which consisted of:

Lavinio, a lover; Giovan Battista Fiorillo, 'Trappolino,' Isabella Chiesa who played the Queen, Prudenza who as 'prima donna' was famous for mad scenes; Fiammetta, a waiting-maid; Ricciolina, an older servant; Guazzetto, first 'Zanni'; and Maldotti, a boy.

Cokayne takes over the stage-names of the first five characters. His Captain Mattamoros could only have been Trappolino's father, Silvio Fiorillo, who was equally famous as the Spanish Captain and as a Pulcinella. If we allow for the common practice of doubling, this accounts for Cokayne's Gaoler, 'Puccannello.' The counsellors satirically renamed by Cokayne as Barberin and Machavil were generally played by Pantalone and Graziano. Isabella's husband Girolamo Chiesa played a Graziano. Hippolita, Prudenza's maid, was probably 'Ricciolina.'

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Our only source of information on the 'Affezionati' is the rare pamphlet published by Bartolomeo Cavalieri in Bologna, 1634, as *La Scena Illustrata* and quoted by Francesco Bartoli in his *Fatiche Comiche* under the names of the various actors. We know that they were well received in Venice in 1635. It was evidently not their first visit. The repertory of the 'Affezionati' is not extant but this one *scenario* at least can be salvaged.

If we except the wedding masque, there is not a single incident in Cokayne's play for which we cannot find a parallel in one or other of the Italian versions.

Taking *Il Creduto Principe* as the basis of comparison I have noted the following variations.

There were two ways of dealing with the romantic sub-plot. The commoner and more exciting was that of *Il Creduto Principe* (Casanatense) where the Princess makes love to Brunetto and is shyly but firmly refused. In her indignation she summons the counsellors and accuses the slave of daring to woo her. He is immediately imprisoned, only to be released by the supposed prince, and re-arrested by the real prince, who overhears the love-scene in which the slave, encouraged by the supposed prince, ventures to return the Princess's affection. By the more pleasing tradition, which Cokayne follows, the slave is a nobleman who has come to court disguised to be near the Princess. Unwittingly she falls in love with him, and they are betrayed by the Captain. The lover is imprisoned and is in a position for the same comic jerks. This alternative was evidently Italian for we have it again in *Il Nuovo Finto Principe*, a *scenario* which helps us out once more when Trappolin manages an effective exit by riding out on the backs of the counsellors. Policinella had the same trick in Naples.

Trappolin's flirtations with Isabella, who takes it that her new lord must be drunk, correspond to Cola's wooing of Ardelia in *Il Finto Principe* (2). Act II, Sc. vii of the same *scenario*—'Cola catches sight of his wife who mistakes him for the Prince; she implores him to pardon her husband; he promises to do so, and plays his tricks, flirting with her; she protests that she is an honest woman and escapes'—is the counterpart of the scene in which Fiammetta pleads for her banished husband and Trappolino as the Prince tempts her, making her give up shoes, stockings, gown and petticoat in earnest of her fidelity.

The impostor's last device of flinging the magic powder at Lavinio to change him into the likeness of Trappolin occurs in *Il Finto Principe* (2) and in *Il Finto Re*, and was part of Biancolelli's performance.

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The details of the scene in which the counsellors cross-examine the super-honest Trappolin, find him guilty of carrying fire-arms (that is, pistols in his purse), of pandering (because he carried letters between brothers and sisters, husbands and wives), and of bawdry (because he helped a gentleman to a sound wench), and maliciously banish him in spite of his stupid innocence, are worked out on the traditional lines. Policinella in *Il Finto Re* has his 'lazzi' of sitting on the fire-arms. The Bagattino of Ambrosi says he cannot remove his hat because his hands are tied: he kills a louse because this is the place for punishing criminals; and he has carried fire-arms—such as pokers and spits. The inventive Zanni had plenty of scope.

When Cokayne wrote the scene in which Calfs-head, Bulflesh, Mrs Fine and Whip present their pleas for the ridiculous judgments of the supposed prince, he had only to furnish topical allusions. Barne, whose son was killed by the fall of Gaffer Tiler, is to be allowed to fall off a roof on to the Tiler in revenge. Dick Whip who ran over Mrs Fine's child is to give her another. As a footnote to *Il Finto Principe* (2) Act II has: 'Qui si fa il lazzo che Cola dà audienza, vien gente con memoriali, dell' asino, della Donna pregna, del creditore e della Piazza morta.'

It is not likely that Italian comedians would consult an English play which remained unpublished until 1658, and we have only to examine the miscellanies of *scenari* to realise that the shuffling and refurbishing of old material was part of the economy of the 'commedia dell' arte.' We may claim that Cokayne was more accurate than inventive, and reconstruct from his play the *scenario* played by the 'Affezionati' in 1632.

It would not be pertinent to follow the further career of the supposed Prince. Nahum Tate, who produced a revision of Cokayne's play in 1684 as *A Duke and no Duke*, paid it a pleasant compliment, saying, 'I have but Improv'd what I would have been proud to have invented.' It struggled on into the nineteenth century worn out with being 'improved.'

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SIR WALTER SCOTT AND THE 'COMÉDIE HUMAINE.'

On November 6, 1826, Sir Walter Scott, who was in Paris with his daughter Anne, invited Fenimore Cooper to breakfast. But so many Frenchmen bounced in to discharge their compliments at the distinguished foreigners, that Scott had small chance to entertain his guest. Though there is nothing to show that the young Balzac was of the party,

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he would have been glad to meet two men whose books he greatly admired. A few years later (1840) in the *Revue Parisienne* he gave his considered opinion on the two novelists. On most counts he ranked Scott superior, but thought that the Waverley Novels contained nobody as interesting as Leatherstocking. He agreed, however, that, if Scott had had the privilege of seeing America, he might have created even Leatherstocking.

Balzac's admiration for the Waverley Novels had begun before Scott's visit to Paris, and it never ended. In 1821 he wrote to his sister that *Kenilworth* was 'la plus belle chose du monde'; and more than a score of years later he could forget his own troubles in following the adventures of Julian Peveril. 'Hier,' he wrote to Mme Hanska in February 1845, 'j'ai passé toute ma journée à lire Pévéril du Pic, pour ne pas penser[1].'

His letters show that as he worked, night after night, he often thought of his great rival. Some of Balzac's admirers, among them Zola, have been distressed or puzzled by his respect for Scott, but Balzac was proud to compare himself with the man whom he called the Homer of the modern novel. 'Dieu merci,' he wrote to Mme Hanska (December 1844), 'mes rivaux sont Molière et Walter Scott, Lesage et Voltaire, et non pas ce Paul de Kock en satin et à paillettes.' He believed that one day he would snatch the palm from Scott[2], and sometimes as he looked out of his window, to 'contempler ce Paris que je veux me soumettre un jour[3],' he contrasted, not without envy, the wealth which Scott had won with such ease and his own money difficulties. 'Si chacun de mes livres était payé comme ceux de Walter Scott, je m'en tirerais[4].' He reflected proudly that, though Scott had astonished England by making two novels a year, he himself could turn out work at twice that pace[5]. And did he need to fear comparison in point of quality? In *Les Chouans* had he not met Scott on his own ground of the historical novel, and worsted him? 'Il y a là tout Cooper et tout Walter Scott, plus une passion et un esprit qui n'est chez aucun d'eux[6].' Sometimes he compared himself not to Scott, but to characters in the Waverley Novels. As he drove ahead with his task in spite of physical and mental distress, it occurred to him that he was like Saunders Mucklebackit in *The Antiquary*, who had to mend his boat, whatever his grief for his drowned son Steenie[7]. In the bitter words of Saunders to Oldbuck he found the echo of his own mood. 'It's well wi' you gentles, that can sit in the house wi' handkerchers at your een when ye lose a friend; but the like o' us maun to our

[1] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 December 1919.
[2] *Lettres à l'Étrangère* I, p. 228.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 290.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 269.
[5] *Ibid.* I, p. 273.
[6] *Ibid.*, II. p. 246.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, p. 297.

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work again, if our hearts were beating as hard as my hammer.' At another time, when he had hoarded enough money to send a little present to Mme Hanska, he likened himself to Chrystal Croftangry, who had slaved to buy a snuffbox for his benefactor[1].

Some of Balzac's people are, like their creator, readers of Scott. Indeed, his picture of the age would not have been complete if he had not shown the vogue of the Waverley Novels. When, for instance, the young hero of *L'Envers de l'Histoire Contemporaine* reads a bare police record of royalist plots, his memories of Fergus MacIvor and Diana Vernon, actors in another and similar lost cause, transform the bald facts into glowing romance[2]. Calyste in *Béatrix* is another youthful and ardent reader. His family wish him to marry a not very exciting cousin and to settle down as a country gentleman, but Calyste longs for 'belles et folles amours.' Effie Deans, it appears, is partly to blame, for she is one of the radiant figures who has made Calyste scornful of respectable domesticity[3]. David Deans had feared his daughter's example might prove a 'stumbling-block and scandal to all tender and honest souls,' but he had hardly foreseen that it would disturb the careers of young Frenchmen. These young readers—and there are others, such as Modeste Mignon—are like Flaubert's Emma Bovary, who in her teens, under the spell of Scott, dreamed of guard-rooms and minstrels, of a white-plumed cavalier on a black horse, and of Mary Stuart[4].

Lucien Chardon in *Illusions Perdues* is not only a reader but also an imitator—'le singe de Walter Scott.' He comes up from the provinces to conquer Paris with his novel *L'Archer de Charles IX*, which is only too evidently an offspring of *Quentin Durward*, and finally disposes of the manuscript to a second-rate firm, who think they have discovered 'un Scott français[5].'

Anywhere in the vast territory of the *Comédie humaine*, in the later novels as well as in the earlier, one is likely to come upon the name of Walter Scott[6]. In his general preface Balzac salutes Scott and acknowledges his debt to the older writer, who had taught him how to portray the private life of a nation with vividness and fidelity. Even the most

[1] *Lettres à l'Étrangère*, I, p. 357.

[2] Pp. 128–9 (Calmann Lévy edition).

[3] P. 134. See also p. 303: 'Ce fier Calyste, qui jouait son rôle de seigneur comme un personnage de Walter Scott.'

[4] Other readers of Scott in the *Comédie humaine* are Joseph Bridau (*Un Ménage de Garçon*), Véronique (*Le Curé de Village*), Daniel d'Arthez (*Illusions Perdues*).

[5] *Illusions Perdues*, I, pp. 34, 52, 119, 162, 251 f., 301; II, pp. 89, 124, 197 f., 214; III, p. 164.

[6] Other English writers mentioned in the *Comédie humaine* are Shakespeare, Swift, Defoe, Richardson, Young, Sterne, 'Ossian,' Mrs Radcliffe, Maturin, Lewis, Miss Edgeworth, Crabbe, Moore, Galt, and, of course, Byron.

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casual references to Scott, scattered up and down the novels, have an interest, for they prove how easily and frequently Balzac's memory recalled scenes and portraits from the pages of 'le grand écossais.' When he would have us believe that the setting and characters in *Les Paysans* are imaginary, he claims that they exist in the same country as Ravenswood Castle, St Ronan's Well, Tillietudlem, and Gandercleuch[1]. When he preserves for us a picture of old buildings swiftly disappearing in modern Paris, he likens his rôle to that of Old Mortality[2]. When a young man in *Ursule Mirouet* endangers his prospects by infatuation for an actress, his officious friend promises to deal with the lady as Varney dealt with Amy Robsart[3]. When a colonel in *Autre Étude de Femme* is angry, his forehead is marked by a triangle, 'ou, pour mieux dire, le fer à cheval de Redgauntlet[4].' When in *César Birotteau* he mentions the lameness of Anselme Popinot, he adds: 'infirmité que le hasard a donnée à lord Byron, à Walter Scott, à M. de Talleyrand, pour ne pas décourager ceux qui en sont affligés[5].' A rejected lover in *La Muse du Département* compares his loss with Sir John Ramorny's loss of his hand in *The Fair Maid of Perth*, and an uncritical adoring lover is, of course, like Gurth with his serf's collar[6]. A faithful old servant in *La Maison Nucingen* looks after his dead master's family, and Balzac refers us to Caleb Balderstone[7]. Schmucke, the innocent German musician in *Le Cousin Pons*, is selfish in his affection for Pons, and Balzac draws a strange parallel between him and Elspat MacTavish, whose passionate and misunderstanding love leads to the death of her son Hamish[8].

Some of the references go deeper and count for more. In drawing some of his men and women, Balzac did not refuse help from Scott. The rigid and devout Abbé de Sponde in *La Vieille Fille* is, Balzac himself tells us, the Catholic counterpart to David Deans—a comparison which would not have been greatly to the taste of the earnest Cameronian[9]. Denise Tascheron in *Le Curé de Village* would not be quite what she is but for Jeanie Deans[10]. Like Jeanie, she is a staunch fearless peasant girl, loyal to her family but more loyal to her faith. Her brother, like Effie, lies in prison charged with murder, but, unlike Effie, he is guilty. The scene between him and Denise after his condemnation was written by a man who had felt the greatness of the similar scene in the Tolbooth. Diana Vernon, 'un des rares caractères de femme pour la conception duquel Walter Scott soit sorti de ses habitudes de froideur,' was, in part, the model for Lawrence in *Une Ténébreuse Affaire*[11]. Both heroines are

[1] Note at end of *Les Paysans*.
[2] *Les Petits Bourgeois*, I, p. 2.
[3] P. 60.
[4] P. 183.
[5] P. 64.
[6] Pp. 57, 78–9, 175, 201, 239, 270.
[7] P. 45.
[8] P. 70.
[9] Pp. 164–5.
[10] P. 78.
[11] P. 50.

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skilful horsewomen, both live in a household of men, and both plot in vain for a king. The challenge presented to Balzac by some of the figures in Scott's gallery is clear from a remark in one of his letters about Conachar, the cowardly chieftain in *The Fair Maid of Perth*. 'Nobody but Scott,' Balzac says, 'would have risked doing Conachar, but he himself will go one better, and will draw a similar character on a grander scale[1].' The ambition was not fulfilled, but the passage shows Balzac's willingness to take a hint from Scott, and his eagerness to equal or surpass his teacher.

There is criticism as well as praise of Scott in the *Comédie humaine*. One of Scott's artless devices of style draws a smile from Balzac. The man who comes to sell Schmucke a tombstone would have been called by Scott, he tells us, 'the young man of tombs[2].' Perhaps Balzac is right, for it cannot be denied that Scott calls a butcher's wife 'the woman of joints and giblets,' and a cook 'the man of spits and stoves.' Scott's portrait of Louis XI did not please Balzac, and he drew the King to suit himself in *Maître Cornélius*. In the same story he pointed out, with some acidity, a mistake in Scott's topography: 'Malgré la singulière fantaisie que l'auteur de *Quentin Durward* a eue de placer le château royal de Plessis-lez-Tours sur une hauteur, il faut se résoudre à le laisser où il était à cette époque—dans un fond[3].' But Scott's really serious deficiency in Balzac's eyes was his inability to draw women. Jeanie, Effie, and Diana are approved, but few of the other ladies pass muster. Part of the blame is put upon Scott's timidity and coldness, part upon 'la prude Angleterre.' Balzac even goes so far as to say that Scott in his last years regretted having drawn Effie Deans, and Alice Bridgenorth[4].

The *Comédie humaine* has not much in the way of direct borrowing from Scott, or exact imitation. Balzac was no man's servitor. What he took he used in his own way and for his own purposes, but he never belittled or denied his obligations. When Stendhal, in a letter to Balzac, spoke of Scott as 'notre père,' we have no reason to suppose that Balzac objected[5].

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[1] *Lettres à l'Étrangère*, I, p. 316. [2] *Le Cousin Pons*, pp. 344–5. [3] P. 253.

[4] Avant-Propos to *Comédie humaine*. Blondet in *La Maison Nucingen* (p. 22) makes a similar remark.

[5] Some other references to Scott in the *Comédie humaine* are as follows: *Gambara*, p. 169; *L'Envers de l'Histoire Contemporaine*, p. 223; *Un Ménage de Garçon*, p. 143; *L'Auberge Rouge*, pp. 152, 199; *Sur Catherine de Médicis*, pp. 62, 246–7; *Les Paysans*, p. 19; *Ursule Mirouet*, pp. 20, 78; *Le Député d'Arcis*, II, p. 68; *La Vendetta*, p. 248; *La Fausse Maîtresse*, p. 40; *Pierre Grasson*, pp. 373–4; *Physiologie du Mariage*, p. 227 (reference to Clutterbuck); *La Vieille Fille*, p. 146; *Modeste Mignon*, pp. 6, 115, 240, 245.

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The Chronology of Luis de León's Lyrics.

Despite the acute and learned attempts of M. Adolphe Coster and of Professor Entwistle to date the lyrics of Fray Luis de León, it is still impossible, and will probably always remain so, to read his poems in strict chronological order. At present that order varies according to the critics as follows:

M. Coster's Chronology	Professor Entwistle's Chronology	A Third Tentative Chronology
1551–2. Profecía del Tajo.	*c.* 1560. *Elisa ya.*	*c.* 1550. *Si de mi bajo estilo.*
1553. *En el profundo.*	*c.* 1560. A un juez avaro.	1557–77. *Qué descansada vida.*
1557. *Qué descansada vida.*	1569. *La cana.*	1557. A Santiago.
1565. Las Sirenas.	*c.* 1570. Las Sirenas.	1558. Profecía.
1569–70. *La cana y alta cumbre.*	*c.* 1570. *Inspira.*	*c.* 1560. A un juez.
1570–1. *Inspira nuevo canto.*	1571. *No siempre.*	1562. *Cuando la noche oscura.*
1570–2. Noche Serena.	1571. *Virtud.*	1562. *Mil varios pensamientos.*
1571–2. *Virtud hija del cielo.*	1571. A Santiago.	*c.* 1565. *No invoco.*
1571–2. A Santiago.	1571. Profecía.	*c.* 1565. *En vano.*
1572. *Y dejas.*	1571–2. Imit. de Hor. (II, xii).	1569. *La cana.*
1573–4. *Huid contentos.*	1571–2. *En vano.*	*c.* 1570. *Qué santo.*
1573. *Virgen que el sol.*	1571–2. Qué vale.	*c.* 1570. Pindar trans.
1575. *Qué santo.*	1572. *Y dejas.*	*c.* 1570. *Elisa.*
1576. *Aquí la envidia.*	1574. *Huid contentos.*	*c.* 1570. Las Sirenas.
1576–7. *No siempre es poderosa.*	1575. Del Bembo.	*c.* 1570. Inspira.
1577. *O ya seguro puerto.*	1575. *Virgen.*	*c.* 1570. *Virgen muy más.*
1577. *El aire se serena.*	1575. Pindar trans.	1571. Imit. de Hor. (II, xii).
1577–80. *Qué vale cuanto vee.*	1575. *Qué santo.*	1571. *Virtud.*
1577–8. *Recoge ya.*	1576–7. *Aquí.*	1572. *En el profundo.*
1577–80. *Alma región luciente.*	1577. *El aire.*	1572–6. *Y dejas.*
1577–83. *Cuando será.*	1577. *O ya seguro puerto.*	1572–6. *Huid.*
1580 or later. *En vano.*	1577. *Qué descansada.*	1572–6. *Virgen.*
	1577. Imit. del Petrarca.	1576–7. *Aquí.*
	c. 1577. Imit. de diversos.	1577. *No siempre.*
	c. 1577. Nise sonnets.	1577. *La cana.*
	1577. Noche Serena.	1577–80. Noche Serena.
	1578. *Alma región.*	1577–80. *Qué vale.*
	1578. Del mundo y su vanidad.	1577–80. *Cuando será.*
	1579. *Recoge ya.*	1577–80. *Alma región.*
	1582. *En el profundo.*	1577–80. *O ya seguro.*
		1578. Del mundo.
		1578. Sonnet, *Noche serena y clara.*
		c. 1578. Sonnet, *Cuando me paro*[1].
		c. 1580. *El aire.*
		c. 1580. *No siempre descendiendo.*
		1582. *Recoge ya.*

[1] Cp. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, p. 612: Cuando me paro a contemplar mi estado; G. G. Polo, *Diana*: Cuando me paro a ver mi bajo estado, and C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Investigações sobre sonetos*, etc. (1910), p. 33.

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The solitary gleam of comfort is that one or two dates are accepted by all critics as certain, and in some cases this can affect the date of other poems. The memory of Luis de León, reading and writing incessantly, was clearly of that kind which will fasten on a word or phrase for a time and be inclined to repeat it and then forget it. He himself declares that his memory was not good and had grown worse in prison. The repetition of a phrase in his poems may be of more importance in judging their date than similarity or identity of subject. He might treat of the life removed or the Moorish invasion of Spain or the vanity of riches or a summer storm at an interval of twenty years, whereas a repeated phrase usually denotes that the poems in which it occurs were composed within two or three years of one another. The following similarities, however trivial in themselves, are therefore worth noting:

(1) fabricado del sabio moro (*Qué descansada vida*).
labrada...del sabio moro (Imitación del Petrarca).

(2) de innumerables luces adornado (Noche Serena).
de innumerables huestes rodeada (A Santiago).

(3) el sanguinoso Marte airado (Noche Serena).
el fiero Marte airado (*Inspira nuevo canto*).

(4) la puesta al bebedera sabrosa miel (Las Sirenas).
sabrosa miel (*No invoco*).

(5) trabajos inmortales (Profecía del Tajo).
al inmortal cuidado (Las Sirenas).

(6) el ameno
verdor y hoja a hoja
las cimas de los arboles despoja (*Recoge ya*).
la arboleda
sin hoja, Nise, y sin verdor se queda (*No siempre descendiendo*).

(7) Que yo de un torbellino traidor acometido (*Recoge ya*).
Y viento y torbellino y lluvia fiera (*Huid contentos*).

(8) Dichoso el que, etc. (*Huid contentos*).
Dichoso el humilde estado (*Aquí*).

(9) el pueblo descreído (A Santiago).
el morisco descreído (*La cana y alta cumbre*).

(10) el humedo elemento (*Virgen que el sol*).
al frigido elemento (*Cuando la noche oscura*).

(11) la vanidad del mundanal ruido (Del Mundo).
que huye el mundanal ruido (*Qué descansada vida*).

(12) la tibia pereza
que con razon desdeño (Del Mundo).
Condeno de mi vida la tibieza (Sonnet, *Cuando me paro*).

(13) cuán roto y cuán deshecho (*En el profundo*).
roto casi el navio (*Qué descansada vida*).

14) como por vidrio transparente (*Inspira nuevo canto*).
cual sol pasa por vidrio transparente (Sonnet, Christmas 1578).

(15) cuanta pedrería
Ormuz a Portugal y Persia envia
Cf. *En Vano* and *Cuanto vale*.

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(16) el techo rico labrado (Imitación de diversos).
el dorado techo (*Qué descansada vida*).

(17) el tirano hábito (*En el profundo*).
la asida costumbre (1577).
la costumbre...cadena de hierro (*Expos. de Job* xxxix, ii, i.e. in 1591).

(18) en males no finibles (A un juez avaro).
non finiendis suppliciis (*In Eccles. Opera* I, 345, 1580).

(19) con rigor enemigo
todas las cosas entre sí pelean (Del Mundo, 1578).
(The 'omnia secundum litem fiunt' of Heraclitus.)
el alboroto y pelea universal de esta vida (*Expos. de Job* xxix, i, before 1580).

(20) Nadie de su estado está contento (Del Mundo, 1580).
Cf. *La Perfecta Casada* (i.e. before 1583).

(21) el caballo brioso (Del Mundo).
llena de brio una yegua (Cantar de Cantares i, 8).

(22) Pastor y pasto (*Alma región luciente*).
el pastor y el pasto (De los Nombres de Cristo, i.e. before 1583).

It will be seen that some of these passages (e.g. Nos. 1, 9, 11, 16, 17) support Professor Entwistle's chronology[1]. Support for the later date for *Recoge ya* might be found in the similar passage of Fray Luis de Granada's *Introducción del Simbolo de la Fé* (of which Part I appeared at Salamanca in 1582), especially when other parallel passages in the same work are considered. Certainly one might be inclined to suspect that Luis de León's opening lines are but the versification of the following passage (Granada I, iv): 'el sol, el cual así como se va desviando de nosotros, que es por la otoñada, todas las frescuras y arboledas pierden juntamente con la hoja su hermosura.' So Granada I, viii: 'Cuando corre impetuosamente contra la arena,' etc., León, *Expos. de Job* xxxviii, 8 (1590): 'quebrar tanta furia en un poco de arena,' etc.; Granada, I, iv: 'en una noche serena ver la luna llena,' León, *La Perfecta Casada* (i.e. before 1583): 'en una noche serena ver la luna llena'; but in *Expos. de Job* xxxi, 26 (i.e. in or before 1580), León has 'la luna en las noches llenas y serenas.' Similarly the words 'la costumbre quita la maravilla' (*Expos. de Job* v, 10) were written, although not published, before 'la costumbre de ver esto tantas veces nos quita la admiración' of Granada, I, iv.

The striking similarity of Granada (I, ix) and León (*Expos. de Job* xxviii, 12) is to be explained by common borrowing from Ovid, without acknowledgment by León, with acknowledgment but without naming Ovid ('como dijo aquel poeta') by Granada.

As regards the date of *Qué descansada vida* one cannot agree with Professor Entwistle in definitely fixing it in 1577, especially as he allows that it 'bears the signs of considerable rehandling, at intervals over

[1] See *Mod. Lang. Review*, January and April, 1927.

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much of Luis de León's poetic life[1].' Few will agree that this is its author's greatest as well as his best known poem or the product of his deepest emotion[2]. Menéndez y Pelayo does not even include it among the six lyrics by León which he considered the six greatest lyrics in the Spanish language. The objection that El Brocense did not print it in his edition (1574) of Garci Lasso is weakened by the fact that León was then in prison and his MSS. not accessible to his friends.

The poem as we have it certainly shows signs of having been composed at various times, before and after his imprisonment; some of it ranks with his maturest work, some of it is emphatically earlier work; the division of *miserable-mente* one would be inclined to consider mature, part of his deliberate desire to make his poetry supple and plastic. Professor Entwistle scouts the idea that the poem could have been written on the basis of another's experience; but it was the essence of Luis de León's genius that he assimilated suggestions (mainly, indeed, literary) into his own personal experience. The subject of the life removed must have been first brought before him by Horace and Garci Lasso. Twice in 1557, by the retirement of the Emperor to Yuste and by reading Sepulveda's Latin letter published in that year at Salamanca, his attention was insistently attracted to the same theme; and we may suppose that from that time he began to work at his poem in moments of leisure. One insists on the subject of Sepulveda because his treatment after he had come into collision with the Dominicans must have impressed Luis de León as an act of tyranny, and have drawn the Augustinian friar's sympathy strongly towards him in his retirement at Pozoblanco.

There is a group of poems (*Y dejas, Huid contentos, Virgen que el sol*) which stand out from other lyrics by Luis de León by virtue of what one might describe as their muted tone: they lack his usual references to concrete objects in the light of day. The shade of the prison-house was upon him as he wrote them. To this group the poem *En el profundo* belongs by its style, and one may perhaps place it in 1572. (Equally emphatically to this group does *not* belong the poem 'A todos los santos,' nor that beginning *Virgen muy más*, which was probably written by León, but written before 1572.) One may perhaps imagine that the year 1562, the year of his father's death, was one of profound spiritual crisis in the life of Fray Luis. In that year he may have written the poems *Mil varios pensamientos* and *Cuando la noche oscura*, and finally renounced his father's inheritance and 'el contento, el regalo y la riqueza' to which

[1] *Mod. Lang. Review*, XXII, p. 44.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

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the poem *A La Vida Religiosa* refers, 'el miserable estado que gozaba.' The ten years mentioned in *En el profundo* would bring us to 1572; but in any case the poem has deeply imprinted on it the mark of those years of darkness 1572–76.

As to the date of 'La Profecía del Tajo,' it may seem obstinate to cling to the year 1558 when all the critics prefer 1551 or 1571 and Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal[1] gives countenance to M. Coster's date 1551–2. One can only repeat that it seems utterly impossible that this mature poem was written before 'A Santiago'; that there is no evidence that its author was at Toledo in 1551; and that it is very probable that when he incorporated his Toledo degree at Salamanca on October 31, 1558, he did so at the earliest possible opportunity, just as on October 25, 1578, he incorporated at Salamanca the degree received on October 11, 1578, at Sahagun.

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AN ENGLISH NOTE ON KLOPSTOCK AND KANT.

In *The German Tourist*[2] is to be found a lively and diverting report of Klopstock's opinion of Kant which up to now has remained unnoticed. The book consists of a detailed description of the northern towns[3] of Germany. In the midst of an account of 'the most remarkable building of Königsberg, the cathedral church[4],' is inserted a long paragraph on Kant[5] of which the shorter portion consists of the translation of Wolff's[6]

[1] *Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas.* Compilada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal. 2 vols. Madrid, 1925, 1926 (*Clásicos Castellanos*, Tomos 62 y 71): *Rodrigo, el último godo.* Vol. II, p. 46: 'habría sido escrita en 1551 o 52.'

[2] The/German Tourist:/Edited by/Prof. O. L. B. Wolff, and Dr. H. Doering./Translated by/H. E. Lloyd, Esq./illustrated with/seventeen Engravings from Drawings./By/A. G. Vickers, Esq./London:/D. Nutt, 158, Fleet Street./Berlin: A. Asher./1837. There is no copy of the original German work in the British Museum. It is not mentioned even in the lists of Wolff's and Doering's numerous works given in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* or in Brümmer's *Lexikon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Ende des* 18. *Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1884. The British Museum, however, possesses a large paper copy of Lloyd's translation (Press Mark: 790. i. 17), 8°.

[3] 'Lübeck, Hamburgh, Berlin, Marienburg, Dantzic, Königsberg' are those selected by the authors.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 190. On Kant's burial in the so-called 'Professorengewölbe' in the 'Dom- und Universitätskirche' cf. M. Kronenberg, *Kant, sein Leben und seine Lehre*, 3rd edition, Munich, 1905, p. 92.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 192–4.

[6] Oskar Ludwig Bernard Wolff, 'der erste deutsche Improvisator' (cp. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, 29 January 1826, Berlin, 1912, p. 158), was born at Altona in 1799 (cp. the note in *The German Tourist* on p. 40 in praise of Altona at the cost of Hamburg). He died in 1851 at Jena as Professor of Modern Languages and Literatures (*Allgemeine*

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and Doering's[1] views on Kant and the longer and more important one is Lloyd's[2] own addition.

Lloyd was well acquainted with Klopstock[3]. How far then is his account to be relied upon as an independent report of Klopstock's views of Kant?

Lloyd's addition is as follows (pp. 193–4):

We ourselves having made considerable proficiency in the German language, boldly resolved to attack the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, but soon gave it up, rather mortified at the result; for which, however, we were consoled[4] by the author of the Messiah, of whom we enquired[5] whether this work was considered as good German. His opinion[6] may, perhaps, be worth recording here. It was in substance as follows: 'With respect to the language[7], it certainly is not German, and, unfortunately, not only are the new

deutsche Biographie, Brümmer, *op. cit.*). In the *Encyclopädie der deutschen Nationalliteratur*, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Dr O. L. B. Wolff, Professor an der Universität zu Jena, Leipzig, 1839, vol. IV, is a short account of Kant. Wolff was interested in English literature as is to be seen from his *Hausschatz englischer Poesie*, 3rd edition, Leipzig, 1852. An English translation of one of his poems appeared in Chambers's *Edinburgh Journal*, 21 June 1845; cp. also H. Paul, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, II, 2, p. 1202, Vilmar, *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur*, 11th edition, Marburg and Leipzig, 1866, p. 265, Goedeke, *Grundriss*, X, p. 615, and Brit. Mus. catalogue.

[1] Johann Heinrich Michael Doering was born in Danzig in 1789 and died in Jena in 1862. He published in 1840 his *Danziger Bilder* (Brit. Mus. catalogue, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, and Brümmer, *op. cit.*). A poem 'from the German of Heinrich Doering' was printed in Chambers's *Edinburgh Journal*, 22 March 1845; cf. also Goedeke, *Grundriss*, III, pp. 618–19. Although on the title-page of *The German Tourist* Wolff and Doering are mentioned as joint authors, yet on p. iv of the Introduction we read: 'The author of these pages, born in the northerly part of Germany, has spent there the greater part of his youth.'

[2] Hannibal Evans Lloyd (1771–1847) was (see *D.N.B.*) the son of Henry Humphrey Evans Lloyd (1720?–1783), a distinguished officer in foreign service, and of the sister of the Chevalier de Johnstone (1719–1800?), 'assistant aide-de-camp to Prince Charles Edward' and afterwards an officer in the French service, cf. his *Memoirs of the Rebellion in* 1745 *and* 1746, 2nd edition, London, 1821. On the writings of Lloyd's father on the Seven Years' War and their French translations cp. *Dictionnaire Bibliographique*, Paris, 1824, II, p. 86. In the spring of 1800 Lloyd settled in Hamburg and in July 1813 returned to England. On his arrival he wrote a work entitled *Hamburg, or a Particular Account of the Transactions which took place in that City during the first six months of* 1813, London, 1813 (*D.N.B.*), cp. also the translator's note in *The German Tourist*, p. 15.

[3] 'He enjoyed the rare privilege of being the personal and intimate friend of the celebrated Klopstock, under whose immediate eye he translated great portions of "the Messiah" which Klopstock pronounced to be the only translation, that had come before him, of which he entirely approved' (*Gentleman's Magazine*, London, 1847, Part 2, p. 325). Lloyd's translation was not published. On Klopstock's unfavourable opinion of the English translations of the *Messiah* cp. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria* (verbatim reprint), London, 1898, p. 267.

[4] This account is to be found neither in *Klopstock's Leben* by Heinrich Doering, Weimar, 1825 (preface dated December, 1824) nor in Wolff's notice of Kant in the *Encyclopädie der deutschen Nationalliteratur*.

[5] The conversation must have taken place between 1800 (cp. above) and 1803, when Klopstock died.

[6] Klopstock wrote two epigrams against the philosophers of his time. Klopstock's *Sämmtliche Werke*, Leipzig, 1823, VII, pp. 336, 350.

[7] Here should be given Lloyd's translation of Wolff's and Doering's views of Kant (p. 192): 'Among the monuments, is one of the celebrated philosopher, Immanuel Kant, whose strange and obscure system of pure reason, as he called it, made so much noise in Germany half-a-century ago, and is now nearly forgotten. The extraordinary success of Kant's work, the enthusiasm with which it was loaded (*sic*! lauded?), and the veneration expressed for the author, appeared incomprehensible to those, who were unable even to

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terms which the author has invented, to express his new ideas, excessively obscure and barbarous[1], but even in those parts of the work, which might easily have been expressed in plain and intelligible language, he has contrived to render his meaning problematical[2]. With respect to the matter, I do not think there is much that can be properly called new[3]. He reminds me of the old school-men, whose works I studied in my younger days. On the whole I am inclined to apprehend, that his system, if rightly comprehended, would lead, not merely to deism, but, in the end, perhaps, to atheism[4], though I do not mean to say, that Kant is an atheist.' Again adverting to the obscurity of the language, Klopstock said, 'At the time, when all our young men were running mad after Kant, I lived in a certain University Town[5], where his admirers continually pestered me, endeavouring to communicate to me some portion of their enthusiasm. To get rid of them, I at length had recourse to the following device[6]. I picked out one of the most incomprehensible passages, and when-

divine the meaning of the writer, who had adopted a novel and barbarous phraseology, which was neither German, nor Latin, nor Greek, nor any other known language. It seemed contrived to render even that, which was in itself clear, abstruse, and the definitions, which ought to aid the student in comprehending the system, were involved in almost impenetrable darkness. This, instead of deterring the German literati, only excited their admiration; and as the obscure is said to be one source of the sublime, they concluded, that what they could not comprehend, must, of necessity, be sublime and this they strictly maintained.' Lloyd's account of his conversation with Klopstock is thus considerably influenced by Wolff and Doering.

[1] Dugald Stewart has also in his *Philosophical Essays*, 3rd edition, Edinburgh, 1818, p. 156 n., attacked 'the scholastic barbarism' of Kant's style. De Quincey, in his *Letters to a Young Man* (*Works*, Edinburgh, 1863, XIII, pp. 81–2; cf. also XIV, p. 84), defended Kant against Stewart. De Quincey's *Letters* were written in 1823, and before *The German Tourist* (1837).

[2] Kant's opinion of Klopstock is preserved in Borowski's *Darstellung des Lebens und Charakters Immanuel Kants*: 'Das verlorne Paradies des erstern hielt er für wahre, ganz eigentliche Poesie und setzte dabei unsern Klopstock weit unter Milton.' (*Immanuel Kant, sein Leben in Darstellungen von Zeitgenossen*, Berlin, 1912, p. 78.) There is an article on this book by De Quincey: 'The Last Days of Immanuel Kant' (*Works*, III, pp. 99–166). For further information of De Quincey's views on Kant, see his letter to the editor of *Blackwood's Magazine*, August, 1830, on 'Kant in his Miscellaneous Essays' (XII, pp. 303–355), 'System of the Heavens' (pp. 167–205), and also cp. 'Kant on National Character in relation to the sense of the Sublime and Beautiful' (*Essays of De Quincey*, London, n.d., pp. 402–12).

[3] Cp. De Quincey, *Letters to a Young Man* (*Works*, XIII, p. 92): 'It has been objected to Kant, by some critics in this country, that his doctrines are, in some instances, reproductions only of doctrines brought forward by other philosophers.' De Quincey is here referring to Dugald Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 156 n.: 'Wherever I have happened to obtain a momentary glimpse of light, I have derived it, not from Kant himself, but from my previous acquaintance with those opinions of Leibnitz, Berkeley, Hume, Reid and others, which he has endeavoured to appropriate to himself under the deep disguise of his new phraseology.' Cp. also p. 568. For a more favourable view of Kant, cp. Southey, *Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*, London, 1829, II, pp. 408–11; also Byron, *Don Juan*, canto X, stanza lx.

[4] For a similar view, see William Howitt, *German Experiences*, 3rd edition, London, 1844, pp. 89–91.

[5] As Klopstock did not leave Hamburg after 1775 for any length of time, and as Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* was not published until 1781, Lloyd must have either misunderstood Klopstock or added this graphic touch. Lloyd had however a competent knowledge of German.

[6] The 'following device' is taken from Coleridge's report of Wordsworth's notes on his conversation with Klopstock in the latter part of September, 1798 (*Biographia Literaria*, London, 1898, p. 273; also pp. 265 and 269): 'I asked him what he thought of Kant. He said his reputation was much on the decline in Germany. That for his own part he was not surprised to find it so, as the works of Kant were to him utterly incomprehensible—that he had often been pestered by the Kanteans; but was rarely in the practice of arguing with them. His practice was to produce the book, open it, and point to a passage, and beg they would explain it. This they ordinarily attempted to do by substituting their own ideas.'

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ever one of his worshippers began on his favourite subject, begged him to explain it to me. This they were all very ready to do, assuring me that such and such was the meaning. I replied, that this might be so, but there was no trace of it in the passage itself; and that if such had been Kant's meaning, he might as well have explained it in the same intelligible German that they did. By this means, I gradually obtained my object[1]. In my correspondence with Wieland[2], I told him this story, on which he wrote to me, saying, that he was tormented in the same manner, and requested me to point out the passage, which had been so successful in my case. This I did, and he afterwards informed me, that he had employed it with the same happy result[3].

Lloyd thus assisted his memory of his conversation with Klopstock on Kant by referring to the *Biographia Literaria* and De Quincey's *Letters to a Young Man*. This is not strange as Klopstock died thirty-four years before the publication of *The German Tourist*. Klopstock was however to Lloyd an 'angenehme Erinnerung.'

H. G. WARD.

LONG EATON.

[1] Lloyd has also before him De Quincey's *Letters to a Young Man*. Letter v contains an expansion (without however reference to Klopstock) of the passage quoted from the *Biographia Literaria* above.

[2] In Wordsworth's notes reproduced by Coleridge in the *Biographia Literaria*, pp. 271–2, Klopstock has as much to say about Wieland as about Kant. That Lloyd used the *Biographia Literaria* for his account of Klopstock's views of Kant has been shown. Lloyd does, however, give Wieland's later views about Kant (cp. Goethe, *Zu brüderlichem Andenken Wielands*, 1813, Goethe's *Sämmtliche Werke*, v, p. 316, Paris, 1836).

[3] For two other references in *The German Tourist* to Klopstock see pp. 43 and 72.

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REVIEWS

A Register of Bibliographies of the English Language and Literature. By Clark Sutherland Northup with Contributions by Joseph Quincy Adams and Andrew Keogh. (*Cornell Studies in English.*) New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1925. x + 507 pp. $5.00.

This is a somewhat puzzling book. It is evident that much careful and conscientious work has gone to the making of it and, so far as I have tested it, the entries appear to be accurate, but it is by no means easy to make out the plan upon which it has been compiled or the class of users for whom it is intended, and on these questions neither preface nor introduction throws any light. Examination of the book itself suggests that it was originally designed as a catalogue of all books containing bibliographies of writers of importance in English literature or of subjects pertaining to English literature—a definite and very useful aim. In the course of the work it must, however, have become apparent (1) that bibliographies of particular books often correct or supplement general bibliographies of their authors, and (2) that articles which are not in intention bibliographical often contain information which similarly corrects or supplements professed bibliographies. It became therefore necessary to extend the scheme so as to include these two classes of writing. But with this extension the scheme would at once lose definiteness and coherence, for it is hardly possible for a modern scholar to deal with the work of any author without saying something about the editions of his books or the canon of his writings. Did the compilers come to realise that the work was in danger of growing beyond all limits, of becoming in fact a general bibliography of critical comment on English literature, and decide quite suddenly—perhaps on October 1, 1924, a date mentioned in the preface—that they must make an end and print what they had collected? I cannot otherwise account for what seems to me the serious want of consistency in the treatment of various headings.

For example, under almost every author we find a reference to the bibliographies in the *D.N.B.* and *C.H.E.L.*[1]. Sometimes, however, we do not. Thus under Edmund Spenser, Jonathan Swift, Charles Dickens and W. M. Thackeray, there is no reference to the *D.N.B.*, and under several nineteenth-century writers none to the *C.H.E.L.* There seems also inconsistency in the authors admitted and excluded. Surely John Foxe the martyrologist has as great a claim to count in English Literature as Charles Darwin (and more than, say, Mrs Anne Adalisa Puddicombe), and even though there may be no formal bibliography of him there are accounts of his writings in the *D.N.B.* and elsewhere.

[1] The pages given are of course those of the American edition, which, as is well known, though I have never seen any explanation of this oddly inconvenient arrangement, differ from those of the English edition.

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But the most puzzling features are the subject headings. One can easily understand the need for some of these such as 'General' and 'Drama,' though it is less apparent why certain books, such as Arber's *Stationers' Register* and the continuation, appear under *both* these headings, whereas they do not appear under Fiction or Poetry, though they equally include books of these classes. But what can possibly be the use of a heading 'Reformation' containing seven entries of which four consist of Arber's *English Scholar's Library*, and the catalogues of English Books to 1640 in the British Museum, John Rylands and the Cambridge University Libraries?

Lastly the compilers seem to have somehow involved themselves in the common confusion of 'bibliographies' in the sense of lists of books and 'bibliography' in the sense of the history of the craft of book-production. Otherwise it is difficult to see why they have included a vast number of books and articles concerning printing and allied subjects, which are in no sense bibliographies at all. For example, the Bibliographical Society's Dictionaries of Printers and Booksellers are simply biographical dictionaries of persons engaged in a particular trade. The fact that this trade happened to be concerned with books does not make the dictionaries into bibliographies. Even less reason is there for including such purely 'bibliographical' work as Mr D. H. Updike's *Printing Types* or my own book on *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*. A Bibliography of Bibliography would be a very useful work, but it was a mistake to try to include it in the volume before us, where it can only confuse students who consult the book for its ostensible purpose.

But in spite of flaws due, I think, to imperfect coordination in the work, perhaps even to different conceptions of it in the minds of the compilers, the book will undoubtedly be a useful one, though its usefulness will probably be more as a book of reference for the verification of dates, titles, etc. of works already known to those who consult it than for the purpose for which it seems to have been originally planned, namely the discovery of unknown sources of information.

R. B. McKerrow.

London.

Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens. By Margaret Schlauch. New York: Columbia University Press. 1927. x + 142 pp.

This elaborate investigation is not, and does not profess to be, in any strict sense a contribution to Chaucer scholarship. It scarcely touches his handling of the Constance story. But it is a real and important contribution to the understanding of the widely ramifying cycle of stories of which the *Man of Law's Tale* is the best known. The situation of the 'accused queen'—which twice befalls Constance in the tale, constantly recurs in folk-tale as well as in romance, and the answers to the question 'Who accused them, and of what were they accused?' lead us, under Miss Schlauch's capable guidance, through haunts of legend and story all over the world, and, what is of more moment still, throw much

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light upon the evolution of the more modern and rational from the more primitive and mythical type of tale at large. We see, for instance, how the accusation of infidelity belongs to a later stratum; dig a little deeper, and the accused queen's crime is to have given birth to a serpent, a dog, or a bird. Similarly, accusation by a 'villain,' unconnected with the family (like Iago or Iachimo) is a modern trait; the accuser in the folk-lore tale is regularly either the father or the mother-in-law. Tracing with great skill and learning the bearing of this transition upon the evolution of custom, Miss Schlauch connects both these accusers with primeval customs of matriarchy. Carrying further a suggestion of Sir James Frazer, she finds in the father's persecution of his daughter, as in the recurring stories of paternal incest, a result of the law which made inheritance derive from the woman. The 'accused queen' endangered her mother-in-law's, and still more her father's, ascendancy in the family. But, with the judicious caution characteristic of the whole book, Miss Schlauch refuses to conclude that matriarchy, though it aptly explains this group of tales, was a universal characteristic of primitive society.

C. H. HERFORD.

OXFORD.

The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576–1606). Edited by HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1927. lxx + 299 pp. 31*s.* 6*d.*

The Life and Poems of Richard Edwards. By LEICESTER BRADNER. (*Yale Studies in English*, LXXIV.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1927. vi + 144 pp. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Professor Hyder Rollins has added vastly to our many obligations to him by this monumental edition of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*. The main part of the work is an annotated reprint of the first edition of 1576 and of the poems added to the collection in 1578, 1580 and 1585, but the editor gives us also every variant reading in the other eight extant editions down to 1606 and deals in his introduction with the variations in contents and attribution found in the different editions and with the various printers and contributors concerned in the history of the book. He discusses the literary value of the collection, and reproduces the title pages of all the nine editions. (The lost edition of 1577 is believed to have been identical with the edition of 1578.) The Harvard University Press is to be congratulated on the magnificent form in which the contents of the work are presented.

One is surprised that Professor Rollins should consider 'Yloop' a possible English name, and dismiss Malone's suggestion that it is merely 'Pooley' (rather 'Pooly') written backwards. It is true we cannot identify 'Pooly' when we have got him. But it is impossible to believe in 'Yloop.' 'Yollop' is a name found in Jas. Woodforde's *Diary* (ed. Beresford), II, pp. 58, 213, but the repeated occurrence of 'Yloop' cannot be a mere misprint. Professor Rollins' text is no doubt extremely accurate: though in Poem 7, l. 11, the original edition apparently has

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'tales,' not 'rales.' The notes generally throw the light we need on difficulties in the text: the use of proverbs in particular is very richly illustrated. Occasionally we have notes that are superfluous, as when references are given to the Gospels for Christ's miracles of healing, mentioned in Poem 17. The editor's references are all by page and line, and he adopts the Malone Society's method of including titles and attributions in his numeration. This no doubt has some advantages, but one may express an old-fashioned preference for a separate numbering of the lines of each poem. In any case in the notes the page numbers should have been made to catch the eye more clearly than they do. To find a note is a matter of a little difficulty, especially as every page has two numbers and that which is more conspicuously printed—the page number of the original edition, 1–88—is not the one used for references.

I add a few running comments and queries.

Poem 21. It is surprising that Dr Rollins thinks the stanza form here and in Poem 18 is merely due to the printer and that the poem is in 'heroic couplet.' The stanzas are clearly marked by the refrain, here, and a little less clearly in Poem 18. In l. 15 of this poem, 'hidden freendship' would seem to stand for 'hidden virtue.'

Poem 23, ll. 17, 18.

> **If leue and list might neuer cope,**
> **Nor youth to runne from reasons race.**

This seems to me to illustrate the rather summary manner in which Professor Rollins deals with variant readings. On the first line he writes: 'Obviously *neuer* must (with B +) be changed to *euer*. If permission (gratification) and desire might ever strike a bargain. In B + *leue* is, also, changed to "loue".' On the second line: 'The reading of B +, *Or youth might run in reason's race* is preferable.'

It seems to me that the A readings afford a good sense and are probably sound:

> **If permission were never at variance with desire**
> **And youth never ran from the path of reason.**

Poem 25, l. 10. 'The second trappe, is grating talke, that gripes eche strangers brest.' Note: 'Probably "grating" is a misprint (caused by *greeting* below) for "prating".' I should suggest 'gracing' = pleasing, complimentary.

Poem 26, l. 14. 'My fained thoughts my frēded & my fained ruth ...shew wel I meane but to much truth.'

Professor Rollins says '*fained* in the sense of *feigned* makes no sense, for the lady is insisting on her truth....As first used, it may possibly mean "pleased".' Is there authority for 'fained' = 'pleased'? Might not 'feigned thoughts, feigned ruth' mean 'thoughts and pity for you in some imaginary situation'?

Poem 27, last line.

> crawling care that carkes my brest
> Tyll hop or death shall breede my rest.

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R.: 'Read *hope of death*, with D +.' Perhaps better, '*hop't for death*.'
Poem 30, l. 1.

> Fraud is the front of Fortune past all recouerie
> I stayles stand.

(changed in B + to 'Framed in the front of forlorn hope past all recovery...') Rollins suggests 'Fraud is the front of forlorn hope past all recovery.' I should suggest: 'Froward is the front of Fortune [now] past all recovery.'

Poem 31, l. 15. 'The blindest man right soone that by good Fortune guided is.' Rollins, probably rightly, considers this line a complete sentence and would read 'The blindest runs right soone....' Query, 'The blindest may right seen that....'

Poem 48, ll. 25, 27.

> These heeres of age are messengers,...
> Thei be of death the harbingers.

Cp. *Edw. III*, iv, iv, 125: these milkwhite messengers of time.

Poem 51, l. 35. 'their.' R. suggests 'the' or 'his.' Better, 'theis.'

Poem 54, l. 13. 'floud.' For the rime's sake, 'sea' would be better.

Poem 55. The letter 'B' is pronounced 'bay.'

Poem 57, ll. 7–9.

> The Godds by Musick hath their praie, the foule therein doth ioye,
> A Dolphin saved from death...Arion.

The note runs: 'In *HI* the reading is *their prey, the fish*, etc. which restores the octameter movement. Undoubtedly however in place of *praie* and *foule* we should read *praise* and *soul*.' The metre is thus left imperfect, and while *praise* is probably right, I see no reason for *the soul* as against *the fish, the foule*.

Poem 58, ll. 31, 32.

> And if where Circes now doeth dwell,
> You wisht you witt aduise, to learne.

Note: '*Wisht* evidently should be...*wish*, and *you witt* should be *your witt*.' The result is hardly satisfactory. Query, 'You wish to witt; aduise to learne.'

Poem 63, l. 7. 'Shall now disdaine the dragg of death, direct and leade the waie.' Perhaps 'dragg,' properly 'harrow,' comes to mean 'hearse.' 'Shall disdain direct the hearse of death?' There is no note.

Poem 68, l. 10. 'by the eare.' Note: 'The metre would be benefited by the omission of *the*.' Surely 'the' is elided.

Poem 71. The title seems inappropriate.

Poem 77, ll. 10, 18 and 26. 'And syng *Bis* woe worthe on me.' Note explains *Bis* as a direction to repeat 'woe worthe.' In other places, however, it *follows* the words that are to be repeated.

Poem 84.

> I smile to shade my bitter spight
> As Haniball that sawe in sight
> His countrey soile with Carthage toune
> By Romaine force defaced doune.

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Dr Rollins merely remarks that Carthage was destroyed some 37 years after Hannibal's death and that perhaps the poet did not intend his words to be taken literally. He overlooks the story (to which I have been referred by Professor E. Bensly) told in Livy xxx, cap. xliv and in Erasmus' *Apophthegmata*, v, Annibal, xxxi. The occasion of Hannibal's laughter was the first demand for payment made by the Romans after their victory of Zama and the conclusion of peace.

Poem 85, ll. 1, 2.

> Even as the waxe doeth melt, or dewe consume awaie,
> Before y^e^ Sonne, so I behold through careful thoughts decaie.

Note: 'so I behold (my own) decay etc.' Better, probably, to take 'behold' as = 'lo,' interjectional.

Poem 87. We should perhaps read 'Of wearie woe enwrapped in the shroud' (l. 9), and 'aparte' for 'in parte' (l. 13).

Poem 88, l. 3. For 'then' read 'them.'

Poem 89, l. 11. 'Fewe' should perhaps be 'Feare.'

Poem 91, l. 16. A short line.

Poem 118, ll. 32, 33.

> The Thunderboltes the lofty towers tare,
> The lightning flashe consumes the house of Reede.

Is Reede here a proper name, and is there some allusion to the destruction of the house of some particular rich man of this name? The will of a wealthy man William Reede of Boston, Lincs, merchant of the Staple in Calais, was proved 14 April 1509. He left sons Nicholas and Thomas.

The Paradise was stated on its first appearance to have been 'deuised, and written for the most part, by M. Edwards, sometimes of her Maiesties Chappel: the rest, by sundry learned Gentlemen etc.' Richard Edwards who died in October 1566 is best known as the author of *Damon and Pithias*, acted apparently in 1564 and published in 1571, and of the lost *Palamon and Arcite* acted at Oxford a month before Edwards' death. Dr L. Bradner has now skilfully put together what can be said of Edwards and of his writings. He points out that *The Paradise* in literary interest is inferior to its predecessor *Tottel's Miscellany*, and his arguments that there was no edition of *Damon and Pithias* before that of 1571 and that the theatrical setting of court plays at this time was not so crude as has been maintained appear to be sound. He reprints the poems attributed to Edwards in the various editions of *The Paradise*, some of them in a slightly different text from that given by Professor Rollins as the editions of 1580, 1585 and 1590 were not accessible to him. He adds five poems attributed to 'R. E.' in MS. Cotton. Titus. A. xxiv, and the Songs from *Damon and Pithias*. His dissertation is a pleasant piece of work which shows critical ability. He seems on p. 30, however, not aware that the grant of administration which he prints is of the ordinary form ('commisi' should of course be 'commissio'), that there was no 'full text' describing Edwards' 'bona jura et credita,' and that the issue of the grant implies that Edwards left no will. I wonder if

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'Gwyn' in the grant should be 'Owyn.' Edwards would then have left two sons and two daughters. Baldwin's letter on p. 33 is copied from Feuillerat somewhat carelessly: 'Comedie' for instance should be 'Comodie,' 'your worship' 'your mastership,' 'some' 'sum,' 'the worlde' 'the hole worlde,' 'heures' 'houres,' 'promises' 'promiseth,' 'Lawacine' 'larracine.' On p. 103, l. 9, 'famies' should be emended to 'fancies,' and on p. 109, ll. 21, 22 should perhaps read:

> Leander why do I impute
> Alas to the a blame.

On p. 127 the words *Finis M. Edwards* should follow the poem 'In Commendation of Musick.' One is surprised to read on p. 54 that 'the language of Plautus *and Terence* is...neither elegant nor refined.'

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

The Court Masque: a Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels. By ENID WELSFORD. Cambridge: University Press. 1927. xv + 434 pp. 25*s*.

Miss Welsford is primarily concerned to analyse the 'significance' of the masque, rather than to chronicle its history. But it is essential to her theme to trace the literary form to its origins, with which she regards the interpretation of its significance as closely bound up. The first and longest of the three books into which her treatise is divided is therefore historical. Here she shows commendable learning over a wide field, and a special interest in the difficult etymology of such technical or quasi-technical terms as *momerie*, *entremets*, *mystery*, and *mask* itself. The *momerie* and the *mascherata*, which she rightly, I think, regards as indistinguishable in their earlier stages, are survivals in mediæval custom from the luck-bringing household visitations of the masked and dancing revellers of pagan festivals. A long and well-documented discussion deals with the incorporation of the *momerie* in the composite fifteenth-century entertainment, particularly elaborate at the court of Burgundy, known as the *entremets*. Here it sometimes loses its characteristic luck-bringing feature, and becomes a mere disguising. There is a *lacuna*, by the way, which historians have still to face. The *entremets* is the *intromissum*, defined in a late twelfth-century or early thirteenth-century document as a supplementary course, a 'dessert' or 'banquet' for distinguished guests at a meal, *tertium ferculum, ultra id quod exhibetur familiae.* Miss Welsford's next example is of 1308, and now the *entremets* has become a device for the introduction of dancers and other entertainers. It is of pastry work on the table or of carpenters' and printers' work in the hall, and often appears between the courses, rather than at the end of them. Renaissance scholarship misunderstood, and translated *entremets* as *intermedium, intermezzo.* Incidentally, I doubt whether there is much support here, as Miss Welsford appears to suggest, for the explanation of the interlude as a play between courses. The sense of *inter* in the compound does not seem to be quite that of *intro*

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in *intromissum*. But obviously thirteenth-century examples of the development of the *entremets* and of the type of entertainment to which it belongs are to seek. The Italian *mascherata*, as described by Miss Welsford, seems to have preserved rather more of the original luck-bringing element, and thence it was introduced or restored to English court entertainments in the sixteenth century. Miss Welsford considers Henry VIII's famous mask of 1512 and the nature of the novelty ascribed to it by contemporary chroniclers in some detail. She finds its novelty in the dancing of the masquers with the spectators and its accompaniment of risky conversation. And she will not allow that this inter-dancing was a feature of the English *momerie* as far back as Richard II's *ludi* of 1377. Here I venture to join issue with her. The chronicler says: 'The prince and the lordes dansed on the one syde and the mummers on the other a great while.' She takes this to mean that the two groups danced in different parts of the hall. I take it that they danced on opposite sides as partners in a not uncommon type of country dance. The point is of some importance, since the intimacy between performers and spectators seems to me of the essence of the masque, and directly derived from the folk-custom on which it was based. The rest of Miss Welsford's first book is devoted to the French *ballet comique*, and to the Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline development of the English masque, which she thinks mainly independent of French exemplars. Under the Carolines, 'the spirit of the dance faded out of the English masque.'

The second book is one of literary criticism. Jonson's attempt to conquer the masque for poetry is compared with that of Beaujoyeulx to make it a harmony of the arts, giving the central place to the dance as a representation, not of an 'enacted story,' but of 'enacted emotion.' Whether Jonson was on the right track or not, he was ultimately defeated by the love of courtiers for the rough and tumble of the anti-masque, and by Inigo Jones's successful establishment of the supremacy of the architect. But the spirit of the masque overflowed into regular drama, stimulating the 'diffused lyricism' which Miss Welsford finds characteristic, for example, of *Lear*, as well as of more obviously romantic dramas. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, with its masque-like interweaving of fanciful and grotesque themes, and *The Tempest*, where the masque inspires Prospero's imaginative disquisition on the baseless fabric of the mundane vision, are specially studied. Nor is the relation of the masque to the poetry of Spenser and Milton forgotten. All this is very attractively handled. The third book is devoted to more abstract æsthetic speculations, perhaps a little discursive and not always mutually consistent, but full of interest and suggestion. The notions of 'mumming' or 'revelling,' of 'misrule' and of 'Hymen,' as typifying the social harmony which the politics of the masque enforce, are successively analysed. 'Misrule,' indeed, hardly found its way into the masque; the conditions of an absolutist court did not allow scope in the antimasque for the detached and mordant criticism of the French *soties*. But revelling is the basis of the masque. It is 'a rudimentary form of art, of which the

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first stirrings are seen whenever people express an emotional attitude to life by means of their own bodies.' One may comment here that the masque, in its developed form, although no doubt it had its origin in revelling, had got a long way from that origin; being, in fact, up to the point at least where the masquers mingle with the spectators, the most, and not the least, highly drilled kind of dramatic representation. Its performers, as amateurs, have none of the aggressive spontaneity of the mime; they enable an approach to the dramatist's ideal of a play acted by living puppets. If it is revelling, it is revelling which has crystallized into ritual. But to resume Miss Welsford. The reveller is not trying to escape from life. He is expressing his consciousness of living, and perhaps expressing some sense of value in living, some 'awareness of the extra meaning' over and above the obvious facts of life. Certainly this is so with the artist, who is a 'strayed reveller,' turning aside from the rout and endeavouring to give some permanence to its transient emotion.

Altogether, this is a book well worth study, both for its thoughtfulness and for its erudition. And it has the advantage of being excellently written, with a literary sense not always discernible in learned dissertations, many of whose authors do not even appear to have been taught how to digest their juxtaposed sentences into paragraphs.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

OXFORD.

Dramatic Publication in England, 1580–1640*: a Study of Conditions affecting Content and Form of Drama*. By EVELYN MAY ALBRIGHT. New York: D. C. Heath; London: H. Milford. 1927. 442 pp. 21*s*.

Miss Albright has been a little unfortunate in the history of her treatise, which is issued in the new Monograph Series of the Modern Language Association of America. It was complete after more than a decade's preparation in 1923, and in the interval before publication many detailed studies have appeared on its themes, the results of which she has only been able imperfectly to incorporate. Indeed, her main objective has become a little out of date. She desires 'to show that it is unwise to draw *a priori* conclusions as to the unauthorised nature of whole groups of plays, and that each text must be fairly judged on its own evidence, and with an understanding of the typographical ideals and practices of the time.' This, however, is now accepted doctrine, and facile generalisations as to a universal indifference of dramatists to the printing of their plays, or a universal unwillingness of acting companies to allow plays to be printed, have ceased to be worth combating. Nevertheless, Miss Albright has succeeded in collecting a great deal of interesting material on many topics relating to play publication; on the regulation of the stage; on the censorship, both in its general and in its dramatic operation; on copyright and stage right; on the sources of dramatic copy; on the methods of the printing houses; on contemporary notions of typographic accuracy. It is not all informed by the

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most rigid scholarship. Some of the statements made are rather amazing and suggest hasty transcription from imperfect notes. 'Five leading actors of the King's company, of whom Shakespeare and Heywood were members, marched in the triumphal procession when James I formally entered London, March 15, 1604.' There are three errors in this short sentence (p. 9). All the King's men, nine in number, received coronation liveries. They did not walk in the procession. Heywood was not a King's man. When Miss Albright says (p. 11) that 'in 1615 there are three traceable companies in London: Lady Elizabeth's, the Queen's Revels, and Prince Charles's,' she must have forgotten the King's and Queen's men. Edmund Tilney was not (p. 42) Sir Edmund. Herbert's memoranda certainly do not show (p. 43) that an elaborate set of Revels Accounts was begun about 1571. The Lord Chamberlain cannot have had (p. 23) the duty of licensing the theatres of London and Westminster, for there were no theatres in Westminster. A single company visiting Leicester in 1584 is turned into two (p. 49) through an imperfect analysis of a record. The assertion (p. 142) that Jonson 'left off being a recusant, and took communion at the table of Salisbury' should have offended common sense. The end of a sentence in the *Conversations* on Jonson's conversion has been linked to the beginning of one on a distinct incident in Salisbury's house. These are only a few samples. Others are sheer misprints, such as *leve out histrionicum* (p. 28) and *primate* for *priuate* (p. 367). It was an 'anuity,' not an 'amity,' that was to be offered to Tilney (p. 55); perhaps a minim misprint. Two of Collier's forgeries are accepted without comment (pp. 174, 182). I do not think that Miss Albright is a very safe guide, without verification, on points of stage history. In the field of bibliography she moves more easily. She has a good deal that is interesting to say on such topics as the psychology of compositors and press correctors, the use of 'proofs,' the doubtful evidence for any practice of composition from dictation. And she deals fully with the trend of censorship as disclosed by extant censored manuscripts, and the attitude of Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights to politics. Perhaps, like other ingenious students, she is inclined to see 'topical' references too easily. She even accepts Miss Rickert's theory that Bottom is James of Scotland; nor does she help matters much by the random speculation that it might 'at some future date appear that Fletcher was already in Shakespeare's company, and that this was the play for which King James heard the rumour that he was hanged.' James was Fletcher's patron. I think she establishes the case that actors were not so much concerned to prevent the printing of plays altogether as to secure that their plays should be printed when and by whom they thought proper, and not at the fancy of unauthorised stationers. She is sceptical about the production of 'surreptitious' versions by a process of memorisation; perhaps a study of Dr Greg's book on *Alcazar and Orlando* may somewhat modify her views. There is some force in her criticism that the part of the Host in the *Merry Wives* Quarto is not so well rendered as one might expect if the actor of that part was the memoriser. I invite her to consider the possibilities of memorisation,

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not by an actor, but by a prompter. Finally, a comment is desirable on Miss Albright's theory of stage-right. She counters the usual belief that companies secured their exclusive performance of their plays by keeping a tight hold on the 'books' with a suggestion that they had a property in the acting rights enforceable under common law; and she argues that the orders by the Master of Revels in 1627 and the Lord Chamberlain in 1639, which have been supposed to establish a principle of acting rights, really presuppose it, and are merely arbitrations on doubtful property in particular plays. This seems to be very dubious. It is no more safe to assume an unrecorded common law right than to assume an unrecorded statute, and the chief evidence available, that of *Downton v. Slater* in 1598, which Miss Albright does not bring into the discussion, only appears to disclose an action for property in the physical 'book,' and not for any incorporeal rights attaching to it. It is, I think, more reasonable to suppose that, in London at least, there was normally a comity between companies which withheld them from pirating each other's 'books,' and that any formal stage right under official protection was of later development. The facts of *Malcontent* hardly tell against such a comity, since obviously the chaff in the King's men's induction about another company having an interest in it need not be taken at its face value. If you steal a play, you do not advertise it in an induction. Probably there had been an arrangement for the use of the play between the King's and the Queen's Revels. *Satiromastix* was similarly played both by the Chamberlain's and by the Paul's boys. How far the printing of a play, on the disappearance of its owners from London, affected the comity must be more speculative.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

OXFORD.

Some 'Echoes' in Elizabethan Drama of Shakespeare's 'King Henry the Fourth', Parts I and II, considered in relation to the Text of those Plays. An Experiment in Textual Criticism. By R. P. COWL. Helsingfors: Frenckellska Tryckeri; London: Elkin Mathews and Marrot. 1926. 27 pp. 2*s*.

In *The Times Literary Supplement* for 22 October 1925 Mr Cowl put forward a new principle of textual criticism with respect to Shakespeare's plays, and the present pamphlet elaborates it in a detailed study of *Henry IV*. Briefly it is that 'later Elizabethan dramatists' introduced a great number of echoes of Shakespeare into their plays, and that these echoes afford on the whole better evidence of what Shakespeare wrote than do the printed texts of his works. The theory conjures up fresh terrors for those intent on establishing the poet's text. The value of contemporary writings for the study of Shakespeare's linguistic usage happily no longer needs emphasising, and Mr Cowl presents his case with much diligence and ingenuity; but, fortunately for editors, there appears no sufficient reason to suppose either that most of the parallels adduced are in fact conscious echoes at all, or that those that are can claim any

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particular textual authority. When Shakespeare wrote 'princes, flesh'd with conquest', he was using a quite common expression, which surely does not need the supposed 'echo' from *Lingua*, 'Conquest hath so flesh'd them', to defend it from Capell's emendation 'flush'd'. When the text has 'you elf-skin, you dried neat's tongue', it may, of course, be offering us a misprint of 'eel-skin'; but most critics will perhaps agree that it is more likely that Shakespeare intentionally varied the expression, and that if, in writing 'that little old dried neat's tongue, that eel-skin', Field had Shakespeare's words in mind at all, he inadvertently substituted the commoner and more common-place phrase. Nor is there any reason to emend 'tallow-catch' to 'tallow-cake' because the latter term occurs in *A Larum for London*, especially as this would ill explain the misprint, and that much better emendations are available.

The theory of 'echoes' has of course been exploited with some justification and success by at least a certain school of classical critics, but it would be very venturesome to argue from works produced to be read by a relatively small and literary public to the very different conditions of the London stage.

W. W. Greg.

London.

Ben Jonson. Edited by C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson. Vol. III. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927. xv + 608 pp., with thirteen facsimiles. 21*s*.

This first instalment of the text of the Herford and Simpson edition of Jonson's works includes four plays only, *A Tale of a Tub*, *The Case is Altered*, *Every Man in his Humour*, and *Every Man out of his Humour*, but of *Every Man In* both versions are of course printed in full. Each piece is prefaced by a short textual introduction, and full collations are given at the foot of the page, but all exegetical matter is reserved for future volumes. There is also an excellent note on the Vaughan portrait, but unfortunately the reproduction of the same that serves as frontispiece is inferior. A few oversights that I have noticed will no doubt be rectified when opportunity occurs. On one point of interpretation I venture to differ. In the quarto text of *Every Man Out* Fallace exclaims: 'By the Bible of heauen (beast that I am to say it) I haue not one friend i' the world besides my husband'. In the folio this was altered to: 'By the faith of a Gentlewoman', etc. Jonson is taken to task for blunting the point of the outburst by mincing the oath. But in my own mind I feel quite sure that the parenthesis refers not to the oath at all but to the complaint that follows. Mr Simpson's name is sufficient guarantee of the accuracy of the text, and the collations of *Every Man Out* in particular are a marvel of minuteness.

W. W. Greg.

London.

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Eastward Hoe. Edited by JULIA HAMLET HARRIS. (*Yale Studies in English*, LXXIII.) New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1926. lx + 186 pp. 8*s.* 6*d.*

This is an elaborately annotated edition of the play by Chapman, Jonson, and Marston, in which the sources of the plot are traced, and the distribution of authorship fully discussed.

With Professor Harris's account of the stage-history I entirely disagree. It seems inconceivable that the play should have been performed without due licence: such defiance of authority would have led to much more serious consequences, and it would have been the actors rather than the authors who would have been primarily involved. Chapman's words to the Lord Chamberlain (Suffolk) put it beyond doubt that it was over the publication, not the acting, that trouble arose. He writes: 'Of all the oversights for which I suffer none repents me so much as that our unhappie booke was presented without your Lordshippes allowance'. He would hardly have spoken of 'our unhappie booke' if he had been referring to performances (in spite of the technical application of the term) and if 'presented' does suggest performance, his subsequent phrase 'our play so much importun'de' points unequivocally to the demand of the reading public. It would have been no business of the authors to see that the actors obtained the proper licence: moreover, had there already been trouble over the performance, the authors would have taken care that the offensive passages did not appear in print, as we know they did. In point of fact the book had been duly licensed for the press by one 'Mr. Wilson', and it is only the exaggerated deference of a petitioner that makes Chapman blame himself for not getting authority from the Lord Chamberlain himself, which would have been a quite unusual procedure. The whole trouble was indeed rather factitious, arising as it did out of a passing ill-humour of the King's, and although it was no doubt unpleasant for the authors at the time, it was no more than a storm in a tea-cup, for the play was actually performed at court less than ten years later.

No fully satisfactory account of the early editions of *Eastward Hoe* has appeared, but Miss Harris's is altogether erroneous on points of common knowledge. Her brief and inadequate section should not have been passed in a doctoral dissertation by any competent faculty. She is, however, perfectly right in supposing that the first edition was printed by G. Eld and not by V. Sims, as I appear once upon a time to have stated. The collations are not always intelligible.

W. W. GREG.

LONDON.

The Child Actors, a Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History. By H. N. HILLEBRAND. (*University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, XI, 1–2.) Urbana, Ill., 1926. 355 pp. $2.00.

The title of this work is something of a misnomer, since it deals with the children's companies only, and leaves the boy actor in the adult

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companies severely alone. But for the field actually covered it affords the most comprehensive treatment yet available, and if, as the author modestly announces, it contains not much that is new or original, that by no means implies that it is without serious value. In point of fact Mr Hillebrand prints some interesting and important original documents, including those of the Kirkham-Daniel suit, which were independently published in a recent number of *The Review of English Studies*. He is thus able to throw fresh light on the Queen's Revels at Blackfriars. Another interesting chapter describes the fortunes of that very drab affair, the King's Revels, at Whitefriars. A Chancery suit of 1623 also affords some new information respecting the Puddle Wharf theatre and shows Henslowe and Alleyn involved in the venture. Those more interested in literary history than in the details of theatrical organisation will find Chapter XI on 'Plays and Influences' repay study. The activities of the child companies, as regular theatrical organisations, fall into two well-marked periods, namely 1580–90 and 1600–16, and it is the author's thesis, which he develops with a good deal of ability, that whereas in the earlier of these the children developed a technique and acquired a distinctive repertory of their own, which made their contribution to dramatic art one of serious import, in the later they were content to ape in all things the now fully developed activities of the men's companies and themselves neither created nor inspired anything of value whatever. A lengthy bibliographical appendix discusses all the extant plays that can in any way be connected with the children's troops. It contains much that is useful and interesting along with some things that are questionable. The statement that 'The strong Catholicism' of the interlude of *Youth* 'points to the reign of Mary' is singularly unfortunate, since one of the editions was very probably printed by de Worde who died in 1535. By the way, is the suggestion (p. 273) that Jonson wrote new scenes for *The Spanish Tragedy* for the Chapel children about 1600 deliberate mischief?

W. W. Greg.

London.

The Seventeenth-Century English Essay. By Elbert N. S. Thompson. (*University of Iowa Humanistic Studies*, III, 3.) Iowa: University of Iowa Press. 1926. 149 pp. $1.50.

We have here a useful synopsis of the Essay as developed in England by Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, Dryden and a host of minor writers, of whose works it would be hard to find any account elsewhere. Mr Thompson's tone is generally cool and he does not stir enthusiasm in the reader. But there is much that is of value in his account of Bacon's sources and various other topics, one may refer particularly to the source he has found for Swift's apologue of the Spider and the Bee in the meditations of the Countess of Warwick (p. 80). In support of Mr Thompson's view (p. 43) that (1) *Essaies Politicke and Morall* 1608, (2) *Essaies Morall and Theologicall* 1609 (reprinted as *Vade Mecum* in 1629, 1631, 1638) and (3) *The Dove and the Serpent* 1614 were all written by Daniel Tuvell of

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Sidney Sussex College (Mr Thompson adds a fourth work, *Asylum Veneris* 1616, which is not accessible to me) it may be pointed out that (2) is dedicated to James Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells, late Master of Sidney, (3) to his brother Henry Montagu, afterwards Earl of Manchester, and (1) to Lady Harington of Exton whose husband was James Montagu's uncle. A writer in *Notes and Queries*, X, v, p. 461, who attributes (1) to Master [John] Tovey is clearly wrong. The British Museum attributes (1) and (2) to Tuvell, but not (3). The later history of Daniel Tuvell, not known to Mr Thompson, will be found in Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. He lived till 1660, so that he was not dead, as one might suppose, when the 1629 edition of *Vade Mecum* was brought out by 'Anonym. Musophil.'

On p. 17 Mr Thompson is wrong in saying that *The Living Librarie* (1621) is 'a direct translation of Philip Camerarius' *Meditationes Historicae*.' It is a translation of the First Century of that work from the French of S. Goulart. One doubts if Mr Thompson would have written quite as he does of Jonson's *Discoveries* if he had been acquainted with Castelain's critical edition of 1906. His suggestion that Anthony Stafford wrote *The Golden Meane* (p. 73 *n.*) was made independently in *Notes and Queries*, 26 March 1927. There are a few misprints, *Puerilis* (= *-es*) p. 14, 'patricides' p. 15, 'eliptical' p. 23, Ulrich von Hutton (= -en), 'quandry' 'Pfferkorn' (= Pfefferkorn) p. 97, 'pecasse' p. 116. Anthony Bacon is mis-styled 'Sir Anthony' (p. 23) and the Earl of Cork 'Duke of Cork' p. 77.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

The Adventures of Five Hours. By Sir Samuel Tuke. Reprinted from the folio of 1663 and the Third Impression of 1671, together with Coello's *Los Empeños de Seis Horas*. Edited by A. E. H. Swaen. Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger. 1927. liv + 262 pp.

'*Sam Tuke* sat and formally smil'd at the rest,' says the author of *The Session of the Poets*, satirically alluding to Tuke's 'Vanity'; even Pepys found him 'a little conceited.' In spite of the fact, however, that

> *Apollo* resolv'd that such a bold Bard
> Should never be grac'd with a Per'wig of Bays,

that 'Per'wig of Bays' has come to him, and in the comfortable security of this handsome edition of his solitary play he can well afford to smile indulgently on those others of his contemporaries who linger on in original quarto or in hasty reprint.

In many ways Tuke's vanity was not unwarranted. His *Adventures of Five Hours* not only had the phenomenal run of thirteen days in the seventeenth century, but, unlike many popular successes, possessed a real intrinsic interest of its own. Follies there are in it, but the follies are of the age, and Tuke has shown a true appreciation of the comic spirit and a certain skill in the wielding of dramatic dialogue. It was certainly well worth Professor Swaen's time to present this reprint of

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the original 1663 edition with the refashioned version of 1671, and, for comparison, the not easily procurable *Empeños de Seis Horas*, 'de Don Pedro Calderon,' now attributed to Antonio Coello. While Dr Swaen has not been able to add much to our already existing knowledge of Tuke's life and activities, he has conveniently gathered together in his introduction the various scattered facts and appreciations bearing on his author and has assisted in putting Tuke in his place among the Restoration wits. One might have desired a few more purely theatrical notes, but on the whole this edition is well prepared and adequate to its subject. As far as I have been able to test it, the text runs faithfully with the original, but there are occasional misprints in the body of the Introduction, none, however, of a really serious nature. In general, Dr Swaen is to be congratulated on his book, which will help still further to open up the field of Restoration drama.

ALLARDYCE NICOLL.

LONDON.

DRAGOSH PROTOPOPESCO. *Un Classique moderne: William Congreve: sa vie, son œuvre.* Paris: La vie universitaire. 1924. 436 pp.

Dr Protopopesco's study of Congreve is the work of a Roumanian on an English dramatist written in French. It is the dissertation submitted to the Sorbonne for a doctorate and suffers from that conscientious exhaustiveness which so often, and quite naturally, characterises academic theses. Professor Louis Cazamian writes an appreciative prefatory letter.

The writer examines every side of his theme with intelligent interest, and he shows himself not only a careful observer but a discriminating judge. He is well versed in the literature of his author and he is sufficiently master of his subject to criticise the critics effectively. An excellent *résumé* of the Collier controversy, which he approaches with knowledge and discrimination, is one of the most interesting parts of the book. He can digress usefully and interestingly on such bypaths as the stage sailor. Criticising Sir Edmund Gosse's statement that Ben in *Love for Love* is 'the earliest example of the stage sailor,' he points out earlier examples of this genre in Restoration drama. Incidentally one is inclined to think in this connexion of such plays as *Twelfth Night* and some of Heywood's seafaring dramas.

Dr Protopopesco has the merit of seeing that although English Restoration comedy owes much to Molière and French dramatists, it is in an English line of descent. He rightly points to the connexion with Jonsonian comedy. At the same time he might have done well, in the light of recent criticism, to lay even more stress on this important historic fact now clearly established.

It is obvious that Dr Protopopesco has read beyond the immediate limits of his subject. He knows the literary environment of his author, and he has himself gone to contemporary printed records. What is not quite so obvious is his familiarity with the theatrical circumstances of

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Congreve's work, although he names in his bibliography Professor A. Nicoll's *History of Restoration Drama*. Nor is there much sign of a realisation of the social conditions which are the foundation of Congreve's comedy.

Unfortunately the book is badly marred by excessive inaccuracy in quotation of English, and in the names of English writers and works. Mistakes occur by the dozen.

A. E. Morgan.

Hull.

German Influence in the English Romantic Period, 1788–1818. *With Special Reference to Scott, Coleridge, Shelley, and Byron.* By F. W. Stokoe. Cambridge: University Press. 1926. x + 202 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

The theme of this interesting and admirable volume is one which has attracted many students of comparative literature—too many, indeed, if we are to judge from the full bibliography appended by the author, and, above all, from the passages quoted from some previous studies of 'influences' on individual writers. There was the more need for a critical treatment such as this, which not only embodies the results of a careful investigation into the knowledge of and sympathy for German literature shown in the early Romantic period in England, but also presents a reasoned statement on the general problem of literary influence. Anyone who has studied comparative literature at all must welcome Mr Stokoe's protest against the number of irresponsible statements made in the less valuable contributions to criticism on this subject. A salutary warning, in the Preface, as to the amount of evidence required for a conclusion that there has been 'imitation' is illustrated in chs. iv and v by a careful weighing of such evidence concerning the alleged influence of *Götz von Berlichingen* on *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, and that of *Lenore* on the poems of Coleridge. The negative conclusions of the author in each of these two cases are balanced by a happy suggestion of a parallel between Tieck's *Herbstlied* and Coleridge's lyric *Glycine's Song* (ch. v, pp. 123–7), which provides a positive illustration of a critical comparison.

In a General Introduction Mr Stokoe defines the scope and limitations of his treatment. The reasons for choosing the Romantic period in England are cogent. In general, 'when a group or a society is preparing for departure in an untried direction, the pioneers of the new movement become aware of a larger fraternity than that of state and race; and this is the fructifying moment of foreign influence in literature and thought.' (p. 2); in particular, the period from 1788 to 1818 is the time when German literature first begins to be appreciated in this country, uncritical and misdirected though he often finds such appreciation to be. The choice of the year 1788 as a starting-point is justified by a consideration of the importance and the effects of Henry Mackenzie's lecture on the German Drama, given in that year (ch. ii). A critical account of this paper, summarising its merits and its defects, raises the vital point of the historical, as distinct from the literary value—that is, of the moment of occurrence, as against the intrinsic quality—of a particular document.

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The attraction of German literature, it is suggested, was felt by those 'who in England were temperamentally drawn to the shadowy boundaries of the known and what lies beyond' (p. 16). Consequently, the cruder elements of 'mystery' appealed to many readers, while it was reserved for the few to appreciate the more delicate manifestations of the Romantic spirit in Germany. Some such explanation is needed in order to make intelligible the concentration in the English periodicals on the grotesque and gruesome elements in German poetry—a perversity which brought its inevitable reaction, and was no doubt responsible for much of the distaste for German literature expressed by the greater poets and the finer critics of that age. Mr Stokoe justly maintains the value of the evidence supplied by the periodical literature of the time, which reflects—with slight variations—the trend of public taste and opinion. Ch. III is devoted to the consideration of the criticism of German literature in periodical journals, and to the propagandist activities of William Taylor and Henry Crabb Robinson. Apart from the value of the data carefully collected from the journals, the whole treatment of periodical criticism is interesting and suggestive; in particular the summary of its relation to public opinion states the case with admirable judgment: 'But though the relation is necessarily close, it is not invariable. The periodicals, for instance, will generally lag a little behind public opinion where there is a change from increase to decrease of interest or *vice versa*; though once the periodicals have discovered that, e.g., the demand for a subject is increasing, they may increase the supply beyond what is required at a given moment, and thus in a sense outrun public opinion where a change of the *rate* of interest is concerned' (p. 47). A sympathetic study of William Taylor as a critic and of Henry Crabb Robinson as a personal propagandist completes the more general part of the volume. This is succeeded by four chapters on individual poets—Scott, Coleridge, Shelley and Byron—where the author endeavours to assess the debt of each to German literature. His conclusions are mainly negative, and much of this section of the work is devoted to the refutation of certain sweeping assumptions of 'imitation' made by previous critics. In the chapter on Sir Walter Scott, the essentially external character of Scott's relations with German literature is emphasised: 'The intellectual and literary revival in Germany at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century had little meaning for him save in so far as it supplied him with materials for the study of customs and manners of past ages, or with models for their treatment in fiction.' It is for this reason that the translation of *Götz von Berlichingen* is important, and Mr Stokoe stresses it as the decisive moment of Goethe's influence on Scott's literary development, while rejecting the argument that it influenced in detail either *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* or *Marmion*.

While Scott's personal relation to German literature is found to be 'in the main uncritical and confined chiefly to a narrow range of specialised interests,' that of Coleridge is considered as speculative rather than literary. It is perhaps difficult to separate the 'purely literary' side of

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Coleridge's creative activity from the general trend of his thought and philosophy; it is evident, however, that many inexact statements have been current concerning Coleridge's 'borrowings' from German poetry, and Mr Stokoe's conclusion that 'the discernible German influence on his literary work is in general slight' is based on a very exact investigation, not only into the poetical works, but also into the correspondence, conversations and diaries bearing on the subject.

The most interesting—and, as the author shows, the only significant —impression of German poetry on Shelley is that made by *Faust*, which we might naturally suppose to be more akin to his poetic spirit than to any other in England at that time. The contrast between Shelley's impressions of Goethe and Byron's leads Mr Stokoe to remark very justly: 'It need not surprise us that direct influence from German sources is to be more surely and directly traced in Byron's works than in Shelley's: the more superficial the influence, the more obvious the forms are likely to be in which it is manifested'—a comment which at one and the same time explains the difficulties and the allurements of a study of comparative literature, and is complementary to the author's warning against the uncritical use of comparison in such study.

The book is completed by several appendices on detailed matters of interest (such as a list of 'books translated, adapted or imitated from German; parodies; and German Grammars published between 1789 and 1805'), by a general bibliography and full bibliographical notes to the various chapters, and by a useful Index.

EDNA PURDIE.

BANGOR,
N. WALES.

F. DELATTRE. *Dickens et la France.* Paris: Librairie Universitaire. 224 pp. 45 fr.

This is a scholarly amplification of a series of lectures delivered in London in 1926: the author, who holds the Chair in English Literature in the University of Lille, has kept the frank address to an audience. An adequate but purposely inexhaustive account, the book is divided into four parts, which concern Dickens's attitude towards France, French translations and criticisms, Dickens's influence on the realistic and naturalistic French novel, and Daudet ('the French Dickens') in England; there is also a section on sources and documents, comprising one-fifth of the volume. The early years of translation fall into three periods, 1838–1842 (few versions), 1847–1851 (frequent), and 1856–1864. (Messrs Hachette published an almost complete translation during the years 1857–1874, the work being practically finished in 1864.) The first period undoubtedly represented France's reaction to Dickens's early fame, but, the first translations falling flat, the experiment was not repeated until Dickens became so well-known a name that another attempt was obligatory. Since 1874 the most frequently translated works have been the Christmas Books and, a little less, *David Copperfield*, while those running to the most editions and re-issues are (in descending

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order) the Christmas Tales, *Oliver Twist*, *The Old Curiosity Shop*, and *David Copperfield*. The first important French article on Dickens was that by a great *anglicisant*, Philarète Chasles, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 March 1839. Many critics, like one in *Le Constitutionnel* of 18 January 1841, felt that 'les bouffonneries excentriques de Ch. Dickens...perdent leur piquant et leur gaîté en passant la Manche,' but they remained cautious much longer than the translators, despite the fact that as early as 29 September 1838, *La Quotidienne* had referred to Dickens as one of the three leading English novelists of the time. But to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of 1 February 1856, Taine contributed on Dickens a long article that not only caused a stir but won recognition for Dickens among even the official critics and determined the tone of the best French criticism for thirty years. Before 1870 Dickens was considered chiefly as a humanitarian novelist; after 1871 as eminently respectable. In the late 'eighties appeared the notable articles of Hennequin (1887) and Brunetière (1889). The 'nineties were 'quiet,' but in the first decade of the twentieth century, M. Téodor de Wyzewa and M. Louis Cazamian wrote some excellent criticism. Since 1910 the French have paid much more attention to his humour and fantasy, and the best articles have perhaps been those by M. Brémond, by M. Cor, and by M. Delattre himself. The section on Dickens's influence on the French novel is very interesting, and M. Delattre is especially shrewd on Daudet, France and M. Tristan Bernard. Rather less problematic is the final section, *Daudet et l'Angleterre*. Translations of Daudet into English began to appear only in the late 'seventies. From 1887 to 1890 eight books were translated by Messrs Routledge, who apparently ceded their rights to Messrs Dent in 1896. The plays have not been translated, and very few versions of the novels possess any merit, much the best being Henry James's rendering of *Port-Tarascon* (1891). The two works most often translated are *Les Lettres de mon Moulin*, five times, and—perhaps for no very creditable reason—*Sapho*, eight times. There are more than thirty school editions of Daudet, whose *Lettres de mon Moulin* run an easy first among his works. Of his English critics, a few deserve special mention: Sherard's *Life*, 1894, is valuable for its gossip; Dr Saintsbury has dealt with Daudet more than once since 1887 and always somewhat severely; Mr Arthur Symons; Sir Edmund Gosse, sympathetic and very favourable, though with serious reservations on his ultimate rank; Mr Arthur Ransome in 1913; and Joseph Conrad in 1920. Of Daudet's influence on the English novel little is said, probably because there is very little to say, except on R. L. Stevenson. Indeed, M. Delattre has handled his subject with great skill and tact, and it is not his fault that so scholarly and charming a book should be so wretchedly sewn and bound.

ERIC PARTRIDGE.

LONDON.

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R. E. Zachrisson. *English Place-Names and River-Names containing Pr.Germ. *vis, *vask*, Uppsala, 1926, 67 pp; *Six Groups of English River-Names* (in *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung*, II, 1926); *Topographical Names containing Pr.Germ. *geb* (in *Namn och Bygd*, XIV, 2, 1926); *Some Yorkshire Place-Names: Ilkley, Gilling, etc.*, (*Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets forhändlingar*, 1925–7).

In *English Place-Names and River-Names containing Pr.Germ. *vis, *vask*, Professor Zachrisson deals chiefly with river-names like Ouse and Wiske, which have generally been regarded as of British origin, and with names containing the common O.E. place-name element *wāse*, such as Alrewas, etc. He connects the three words: O.E. **wise* (oblique cases **wisan*, which became *wusan* by *a*-mutation, on analogy with which the nom. became *wuse* > *ūse* with the well-evidenced loss of O.E. *w*- before *u*), O.E. *wisc* (a Pr.Germ. *-k* derivative of **vis*) and O.E. *wāse* (from Pr.Germ. **vaison* in a different ablaut grade from **vis*) phonologically as indicated and semantically by holding with Thorpe that the root idea of **vis* and its cognates was 'to be wet.'

In *Some Yorkshire Place-Names* there are interesting discussions centring round the names Ilkley, Gilling, and the site of Bede's *Ingetlingum*, which is not, of course, identical with Gilling as was once supposed. The names of Givendale (YWR, YNR) are considered to be of different origin from Givendale (YER), though the evidence of spellings is hardly definite enough to prove this assertion. The same point is also raised in *Names containing Pr.Germ. *geb*, where the group of names Ilchester, Yeo, Yeovil, Yelden, Northill, Southill, are satisfactorily explained as containing an O.E. river-name *Gifel* (cognate with O.N. *gjǫfull*) used in the sense of 'giver (of good harvest or fish).' The Scandinavian parallels are interesting.

Professor Zachrisson suggests in *Six Groups of English River-Names* that the river-name Rye is from an O.E. *æt þǣre īge*; the sense development of 'marshland' to 'river' seems in some cases rather too remote. In this paper there are also notes on Sinnington (Yorks), Shottery (War) and Whitsun Brook (Worcs).

These four papers, therefore, deal with a large number of place-names and they are models of comparative study. The advantages of this method are many—the value of having a series of difficult names which may have something in common laid out together with full material and followed by a discussion on the common difficulty is by no means the least. In every case the results justify it. There are, however, two drawbacks.

First the author has discovered that many *-ing-* names are really geonymics and in dealing with long series of names he is somewhat blind to the fact that, although names may appear to have something in common, every suggestion should be weighed on its own merits for the individual name. To take a single example: in dealing with the series containing O.E. *wāse*, 'mud', he cites as illustrations a number of *-ing-* names such as Washingley (Hunts), Washington (Dur), Washingborough (Lincs), Washton (YNR) (*Names in *vis, *vask*, pp. 47 ff.); in

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these cases early forms have *-ss-*, and it is difficult to see how this could have arisen from O.E. *-s-* at such early periods—Washbourne (Glos), for example, invariably has *-ss-* in early eleventh-century deeds. Most of these names must therefore contain an O.E. personal name *Wassa* (*v.* Mawer, *Place-Names of Beds and Hunts*, p. 200). Whashton (YNR), explained as 'the homestead of the marsh-dwellers,' is on the upper edge of a steep hill—roads leading up to the village have gradients of 1 in 7 or even steeper—and no marsh-dwellers could ever have been found there.

The second drawback is that Professor Zachrisson often finds it necessary to discuss at length incidental details. Unfortunately these are left in the text as they occur and frequently the main issue is so encumbered with annotatory appendages as to be completely obscured. The simplest evasion of the difficulty would be to relegate them to footnotes or in the case of lengthy discussions to appendices.

A. H. Smith.

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Les Prophecies de Merlin. Edited from MS. 593 in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Rennes by Lucy Allen Paton. 2 vols. (Modern Language Association of America. Monograph Series.) New York: D. C. Heath; London: H. Milford. 1926–27. xxxix + 496 pp. and 405 pp.

All students of Arthurianism will give an enthusiastic welcome to Miss Paton's long-expected edition of the *Prophecies de Merlin*—first promised in 1913. Her work extends considerably beyond a critical edition of the text, concerning itself with a wide field of mediæval history and mediæval religious thought no less than with Arthurian legend. But, even so, we gather from the preface that these two substantial volumes must not be regarded as the full completion of her undertaking; a book on the legend of Merlin is to follow, and also an edition of the text of the Italian versions of the *Prophecies*.

The *Prophecies de Merlin* 'occupies a unique place in Arthurian literature,' inasmuch as it is an extraordinary medley of political and eschatological prophecies, religious and didactic elements, and pure Arthurian matter in the shape of romantic episodes and knightly adventures. There exist thirteen French manuscripts, the earliest of which dates from the latter part of the thirteenth century, a French edition first printed in 1498, and several varying Italian versions, of which no one 'corresponds to any of our extant French sources with sufficient accuracy to be reckoned a translation of it' (Vol. I, p. 50). The two Italian manuscripts listed by Miss Paton both belong to the fifteenth century. The earlier of these (the Parma manuscript) was written at Venice in 1402, and corresponds with the well-known *Historia di Merlino*, or *Vita di Merlino con le sue prophetie*, first printed at Venice in 1480 (o.s.), where the prophecies follow a translation of a part of the romance of Merlin into which is intercalated 'le profetie di Merlino le quali scrisse il santo romito Blasio' which are not found in the French, and which Miss Paton shows to be a

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later addition and with a different origin (Vol. II, pp. 337–342). This book appears to have been the first Arthurian work printed in Italy; exceedingly rare as it is, Miss Paton is not quite correct in stating that this edition exists in only two copies (Vol. I, p. 48); there are, I think, at least four copies known, two of which are in the British Museum. It claims to be a translation from the French into Italian by the 'magnifico messer Zorzi' and to have been written on November 20, 1379[1]. We have further the imperfect Florentine version of Paolino Pieri, edited from a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Laurenziana by Ireneo Sanesi as *La Storia di Merlino*, probably dating from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, which, however, 'in arrangement, text, and to a great extent in the details of the prophecies differs so widely from the other sources that it stands by itself' (Vol. I, p. 47). To these Italian versions Miss Paton promises to return. The Rennes manuscript, taken by her as the basis of her work, is dated 1303. This manuscript excludes the greater part of the purely romantic matter and episodes, which, however, she fully supplements with summaries and extracts from the other texts.

This Arthurian material in the *Prophecies* is in large part, as Miss Paton shows, a continuation of the *Lancelot*, and includes episodes found only in the present work (Vol. II, p. 275), but there are also elements from the *Tristan* and even more from the *Palamede*, which provided the character of Segurant le Brun, who appears as a knightly hero second only to Lancelot himself (cp. Vol. II, pp. 279 ff.). Segurant is a not unimportant figure in Italian Arthurian legend, as one of those knights of the 'Tavola Vecchia' in which Italians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries took peculiar interest; 'lo più forte combattitore che avesse lo re Uterpandragone in sua corte,' we find him, more than a hundred and seventy years old, jousting with Tristram and Lancelot in the *Tavola Ritonda*, and apparently dying of the fall which he received from the former. But they were a hefty race, these kinsmen of Galeholt le Brun. It was Segurant's uncle, Branor le Brun, as related by Rusticiano of Pisa, who—likewise long past his century—challenged and overthrew the entire Round Table, 'per sapere' (I quote the sixteenth-century Italian version) 'il poder de' cavalieri di questo tempo, e per conoscere quali erano i migliori, i vecchi o i giovani.' Miss Paton promises us a fuller treatment of the episode of the entombment of Merlin by the Lady of the Lake in a subsequent work. The version given in the *Prophecies* 'is either a composition of the author or is directly derived from a source lost to us'; probably his own invention based upon a version of the *Conte del Brait* or a source more primitive (Vol. II, pp. 298–300). In any case, it is manifest that the account of the entombment in the *Prophecies*, with the motive of the continuation of Merlin's prophetic utterances

[1] As far as my knowledge extends, the statement that it was written in Venice is peculiar to the edition of 1480. I have not seen the Florentine edition of 1485, but the subsequent editions (Venice, 1507, 1516, 1539, 1554), which I have examined, with one exception give 'in Florentia.' The internal evidence of the language seems not inconsistent with the hypothesis of a Venetian living in Tuscany. The date MCCCCLXXIX, assigned to the translation by the editions of 1539 and 1554, is clearly due to a misreading or misprinting of the Roman numerals.

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from the tomb, passed through the Italian *Vita di Merlino* to Ariosto, and was his direct source in the third canto of the *Orlando Furioso*, that magnificent episode where Bradamante learns the future history of her descendants of the House of Este.

Apart from these romantic episodes, the character and matter of the *Prophecies*, though written in French, is mainly Italian, and Miss Paton observes that 'to understand it at all we must enter into the thought and life of thirteenth-century Italy.' It purports to have been written by 'Maistre Richart d'Irlande' (the Rennes manuscript, however, does not give the name) at the command of Frederick II, and Sanesi tentatively identified him with a certain Sicilian, Riccardo, who is known to have been in the service of that Emperor. I will confess that, with my hitherto limited knowledge of the text, I had cherished the hope that Miss Paton's researches might result in proving that there was at the core of the work a genuine substratum of anticlerical prophecies, really composed for Frederick (on the well-known principle of not letting the devil have all the best tunes) as a counterblast to the Joachist predictions in the Guelf interest such as those recorded by Salimbene. But Miss Paton maintains that 'the only explanation of Maistre Richart consistent with the conditions is that he is as fictitious a person as the scenes in which he bears a part' (Vol. II, p. 335). Her minute and detailed examination of the matter of the *Prophecies* makes it clear that the work is of Venetian origin, and that it was produced in the last quarter of the thirteenth century—more precisely between 1272 and 1279—at Venice or by a Venetian. 'Through its pages the story of Venice runs like a brilliant thread' (Vol. II, p. 35), and next in importance to Venice, the city of 'les Bons Mariniers,' comes the March of Treviso, 'la Marche Amoureuse,' reduced by the tyranny of Ezzelino to become 'la Marche Doulereuse.' The chapters in which Miss Paton examines this aspect of the work are a genuine contribution to our knowledge of mediæval Italian history. Valuable though her chapter on 'Joachism in the *Prophecies*' likewise is, I am not so completely convinced by her further deduction that the author was a Franciscan. Would a Franciscan have composed such a work without a single allusion, even indirect, to the 'poverello di Dio,' the glorious patriarch of Assisi himself? I cannot follow Miss Paton in regarding the prediction in chapter cccvii ('que li regnes du ciel sera raamplis des ames qui seront sauvees et mises es sieges dont jadis fut trebuchies Lucifer et les autres anges,' Vol. I, p. 326) as a reminder of the vision of Fra Pacifico of the vacant throne in Paradise once occupied by Lucifer but now destined for St Francis (Vol. II, p. 223). Surely the allusion is simply to the well-known doctrine—found already in St Gregory the Great and more explicitly in St Thomas Aquinas —that men are assumed to the orders of the Angels to take the places of those who fell, 'in supplementum ruinae angelicae' as the Angelical Doctor puts it (*S.T.*, Pars I, q. 63, a. 9 ad 3). Dante indeed gives this as among the purposes of the creation of man: 'Dico che di tutti questi ordini si perderono alquanti tosto che furono creati, forse in numero de la decima parte; a la quale restaurare fu l'umana natura poi creata'

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(*Conv.* ii, 5–6). We have a reflection of the doctrine in art in Botticini's Assumption in the National Gallery.

Thanks to Miss Paton, we can now confidently assign the *Prophecies* to its right class in literary history. With the slightly earlier *Tresor* of Brunetto Latini, the compilation of Rusticiano da Pisa, the almost precisely contemporaneous *Chronique des Veniciens* of Martino da Canale, and the French text of the *Conti di antichi cavalieri* (which includes the account, not found elsewhere, of the childhood of Galehaut 'the haut prince'), it belongs to that body of Franco-Italian literature, works written in French by Italians, which begins to appear in the second half of the thirteenth and produced its finest fruits in the fourteenth century with the *Entrée d'Espagne* and the *Attila*. Miss Paton's book, a monument of laborious and exhaustive research, is incomparably the most important contribution to the study of Arthurianism in Italy since Ernesto Giacomo Parodi gave us his famous edition of the *Tristano Riccardiano*.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

La Formation de la doctrine classique en France. Par RENÉ BRAY. Paris: Hachette. 1927. v + 389 pp.

La Tragédie cornélienne devant la critique classique d'après la querelle de Sophonisbe. Par RENÉ BRAY. Paris: Hachette. 1927. 59 pp.

M. Bray's principal thesis is well-defined and well-planned, and it has also the virtues of sound judgment and conspicuous lucidity. There are three periods in the history of classicism, he says on his penultimate page; the first corresponds with the work of the Pléiade, the second with the formation of classical doctrine, the third with the formation of classical taste. It is with the second period only (1600–1660) that M. Bray is concerned, and he is careful to point out that by classical doctrine he means classical poetics. 'If there is a classical rhetoric, it is not the object of this study.'

It gives one confidence at the outset to find that he recognises that the classicism of the seventeenth century is opposed to and not a continuation of that of the sixteenth. In five excellent pages (22–27) he points out the vital difference between the poetical theories of Ronsard and Malherbe. In tracing the decline of Ronsard's reputation, he says that it was not rapid before 1660, and he supports this view by the testimony of various men of letters. But the bibliographical evidence tells a different story. The last edition of Ronsard for nearly two centuries was printed at Paris in 1629–1630 on poor paper and with worn type. None of the anthologies published between 1600 and 1626 contains a single one of his poems, and in the *Séjour des Muses* of 1626 the editor specially calls attention to the fact that he has included ten poems by Ronsard 'in order to show the difference between the style of the past and that of the present.' It agrees with this that Pierre Deimier's *Académie de l'Art poétique*, the doctrine of which M. Bray rightly says 'is very near to that of Malherbe,' was published as early as 1610.

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There is a good chapter on the influence of Italy (ch. III), in which it is pointed out that the chief sources of classical doctrine in France are Vida, Scaliger and Castelvetro, with the addition of the two Dutchmen, Heinsius and Vossius. Heinsius was specially popular, and his little treatise, *De Tragoediae constitutione*, 1610, was probably as well known in France as Scaliger's *Poetice*. It was chiefly through these Italians and Dutchmen that Aristotle's *Poetics* obtained a footing in France. It is evident from their references to it that neither Chapelain nor Corneille had read it in the original.

The second part of M. Bray's thesis deals with the foundations of classical doctrine. There are chapters on the aim of poetry, on genius and art, on the rules, on classic rationalism, on the imitation of nature, and on the imitation of the ancients. On these foundations Chapelain, La Mesnardière, Scudéry, and d'Aubignac built their doctrine, and their names perpetually recur in the pages of M. Bray[1], who treats them all with commendable fairness and sympathy. Against these professors, backed by Richelieu, Corneille, who had a large streak of romanticism in his composition, made a brave and not unsuccessful fight. He was, at any rate, supported by the knowledge that 'Tout Paris pour Chimène a les yeux de Rodrigue,' and when confronted with the rules he boldly declared that 'la grande règle est de plaire.' Yes, answered his opponents, but 'il faut plaire selon les règles.' And Corneille up to a certain point respected *les règles*, and when he transgressed them, found ingenious reasons for doing so.

Reason, says M. Bray at the beginning of his fourth chapter is 'the most profound and the most solid of the foundations of classical æsthetics,' and he ends it with the remark that 'classicism is the doctrine of reason.' It was as the prophet of reason that the classical theorists bowed the knee to Aristotle. In the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns Reason was alike the watchword of the 'moderns,' who were opposed to the whole spirit of poetry, and of the 'ancients,' who fought under the oriflamme of Homer and Virgil. For Reason, like other watchwords, was capable of a wide interpretation. To Chapelain and his contemporaries it meant little more than good sense; on the lips of Boileau it was sometimes almost equivalent to the Reason of Descartes, the faculty which distinguishes truth from falsehood. The imitation of Nature is also susceptible of various meanings and it has been adopted as a cry by widely different schools of art and literature. M. Bray points out that towards 1660 a new conception of Nature began to arise. There was a tendency to realism, to restrict Nature to that of average humanity and daily life, and to identify its equivalent, Truth, with what is universally admitted. But at the end of the chapter M. Bray says, 'L'art classique n'est nullement un art réaliste.' His earlier view seems to me more in accordance with facts. La Fontaine's philosophy of life is certainly

[1] M. Bray is inclined to exaggerate the importance of these self-appointed professors, all of whom come under the category of critics who had failed in literature. D'Aubignac's *La Pratique du théâtre* (1657) did not appear in a second edition till 1715, and La Mesnardière's *La Poétique* (1639) was never completed. Either of them might have sat for the portrait of Lysidas in Molière's *La Critique de l'École des Femmes*.

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that of a realist. Racine, beneath the outward decorum of his characters and the chaste beauty of his style, is essentially a realist. So is Molière and so, at least in his Third, Sixth, and Tenth Satires, is Boileau.

Closely connected with the question of Nature and Truth is the rule of *la vraisemblance* or verisimilitude, which M. Bray discusses in Part III, ch. I. The theory figures largely in Chapelain's judgment on the *Cid*, and his view that a dramatist, when dealing with history, should prefer probability to fact, shows that to some extent he realised the difference between artistic and scientific truth. Corneille, on the other hand, when more than twenty years later he wrote his *Trois Discours*, partly no doubt as a protest against the meticulous rigour of d'Aubignac's *La Pratique du théâtre*, was clearly wrong in declaring that 'the subject of a fine tragedy ought not to be probable.' In these words are summed up all the difference between Corneille and Racine. But the theory of verisimilitude lent itself to many unnecessary rules, especially to that of the twenty-four hours, which may be justified on the ground that 'concentration is essential to French tragedy' (p. 282), but not on the ground that an extension of the action would render the play improbable to the spectators. Corneille, rightly, would 'leave the duration of the action to the imagination of the spectators,' for, as Johnson says, 'time is, of all modes of existence, most obsequious to the imagination.'

The chief stickler for *les bienséances* (Part III, ch. V), or the proprieties, was La Mesnardière, and M. Bray emphasises the important part that they played in the poetics of classicism. Here again Boileau and his friends were less rigid than their predecessors. In the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns it was one of the grievances against Homer that he sinned against *les bienséances*. Nowadays one would be thankful if they were rather more respected, not only in art and literature, but in manners and morals.

I have little to say about the Fourth Part—*Les règles des genres*—of M. Bray's book. I will only note that it is as true in England as in France that 'in the eyes of many people the rule of the three unities represents the whole classical doctrine,' and that common opinion, as against Corneille and some of the theorists, agrees with the stricter classical view that the dénouement of a tragedy should not be a happy one.

I have one general criticism to make on M. Bray's thesis, and I make it with some diffidence, for it applies to nearly all French theses. They are too long. The writers pursue their researches with a diligence and thoroughness that are wholly praiseworthy; they accumulate all available evidence; but they forget that much of this evidence is mere repetition, and that not a little of it has no significance. Were they courageously to jettison everything that is unnecessary, their work would be the gainer. It would have many more readers and it would find a permanent home in private libraries. M. Bray's book is not, indeed, of inordinate length, but it might be shorter. His over-conscientiousness shows itself, for instance, in the lists of mere names, often as many as twelve in number, with which he sprinkles his pages.

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In M. Bray's secondary thesis we see theory in collision with practice. The Quarrel of *Sophonisbe* has not the importance or interest of the Quarrel of the *Cid*, for *Sophonisbe* is one of the least successful of Corneille's plays, but it serves to illustrate the limitations not only of the Abbé d'Aubignac as a critic, but of all criticism that is founded on rules. The Abbé is right in criticising the unnecessary complication of the plot, and in objecting to the heroine's love being stifled by political sentiment, but when he rebukes Corneille for lack of verisimilitude and for violation of *les bienséances* he at once reveals the pedant. As M. Bray says, Corneille 'subordinates the rules to the supreme aim of art, which is to please.' But he is none the less classical because he fails to satisfy the criticism of a Scudéry or a d'Aubignac.

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Schiller et le Romantisme français. Par EDMOND EGGLI. 2 Tomes. Paris: J. Gamber. 632 and 670 pp. 150 fr.

Professor Eggli has given us a treatise on the influence of Schiller in France which, in magnitude and thoroughness, is surely unique amongst works dealing with the influence of the poet of one nation on the literature of another. To most students, remembering the opinions of the critical authorities of the past—Sainte-Beuve at the head of them—on the comparative futility of Germany's share in French Romanticism, it will come as a shock to find that more than thirteen hundred pages can be written on the theme of Schiller in France; to learn, in fact, that no alien poet, outside the ancients, has left so many traces on the French literary mind.

With patient, indefatigable labour, which never relaxes even in those periods of temporary, if far from complete, eclipse which Schiller's reputation suffered under the classical reaction of the Monarchy and of the period of waning Romanticism after 1830, Professor Eggli registers and judges. One feels that his account of the matter must be well-nigh exhaustive. Scrutinising the field for possible omissions, I can only question tentatively whether the history of the opera might not have yielded a little more evidence of Schiller's influence on French Romanticism than Professor Eggli has put on record. He mentions (II, p. 502) *I Briganti* (1836), the text of which was based on Schiller's first drama, and the music supplied by Mercadante; and he does not, of course, forget the *Guillaume Tell* which two French playwrights, Étienne de Jouy and Hippolyte Bis, fabricated for Rossini in 1829 (I, p. 620). This 'libretto' deserves the hard things which Professor Eggli has to say of it; but its political significance—which it shares with *La Muette de Portici* (1828)—and the fact that it reverberated longer through Europe than Schiller's original drama, might have justified its being dealt with at greater length. It is to be regretted that Professor Eggli did not add a dozen to his many hundred pages and give us an index. A little book without an index may be pardonable; but to leave a large work without one is little short of a crime. A summary chronological table of the

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chief data bearing on Schiller's acclimatisation in France would also have been helpful; but I am hoping that Professor Eggli will follow the example of Professor Baldensperger in his *Goethe en France* and Professor Carré in his *Goethe en Angleterre*, by publishing a supplementary volume of bibliography.

The work opens with a judicious introduction, showing those factors in Schiller's mind and art which made him peculiarly acceptable to the French. Professor Eggli is not concerned with Schiller's own debt to France, but I welcome a hint (I, p. 44) that he proposes to supplement his study of Schiller and Diderot in the *Revue de la littérature comparée* for January 1921 with one on the more complicated question of Schiller's debt to Rousseau. The conclusion of the introduction is that Schiller by virtue of the 'Latin' qualities of his genius, which I dwelt on with perhaps too much insistence in a little book on Schiller published twenty years ago—Professor Eggli does me the honour of referring more frequently to this volume than it deserves—was particularly qualified to mediate between our 'drunken savage' and France, and to win acceptance for the Anglo-Germanic theatre; Schiller presented 'une forme moins déconcertante de technique anglo-germanique.'

The First Part of Professor Eggli's book deals with Schiller in France before and during the Revolution. Here it is largely a question of the early translations by Bonneville and Friedel, and the mediocre *mélodrame*, *Robert, Chef des Brigands* (1793), based on *Die Räuber* by the Alsatian Schwindenhammer, who exchanged his uncouth name for the more ingratiating one of Lamartelière. This play, in which Beaumarchais seems to have had some hand, enjoyed an extraordinary theatrical success, and brought Schiller the honour of citizenship in revolutionary France. For many a year afterwards its echo is audible in the Romantic literature. In fact, for the early 'germinisants' Schiller was *Die Räuber*, as Goethe was *Werther*. Moreover, in this first stage his art was indiscriminately associated with that of Shakespeare, a fact which throws an interesting sidelight on what France thought about our poet at the end of the eighteenth century. After *Die Räuber* came the turn of the other two dramas in prose, *Fiesco* and *Kabale und Liebe*; and then, as the most important adaptation of Schiller under the Directoire and the Consulat, the *Don Carlos* of Lezay-Marnésia (1799). As Romanticism gained in force France turned from *Don Carlos* to the later dramas.

The next phase of Schiller in France is associated with Benjamin Constant's *Wallstein* (1809) and Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1813). The latter work opened the sluice-gates of German influence, not merely for France, but for all Europe. A period of appreciative understanding begins; it is no longer left to questionable and irresponsible enthusiasts to belaud the German genius. Professor Eggli has much to say that is enlightening on Constant's pseudo-classic maltreatment of *Wallenstein*, and on the rôle which Madame de Staël played as a mediator between German literature and France. Perhaps a little more emphasis might have been laid on the essentially Romantic interpretation which *De l'Allemagne* offered of German literature—a consequence of Madame de

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Staël's reliance on Schlegel's guidance; for it, no doubt, facilitated the acceptance of the unromantic Schiller by a romantic generation. I note among the many interesting points which Professor Eggli discusses, that Madame de Staël's comments on *Wallenstein* are really more concerned with Constant's version than with Schiller's original play.

The longest and most important sections of Eggli's work are necessarily those dealing with the period from 1815 to 1830, to which some 560 pages are devoted. Here the outstanding events in respect of Schiller's acclimatisation in France—considerations of space prevent me following the history in its details—are the adaptation of *Maria Stuart* by Lebrun (1820), and the translation of Schiller's dramas by Barante (1821). The reader will turn, however, with most interest to Professor Eggli's estimate of the debt which the greater Romantic poets owed to Schiller. Barante's translation, he tells us, was virtually pillaged by them, no drama being left untouched (II, p. 295); and again (p. 323):

> Il n'est pas d'œuvre dramatique de Schiller qui n'ait été partiellement utilisée par les romantiques français, et à laquelle ils n'aient emprunté quelque chose: une donnée générale, une idée de scène, une situation, un mouvement de pensée ou de sentiment, un geste, un cri, un détail de couleur locale. C'est cette diffusion, cet éparpillement de l'œuvre et de l'influence de Schiller que nous voudrions rendre sensible.

Professor Eggli at this stage changes his method slightly; instead of following a strict chronological order, he deals in turn with the traces which each particular drama of Schiller's left on the writers of the time. *Die Räuber* and *Fiesco* are still effective models; but *Kabale und Liebe*, until Dumas adapted it as late as 1847, was hardly imitated at all; while *Don Carlos*, as was perhaps to be expected, stood higher in favour than *Wallenstein*. If *Maria Stuart* was not much laid under contribution, it was probably due to the continued popularity of Lebrun's version which had made it too familiar to be imitated with impunity; *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* and *Die Braut von Messina* seem to have inspired the romanticists little; but *Wilhelm Tell* they regarded as Schiller's masterpiece.

Once a literary movement has attained maturity and independence, it is difficult to define influence and to track down borrowings. Here Professor Eggli enters the domain of controversy; and here, it seems to me, his book is likely to be most vulnerable. It is true, he walks warily; more so than Parigot in his *Le Drame d'Alexandre Dumas* (1898), where imitation of Schiller was sometimes too readily inferred (cp., e.g., the present work, II, p. 336); but occasionally Eggli's suggestions of direct influence are based on too slight resemblances. One has to reckon with the fact that by the later 'twenties the Romantic technique had become largely stereotyped; similar situations were handled in the same way, and called forth similar sentiments from the characters involved; what was originally of alien origin had passed over into the common Romantic stock-in-trade. An illustrative case, where Eggli does not, of course, assume influence, is the resemblance of the dénouement of *Cromwell* to that of Schiller's second version of *Fiesco* which Hugo could not have known (II, p. 339).

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We have always been ready to admit that, of the greater Romanticists, Dumas stood deepest in the debt of Schiller (cp. II, p. 300); but it is interesting to note that Eggli gives it as his opinion (p. 391) that: 'Hugo doit à Schiller autant que Dumas, plus peut-être, étant donné l'étendue relativement moindre de son œuvre dramatique.' The influence of Schiller is most apparent on *Hernani*, but we are shown that the German poet's shadow is by no means restricted to that drama.

Although Professor Eggli calls his book 'Schiller and Romanticism,' he carries his study down to the Schiller celebrations of 1859, when Régnier's translation appeared, and even beyond, into quite modern times. When the reaction against Romanticism set in, Schiller's reputation in France underwent yet another metamorphosis: the erstwhile brother of Shakespeare was now accepted as the representative, not of dramatic licence, but of a modern classicism and an antidote to the extravagances of the French Romanticists themselves.

In spite of the enormous magnitude of his book, Professor Eggli has succeeded in maintaining its proportions: he has, above all, demonstrated the continuity of Schiller's influence, where hitherto we have only conceded a spasmodic and intermittent enthusiasm for Schiller on the part of individual writers. It may be added that in one point his work touches ourselves: it renders necessary a revision of the problems of Schiller's introduction into England; for it is, I think, apparent that our translating activity was largely stimulated by French example.

One closes this book with the inevitable reflection: how futile are attempts to co-ordinate what is called Romanticism in European literatures! Here we have a poet who, Eggli shows us, meant more for French Romanticism than any other foreign poet—more than Shakespeare—and yet a poet who always stood in strained relations with what is called Romanticism in Germany, and indeed, had very little German Romantic blood in his veins at all. If French Romanticists could draw so much inspiration from Schiller, then their brand of Romanticism could surely have been only distantly related to the movement called Romantic in Germany. German Romanticism is, in fact, one thing; French another; English still another; and Italian and Spanish, in so far as they are not merely derived from France, again another. All the resources of that 'littérature comparée' which our French colleagues have laboured so splendidly to establish, cannot evoke harmonies here. We are left with the dilemma: either the definition of Romanticism has to be so vaguely generalised that it ceases to have practical, co-ordinating value; or there are many Romanticisms, which have little or nothing tangible in common.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

Participe présent et gérondif. Par B. H. J. WEERENBECK. Nijmegen: Dekker en Van de Vegt. 1927. ii + 339 pp.

The theme which M. Weerenbeck has treated in this thesis for the Dutch doctorate might well have discouraged a less enterprising or less industrious scholar. But he has dared to dig the field over anew and has

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laid bare facts which earlier delvers had either missed or but partially revealed. M. Weerenbeck is not of the school of M. Brunot. He ranges from Plautus, via St Cyprian and Gregory of Tours, to the *Figaro* and the *Temps*, and indeed devotes to Latin almost as much attention as to French.

In his Introduction (pp. 1–19) he takes his stand as to the necessity of consulting Latin usage, both learned and popular, to explain the French phenomena which he is studying, even quoting M. Brunot in support[1], and frames the dictum: 'le gérondif est un emploi populaire qui continue, le participe un emploi savant qui se maintient.'

His first chapter, 'Participium praesens et Participe présent français,' serves to substantiate the second half of this dictum, the persistence of the use of the present participle in Low Latin and in early and Modern French. In Section I of this chapter, 'Valeur nominale du participium praesens et du participe présent,' he shows that although the participle can fulfil the function of an accessory verb clause (e.g., *quis potest, mortem metuens, esse non miser?* where *metuens* = *si metuit*) it remains none the less an attribute, adjectival as well as verbal, with a twofold function which is shared by the French present participle today. Indeed, in Latin, the tendency is for the adjectival function to predominate, and M. Weerenbeck maintains that it is the influence of the writers of Low Latin, notably the ecclesiastical writers, which prevented the participle from shedding completely its verbal quality and becoming a pure adjective like French *savant*. Drawing upon the work of scholars like Marouzeau and Bayard, he shows, in Section II, 'Valeur verbale du participium praesens latin,' how the use of the present participle with verbal function, after decaying towards the end of the Republican period, revives and flourishes with the later Latin writers and is in full vigour at the dawn of Romance literature. Armed with these facts he sets out in his third section, 'Valeur verbale du participe présent français,' to combat the theory, upheld by most Romance scholars since Diez, that the Latin present participle did not survive in the vulgar tongues, but yielded its place to the gerund: 'La présence ininterrompue, dans le latin littéraire qui a précédé le français, des formes participiales nous a donné la conviction que la forme verbale française en *-ant* ayant une fonction verbale, n'est que la continuation du participium praesens.'

He is at the outset, however, confronted with a serious difficulty. In the oldest French texts, prior to the *Roland*, the forms in *-ant*, which phonetically may be either *-antem* or *-ando*, are all invariable; morphologically and phonologically there is but a single form, be it gerund or participle. M. Weerenbeck's method of overcoming this difficulty is not particularly happy. He first attempts to justify the invariability of what he deems the participial forms on phonological and morphological grounds. His arguments are laborious and unconvincing. We follow him more readily when he asserts a syntactical justification, alleging that the sense of the morphological relationship conveyed by the parti-

[1] M. Brunot of the *Histoire de la Langue française*, not of the *La Pensée et la Langue* period.

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ciple is overshadowed in these early, popular texts by the feeling for the verbal activity which it marks. The frequent non-agreement of the past participle with a preceding direct object in popular modern French gives strong colour to this view, and we can agree that just as modern *qui* represents both Latin *qui* and *cui*, so the forms in *-ant*, even in the earliest texts, go back to forms in *-antem* and *-ando*, and retain a participial function which revives markedly in later texts of a less 'popular' stamp like the *Oxford Psalter*, whose numerous inflected forms (e.g., *Kar il saülad l'aneme vuide, e l'aneme fameillante emplid de bien; les parlanz mençunge*) M. Weerenbeck sets forth at length.

In his second chapter, 'Participe ou gérondif,' the author comes to closer grips with the theory of the extermination of the present participle by the gerund in popular Latin, held by Diez, Meyer-Lübke and others, to whom, in a phrase like *un homme portant une lettre*, *portant* is a gerund. It is admitted that in sister tongues, in Rumanian entirely, and to a lesser extent in Spanish and Italian, the gerund has, in fact, eliminated the participle. But M. Weerenbeck refuses to recognise the varying practice of these languages as decisive for French, and points to the survival of a formal distinction between the two forms in the early Provençal *Chanson de Sainte Foy* as evidence that what may be true for other areas need not be true for Gaul. We should have welcomed a more systematic presentation of the phenomena found in other Romance languages; their differences, as compared with French practice, might have been made to stand out much more clearly and effectively than they do in the author's disjointed and somewhat fragmentary treatment.

In this chapter M. Weerenbeck discusses first 'La forme verbale en *-ant* se rapportant à un complément de la phrase.' He agrees that in cases where the participle is an attribute of the subject it may readily be replaced by a gerund: *plorans dixit* and *plorando dixit* are synonymous and interchangeable, but *vidi hominem plorandum* for *plorantem* is an entirely different matter and inadmissible. Then follows a long discussion of various points of view advocated by Eugen Lerch in an article on the French present participle in *Romanische Forschungen*, XXXIII (1915). Lerch, who sees a gerund in *je la vis cueillant des fleurs*, diagnoses a verbal adjective in *une femme aimant la vertu* and would even have the Academy institute the agreement: *une femme aimante la vertu*! M. Weerenbeck rightly will have none of this and protests against the grammarian turned legislator. In an expression like *je cherche une gouvernante parlant le français* it is not *parlant* alone but *parlant le français* which is the attribute, as M. Weerenbeck states, and we would add that there is no more need for agreement than in an expression of the type *une étoffe vert-pomme*. We need not follow M. Weerenbeck in his excursion on the heels of Lerch, among the grammarians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Let it suffice to say that with reference to modern times he gives, by his examples from contemporary French (e.g. *il fallait regarder certains radicaux écoutant la lecture du communiqué ministériel*), abundant evidence of the use of the participle as an attribute with a strongly verbal colouring, whereas the rôle of the gérondif is

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essentially and fundamentally that of an adverb in close syntactical relationship with the sentence verb.

Similarly, Section II, he has no doubts as to the survival of the participle in 'absolute' constructions of the type O.F. *oiant les chevaliers* or M.F. *la grâce aidant*, which to him are continuations of Latin usage, though of learned rather than popular origin. Again, Section III, the use of the form in *-ant* with the verb *être* to form a periphrastic conjugation (e.g., *Dieu scet s'ils estoient taisanz*, Alain Chartier), so frequent down to the sixteenth century, and found in Provençal as well, is also, despite the pronouncements of Meyer-Lübke, Stimming and others, a continuance of a late Latin use of the participle with the verb 'to be' popularised by the language of the Vulgate. But, truth to tell, it is frequently no easy matter to determine with which form we have to deal. In the example from Chartier quoted above M. Weerenbeck is doubtless right, despite the Italian equivalent which would be, we take it, *stavano tacendo*, but it is a fine academic point to decide whether the phrases: *sa réputation avait été grandissant* or *sa sonorité a été s'affaiblissant* are examples of the periphrastic conjugation, as M. Weerenbeck maintains, or merely stylistic variations of the common constructions with *aller*: *sa sonorité est allée s'affaiblissant*, in which M. Weerenbeck would be constrained to recognise a gérondif.

M. Weerenbeck is obliged to admit a similar difficulty in cases when (Section IV) the form in *-ant* is an attribute of the subject of the sentence, e.g., *Grâce à ce subterfuge, les plus maladroits chasseurs, chassant la nuit, voient accourir un gibier abondant*. Is *chassant* here a participle or a gérondif? The predominance of the attributive (participle) or adverbial (gérondif) element, says M. Weerenbeck, gives us the key. But language is a subtle and evasive thing, and linguists cannot be locksmiths. Thus, in the passage from the *Roland*: *Asez est mielz que morium cumbatant, cumbatant*, we are told, is a gérondif. Had the poet, however, chanced to write *que seium cumbatant*, equally good French, *cumbatant* would have been a participle! The fact remains that the *functional* identity of the two forms which is found in Low Latin writers, where *vivendo* may be said to stand for *viventes* (e.g., *in morem animalium vivendo peccaverunt*), becomes in French a *formal* identity as well[1], and M. Weerenbeck is wise to conclude on a less dogmatic note and admit, in the closing pages of his treatise, that, despite the astute delimitations of the grammarian, there remains a No-man's-land where gerunds and participles mingle and frontier lines are obliterated.

The last chapter of his book, 'Le gerundium latin, et le gérondif français,' is of less interest to the readers of this review, devoted as it is in the main to an enquiry into the origin and function of the Latin gerund. M. Weerenbeck attaches primary importance to the Latin form in *-o*, which to him is essentially an adverb; the substantival function of the gerund and its other cases being secondary developments. Both functions exist in French: O.F. *il ne li fauront por les membres perdant*

[1] It is not impossible that the coalescing of the two forms into one in vulgar pronunciation affected in its turn the use of the forms by Low Latin writers in Gaul.

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exemplifies the substantival use; far more frequent is the adverbial form with or without *en*, which today is used almost exclusively.

M. Weerenbeck's thesis is a little laborious and ungainly in structure, and his French style is not exemplary. Expert though he is in the history and functions of the present participle, he has occasionally a use for the form (p. 251) which would make the purist wince. But when it comes to interpretation his knowledge is of the soundest, and it is very rarely indeed (e.g., pp. 312, 313) that one is tempted to differ from him in his reading of the rich stock of modern examples which he has collected.

We would add, lastly, that in addition to the new light which he has thrown upon matters of detail he has helped to illuminate further a broad principle, namely that in dealing scientifically with a Romance language the barrier which in the manuals separates the 'learned' from the 'popular' must be broken down if our view of the life of the language is to be comprehensive and complete.

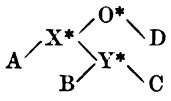
JOHN ORR.

MANCHESTER.

Priester Wernhers Maria: Bruchstücke und Umarbeitungen. Herausgegeben von CARL WESLE. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1927. lxxxviii + 324 pp. 20 M.

During the present century Wernher has been rather neglected. Practically all investigation in this field has been undertaken by Wesle, and students of medieval literature are deeply indebted to him for his latest book. We have now for the first time, collected in one volume and newly edited, all the material of Wernher's *Maria*, viz. the two 'Bearbeitungen' A and D, and the fragments of the MSS. 'der ursprünglichen Fassung' BCEFG. The texts are conveniently printed in parallel columns. As an editor Wesle is happily conservative. He prints the texts as he finds them, limiting alterations, in general, to corrections of obvious errors and to the resolution of abbreviations. It is to be regretted that Wesle has not given us facsimiles of all the MSS. The text (253 pages) is preceded by an introduction of some 80 pages, containing a description of the MSS., a full discussion of the relation of the MSS. to one another, of the language, metre and rimes, of the poet and his work. The text is followed by a rime index (36 pages) and a glossary (27 pages).

Wesle arrives at the conclusion that the relation of the MSS. ABCD to one another is:



He has not arrived at any conclusion with regard to E, F, and G.

The close relation of B and C seems clear—it is shown by common errors—and the relation of A, B and C to one another, as indicated above, seems probable, but if by O* Wernher's original work (and not a mere copy of it, unrevised by the poet) is meant there are serious difficulties

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in the way of accepting the above tree. Both F and D read (pp. 12–13) *der junger hiez Leucio/unt wart verworfen also.* Wesle remarks that Wernher 'den Namen des Manichäers *Leucius* in der Ablativform *Leucio* aufnahm.' Now it seems impossible that Wernher (together with Manegolt) could turn into German a very long Latin text, sometimes translating literally, and yet fail to recognise an ablative. The above reading is apparently fixed by the rime *Leucio* : *also*; but only apparently. It seems likely that Wernher's text read *Leucius* : *alsus* (the form *alsus* is found riming with *Jesus* in both A and D, p. 212), only Wernher used a loop-like abbreviation for *-us*, which the copyist read as *o*. We cannot suppose that the scribes of F and D both made the same mistake; thus F and D go back to a copy containing the mistake, and not to the original. Incidentally the loop abbreviation for *-us* is found in some MSS. of the poem (p. xiii).

This hypothesis of the existence of a copy with some gross errors is further supported by the following passages (p. 101):

A (1733–38)	D (1855–60)
dv solt gedenchen daran,	vn gedenche wol daran,
wie weilen die zwene man,	wie zwene herliche man,
Chore vn Abyron,	Dathan vnde Abyron,
weilen verworhten ir lon,	wilen uerworhten ir lon,
daz si an die gotes tougen	daz sie an die gotes tougen
niht wolten gelouben!	niht wolten gelouben!

Now the story of how Dathan, Chore and Abyron were punished is biblical (*Numbers*, ch. xvi), and it is mentioned also in the *Protevangelium* and in Pseudo-Matthew. Wernher must have known that there were three men and not 'zwene.' A copyist must be responsible for *zwene.* A and D had before them *zwene* in the second verse, and three names in the following verse. The rime caused both to retain *Abyron*, and whilst A dropped *Dathan*, D dropped *Chore.* The *weilen* of A is from the fourth verse. It is remarkable that *zwene* crept into the text. Can it be that Wernher's text read *wie die zwivelnden man*—the last verse tells us that they would not 'gelouben'—and that a misread, perhaps unclearly written, *zwivelnden* was copied as *zwene*?

Wesle states that Wernher's sources are Pseudo-Matthew and the Bible (pp. lv and lviii). Source-hunting has become unfashionable, but since Wesle's appreciation of Wernher as a poet is, to a great extent, based on his treatment of his sources, it becomes important to modify Wesle's statement. We can only say that the source is some form of Pseudo-Matthew, in general similar to the text printed by Tischendorf (*Evangelia apocrypha*, pp. 51 ff.), and we must not assume, with Wesle, that the 'Änderungen, Abweichungen und Zusätze' are the poet's own contribution (p. lix). One example must suffice. The account of the Annunciation in Pseudo-Matthew (ch. ix) is meagre, whilst in Wernher the scene is a long one. C reads *er vant die gotes werden/in einer keminaten* (A and D have this, too), and in the following remarkable passage, where C is damaged, we read in A *die deine wambe freya/die wil got besitzzen/mit geistlicher hitzzen* (pp. 117–9). In Pseudo-Matthew there is no mention

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of the *keminaten* nor of *geistlicher hitzzen*, but in an expanded version of the first part of Pseudo-Matthew, also attributed to Jerome, printed by Jeremiah Jones in his three volumes, *A New and Full Method*, etc., Oxford, 1827, we read: 'missus est ad eam angelus Gabriel a Deo.... Denique ingressus ad eam cubiculum, ubi manebat, ingenti lumine perfudit....Ave Maria,...Spiritus enim Sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi, contra omnes ardores libidinis' (Vol. II, pp. 78–79). Here we find the chamber and the striking phrase 'without any of the heats of lust.' It seems clear that Wernher's source here was closer to this text of Jones than to that of Tischendorf. Again in Pseudo-Matthew Anna is frightened by the advent of the angel; Wernher wins Wesle's praise because his Anna is not terrified (p. xi). Jones's text has an Anna without fear (Vol. II, p. 73), and the question of fear at an angel's annunciation is actually discussed in this version in connection with the annunciation to Mary. Wesle's praise of Wernher is unbounded because Wernher follows Pseudo-Matthew only to the end of ch. XVII, and does not relate the many tales of the miracles performed by the infant Christ. Now in a medieval poet reticence is a rare virtue, and we have no right to assume that Wernher deliberately showed such restraint. The fact is that the first seventeen chapters of Pseudo-Matthew are based on the *Protevangelium*, whilst the rest of the book has another source. Now other 'Infancy Gospels' follow Pseudo-Matthew no further than ch. XVII, e.g., the account of the Birth of Mary edited by Jones, and it is just as likely that Wernher's text stopped short at this point, too.

There is an extremely interesting passage which throws more light on his source. The names of the virgins associated with Mary are in Wernher: Rachel, Rebeka, Sepfora, Abygea, Susanne (in which A and D agree, p. 107), and the names of the midwives who attended on Mary are Rachel and Salome (in which C, A and D agree, p. 197). In Pseudo-Matthew the names are Rebecca, Sephora, Susanna, Abigea, and Cael (variant Zahel), and Zelomi and Salome (variant Zahel for Zelomi). Thus Zahel, in each case, has, by the alteration of one letter only, become Rahel. In Hrotsvitha's poem the names are: (quinque puellas) Sephiphora, Zabel, Susanna, Rebecca, Abigea, and the midwives are Zelemi and Salome. The question arises, did Wernher change Zahel to Rachel? The answer is in the negative. In the metrical *Vita beate virginis* (edited Vögthin, Tübingen, 1888) we read

> Veniunt et obstetrices, que fuerant vocate,
> Rachel atque Salome et virginis beate. (ll. 1768–9)

But Wernher did not use the same source as this *Vita*, since his five virgins (all named) are in this *Vita* seven unnamed (l. 1428: 'Septem castas virgines, socias ipsius,' as in the *Protevangelium*). Wernher's source, however, was one in which Rachel had already been substituted for Zahel.

Wesle remarks (p. lix): 'Zahllos sind kleine Züge, die der Belebung der Handlung dienen:...wie kostbar weiblich unter den Versicherungen der Mädchen, dass Maria nur mit dem Engel zusammen war, die naive

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Einschränkung *ob ir daz wol tohte/des enwizzen wir nieht.*' We must not attribute even this to our poet. In *Das Marienleben des Schweizers Wernher*, l. 2217 ff. we find exactly the same thought: *Du magt erschrak und schampte sich,/wan si da also haimlich/allain an ierm werke sass/und och ir tur beschlossen was/...was sin gruessen maine/bi ir da allaine.* Wernher found this, too, in his source.

We have now to see if we can form some more definite opinion of the form of Wernher's source. Our poet gives interpretations of names: *Joachim = preparatio domini*; *Anna = gracia*; *Capharnaum = villa speciosa.* Wesle remarks (p. lvii) 'Die gelehrte Spielerei der Namendeutungen, v, 241, 383, 1941 ist Schultradition; eine bestimmte Quelle konnten mir auch Theologen nicht angeben.' Now Kelle, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, II, p. 384, suggests Hrabanus Maurus, *De Universo*, as the source, but, unfortunately, without giving exact references. I can find only *Joachim = preparatio* (Migne, CXI, col. 64), *Anna = gratia* (col. 57), but *Capharnaum = ager* vel *villa consolationis* (col. 381). Reinsch, *Die Pseudo-Evangelien in der germanischen Literatur*, Halle, 1879, p. 109, says: 'die symbolischen Namen...sind Fulbert von Chartres entlehnt,' but he refers only to the *Acta Sanctorum*, and not to any work by Fulbert. I can find only two of the interpretations in Fulbert, viz. in a sermon *In Ortu Almae Virginis*: 'Joachim quippe praeparatio Domini dicitur, Anna vero gratia Dei interpretatur' (Migne, CXLI, col. 327). And, in a passage immediately preceding, Fulbert refers to a translation of a Hebrew book by St Matthew, ascribed to Jerome (viz., of course, Pseudo-Matthew). It looks as if Wernher took his interpretation of the names from a gloss to his source. If he used glosses in this way he did precisely what the other Wernher did. Päpke has edited glosses to the Latin *Vita beate virginis*, referred to above (*Palaestra*, LXXXI), and shown that the German *Marienleben des Schweizers Wernher* closely follows the Latin *Vita* and adopts some of the glosses. The character of such glosses is further shown in Schade's edition of *Narrationes de vita Mariae et Salvatoris*, Halle, 1870. This begins with four interpretations of *Maria* (including *stella maris*, of course, which also occurs in Wernher's *Maria*). Our poet, therefore, used as his source a text of Pseudo-Matthew, possibly ending with ch. XVII, in general similar to the text edited by Tischendorf, but with considerable modifications and expansions. It contained the name Rachel for Zahel, and was provided with glosses giving interpretations of names.

Now just as it is dangerous to assume that every departure from Tischendorf's text is our poet's original work, so it is dangerous to assume mistranslations on the poet's part. Wesle remarks (p. lviii) 'Gleich darauf unterläuft dem Dichter ein Missverständnis: *exsurgens autem Joseph a somno gratias egit deo suo, et locutus est Mariae et virginibus quae erant cum ea et narravit visum suum*, hier isoliert Wernher *narravit visum suum*, als ob es nicht im Gespräch mit Maria geschehen sei, und versteht unter *narravit* "einen Bericht machen," so dass nun die seltsame Angabe v. 3357 entsteht: *diu wunder hiez er schriben.*'

Now here possibly we have the influence of a gloss, rather than a gross

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misunderstanding of the Latin text. The *Protevangelium* (on which the first seventeen chapters of Pseudo-Matthew are based—and Wernher follows Pseudo-Matthew only to the end of ch. XVII) suddenly, in a passage preceding the account of the birth of Christ, breaks into the first person and describes certain 'wonders': 'Now I Joseph was walking, etc.' (which some theologians—see M. R. James and E. Hennecke—regard as an interpolation from some work ascribed to Joseph). Wernher may well have found in a gloss the statement that Joseph left a written account of his vision, and this may account for *diu wunder hiez er schriben.*

Wesle's interpretation (p. lvi) of a passage on the relations between Manegolt and Wernher seems also doubtful. Wernher wrote his poem in Manegolt's house (Manegolt supplied the 'materje'): *er ladete in in daz sin hus/unt enliez in ouch niht dar uz,/unz er gefrumete und geriet,/daz diu geistlichen liet/wurden gemachet.* This Wesle takes as showing 'dass Manegolt einen gewissen Zwang auf Wernher ausgeübt habe,' and in support of this view urges *do enwart niht vil gelachet.* But, surely, this last line can mean merely that Manegolt and Wernher applied themselves to their work and did not waste their time; we need not follow Wesle in thinking, 'dass der Aufenthalt in Manegolts Haus für den Dichter keine ganz ungemischte Freude war und dass es ihn einigermassen sauer ankam, die einmal unternommene Arbeit zu vollenden.' In fact the passage immediately following suggests that Wesle's view is wrong. Wernher says: *Sante Marie/diu gap in kurzewile/unt...framspuote,/daz ez si niht enmuote.* And he expects salvation as a reward for his work (C. 5834–5). This small amount of work, with salvation as its reward, can hardly have been 'sauer' to Wernher.

To sum up: If our criticism of Wernher's work is to be based on the use he makes of his source, we must find his source. This source was certainly not Pseudo-Matthew as printed by Tischendorf, but was something which was close to the first seventeen chapters of Tischendorf's text. It was provided with glosses. If we cannot find the direct source we can, to some extent, reconstruct it. And it seems probable, weird as the suggestion may at first appear, that this reconstructed text may help us in our textual criticism of the poem.

A. C. DUNSTAN.

LONDON.

The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany. A Study of the Young German Movement. By E. M. BUTLER. Cambridge: University Press. 1926. xiii + 446 pp. 21*s.*

This book appears at a most opportune moment as the chief contribution of the English-speaking world to the memory of the visionary philosopher whose centenary was celebrated in 1925. It was high time that Saint-Simon was rescued from the oblivion into which he threatened to fall; something has been done of late in his own country[1] to re-

[1] Cf. the admirable succinct bibliography in Alfred Péreire's reprint of *De la Réorganisation de la Société Européenne* and Georges Brunet, *Le Mysticisme Social de Saint-Simon*, both published in the *Bibliothèque Romantique*, 1925.

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establish his reputation as one of the chief instigators of European thought in the nineteenth century, of whose explosive ideas and theories we have not experienced the full force even yet. His practical scheme for the reorganisation of European society on the basis of universal peace and brotherhood[1] has only just been imperfectly realised in our League of Nations; his vision of the Panama Canal, his championship of the individuality of women, his insistence on the sacredness of labour and the right of the workers to the fruits of their toil—all these are so many problems of present-day actuality. But it is less the political or social ideas of Saint-Simon with which Miss Butler is concerned than his religion, and here we have to do with his followers rather than with the master himself. *Le Nouveau Christianisme*, it is true, made the pronouncement that the golden age was to be sought 'not in the past, but in the future' and it followed as a corollary that the aim of religion was to produce the greatest possible bliss of the greatest number: moral and physical happiness was identical. It remained for Saint-Simon's followers, Enfantin and Bazard, to proclaim in logical conclusion the doctrine of the 'rehabilitation of the flesh,' which found its complete expression in the two *Expositions* of 1829 and 1830. It was essentially this theory which appealed to the Young Germans, and the influence of Saint-Simonism was 'almost entirely confined' to this aspect, writes Miss Butler. Her book is then the attempt to gauge the extent to which the Young Germans gave literary expression to this view.

On the subject of Young Germany Miss Butler is entitled to a very respectful hearing; to the readers of the *Modern Language Review* she is already known as the author of a careful study on *The Persecution of the Young Germans* (1924); she has obviously devoted more time and research to the question than the somewhat scanty bibliographical references in the footnotes would suggest. She is apparently contemplating a reprint of Laube's articles from the *Zeitschrift für die elegante Welt* (see p. 247) and is reported to be engaged on a work of Fürst Pückler-Muskau. Moreover she possesses a lively critical talent which does not shrink from original investigations of an arduous nature: she has taken the trouble to investigate the Fonds Enfantin at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, she has searched through the files of German newspapers in the Berlin State Library for articles bearing on Saint-Simonism, and has produced six pages of titles in tabulated form; she has perused countless volumes of these most prolific Young Germans for traces of its influence, often with disappointingly negative results; the collation of Mundt's self-plagiarisms must alone have involved some very arduous work. All this betokens the true critical spirit of the trained scholar and her conclusions must therefore carry considerable weight. What are they? That apart from Heine and Laube the Saint-Simonian influence is, if not entirely negligible, at least always transitory and mostly second-hand. Börne, the founder and political leader of the

[1] President Wilson drew his inspiration from Kant rather than Saint-Simon, but both presumably go back to the abbé de Saint-Pierre and his French predecessors Emeric La Croix and Henri IV.

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school, though living in their very midst stood aloof from the Saint-Simonians, and unreservedly condemned their doctrines. Laube, sensualist that he was, was prompted by the doctrine of the 'emancipation of the flesh' to make an abortive attempt to enter into personal touch with them. But circumstances and a Prussian prison proved too strong, and he gradually lost interest in the movement and repudiated all dealings with it. Even *Die Poeten*, the novel in which Laube sought to depict a society governed by Saint-Simonian ideals and the doctrine of free love, owes probably as much to Heinse's *Ardinghello* as to Enfantin, while much of the social background is reminiscent of the happy days at Jäschkowitz. Gutzkow's interest was admittedly half conscious and never very deep, and later he dissociated himself violently from its doctrines. *Maha Garu* may, almost unconsciously, have been inspired by the personality of Enfantin as Miss Butler claims, but it is difficult to recognise in the polyandry of the book the Saint-Simonian theory of love, whilst its conclusion, in which *Maha Garu* seeks Nirvana (if indeed it is to be taken seriously), is a flat denial of the conquest of the flesh over the spirit. In his defence of Schleiermacher's *Vertraute Briefe über Lucinde* Gutzkow agrees with Schlegel in demanding complete freedom in love, but he gives the question a Saint-Simonian turn by emphasising the social, rather than the individual aspect. Otherwise the theories he advances are little more than an expansion of the teaching of *Lucinde*. But already the Saint-Simonian influence was on the wane, and in his most notorious work *Wally* it is the 'Zweiflerin' in his heroine which was his main concern, and not the sensual element, in spite of the prominence given to the latter by his detractors and judges. After the catastrophe of 1835, the Saint-Simonian theories are mentioned only to be publicly condemned and, taken as a whole, the influence of Saint-Simon on Gutzkow's work 'is almost vanishingly small'[1]; indeed, but for Börne and Menzel, it is probable that Saint-Simon would never have played the small part in his life that he did. In any case, the very title of his best novel, *Die Ritter vom Geist*, is in itself a repudiation of Saint-Simonian doctrine.

Saint-Simon came to Mundt late in life through Rahel Varnhagen and his friendship for Charlotte Stieglitz, whose death he interpreted in the light of Saint-Simonian ideas. In his union with Clara Müller he realised, though probably quite unconsciously, Enfantin's conception of the 'social couple'! But although Mundt was the only member of the Young German school to give an historical account of Saint-Simonism, he would appear to have had no first-hand acquaintance with their work. He accepted Saint-Simonism as a simple religious creed, easily grasped, and in the mediocrity of his mind was satisfied with it when his more vigorously-minded colleagues rapidly progressed beyond. L. Wienbarg, apart from Heine the most original of the Young Germans, knew little of Saint-Simonism, and cared less. Intensely patriotic, he had an innate prejudice against everything French and decried the Saint-Simonians

[1] Miss Butler has presumably a German source for this statement: i.e., 'verschwindend klein'!

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as 'ridiculous Anabaptists.' Such influence as is apparent in his works has come through Heine. He took over wholesale from the latter his dream of beauty, but he differs from the Saint-Simonians on almost all essential points. And he laid the emphasis essentially on the beauty of strength, rather than of passion, which he distrusted instinctively. He is thus a forerunner of Nietzsche.

If the discussion of Heine's debt to Saint-Simonism has been left to the last, it is because in his case there can be no doubt of its actuality. To Heine Enfantin was 'the foremost mind of his age'; his respect for the Saint-Simonians as champions of liberty was such that even his wit was silent in the face of their foibles and absurdities. It was to Enfantin that he dedicated the first edition of *De l'Allemagne*, indeed, the interest in the Saint-Simonian religion was the chief motive which induced him to take up his abode in Paris, and to visit their meetings within twenty-four hours of his arrival. He found in Saint-Simon's teaching 'the justification for his whole previous existence[1]'; he planned a great work in their defence and was greeted by Enfantin with the title of 'first father of the German Church.' And he remained true to their idealistic aims when they themselves had fallen to the flesh-pots of industry. All his writings during the first years in Paris are conceived under the influence of their ideas, and to them he owes his famous *aperçu* of the progress of humanity as bound up with the rehabilitation of matter, the conflict of Nazarenism and Hellenism. But gradually the early enthusiasm waned amid the miseries and conflicts of everyday life, in the deadening intercourse with Mathilde and the sufferings of his terrible illness. Finally he burned the gods he had adored and bowed his head in submission to the spirit of the Nazarene which he had combated all his life. With his conversion came the recantation of his former errors and amidst the most serious he placed his adhesion to the Saint-Simonian heresies.

Thus the subject of Heine and Saint-Simonism ends on a note of contradiction, as, indeed, does the whole of this book. For what else are we to make of utterances such as follow? 'Nor is it always possible to determine whether the Young Germans went back for their theories to the romantic school or across the Rhine to the Saint-Simonians' (p. 434). And at first sight it would really seem odd that Germany should need a lesson in femininism from Saint-Simon. Friedrich Schlegel's *Lucinde* is, *pace* Miss Butler, something more than a scandalous novel, it is big with thoughts of social reform of much consequence for the future. Nor is it as dead to-day as she would have us believe to judge by the charming new edition just published by Paetel (Berlin, 1926), while it has long been available in a cheap reprint in *Reclam* and now also in the *Inselbücherei*. The union of man and woman was for Schlegel as much an allegory of complete humanity as it was for Enfantin, and Schlegel wrote in 1799. The enfranchisement of women he had advocated even earlier in his essay *Über die Diotima* (1795). And if Saint-Simon un-

[1] Cf. Max J. Wolff, *Heinrich Heine*, München, 1922, p. 382, and the whole of the excellent ch. XIV.

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reservedly admired Christianity during its period of greatness, Novalis in *Die Christenheit oder Europa* had already glorified the Middle Ages as the age of unity and faith as long before as 1798. Saint-Simon's famous motto that 'the golden age lay in the future' reads like an echo of Lessing's 'Drittes Reich,' and it is significant that Eugène Rodrigues, the Saint-Simonian mainly responsible for formulating the new religion, should have translated *Über die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*[1]. Rahel, too, shows 'a mysterious affinity' with the ideas of the Saint-Simonians long before their time. She foreshadowed not only their conception of Christianity and the new age, but she was a feminist 'before Enfantin was breeched.' Well might one of the contemporary German critics accuse the Saint-Simonians of plagiarism: 'die *neue* Lehre der Saintsimonisten wird es kaum für Deutschland sein' (p. 65). The fact is that at the beginning of the nineteenth century these ideas were 'in the air'; feminism was rampant in France and England as well as in Germany; Madame de Staël and George Sand, and Lady Hester Stanhope are own sisters to Rahel and Dorothea Veit. And in the general cosmopolitanism of the time, born of Napoleon's universal empire, it is almost an impossibility to nail down a theory to any one particular school. For in spite of the obvious affinities to the German romantic school which Saint-Simonism contains—Miss Butler herself speaks of it as 'an offshoot'—there are equally obvious differences, and the chief is that the Saint-Simonians applied their theories 'logically, practically, dogmatically, where Romanticism had been only visionary, philosophical, subjective and spiritual.' They (and the Young Germans in their wake) reacted against and destroyed Romanticism because it was divorced from actual life and deaf to the call of liberty.

As a whole this study, although undertaken with the most rigorous sense of scholarship, is disappointing in its general conclusions. It affords new and illuminating points of view on the individual writers of Young Germany—Mundt and Wienbarg especially are revealed in a new light—but in the zeal of the chase the author is apt to ascribe to Saint-Simonian influence a theory which may equally well have been evolved nearer home. Is it that in treating of the French influence on Germany she has put the cart before the horse, and that we should see clearer had she attempted the reverse process of first defining the German influence on Saint-Simon and his followers? And may we hope that one of M. Baldensperger's pupils will one day present us with an illuminating monograph on this subject?

But whatever we may think of its conclusions the tale which Miss Butler unfolds was well worth the telling, and she has told it in an eminently readable, not to say exciting way. Her style contributes not a little to its liveliness—it is rich, perhaps over rich in simile and meta-

[1] Among the German precursors of Saint-Simon it would seem reasonable to reckon Herder with his conception of the periodical development of history. But though he is mentioned by Bazard in his *Exposition de la Doctrine de Saint-Simon* he would seem to have had no influence on the movement, though his *Ideen* were translated by Quinet as early as 1827. Cf. on the question H. Tronchon, *La fortune intellectuelle de Herder en France*, Paris, 1920, pp. 511 ff.

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phor, and has a raciness of tone which is not usually associated with scholarship. It seems almost churlish to draw attention to some bad misprints which mar an otherwise beautifully printed book[1]. More serious is the lack of a bibliography. And yet it is apparent that Miss Butler has read more than she cites in the footnotes, and a list would have been most useful to future workers in the field. And where she does quote it is sometimes without place or date (p. 328, note 1). Nor, beyond references on pp. 61 and 84, is adequate acknowledgement made to Proelss' classical work, without which Miss Butler's study could never have been written. For it is apparent that she is indebted to him to the extent of borrowing actual phrases[2]. This sin of omission is redeemed to some extent by an excellent index.

L. A. Willoughby.

Sheffield.

Introduction to Old Norse. By E. V. Gordon. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927. lxxxiv + 383 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*

All who have at heart the encouragement of Norse studies in England and believe in the humanistic value of the study of Old Icelandic literature must feel indebted to Professor Gordon for his *Introduction to Old Norse.*

The way of the English student of Norse, unequipped with a reading knowledge of modern German and Scandinavian, has not in the past been easy, and, although such knowledge is of course indispensable for the more advanced student, Professor Gordon's book, which fulfils its author's intention of being 'comprehensive and self-contained' meets a real need, smoothing the student's path, while allowing him the pleasure of using his own feet. It is an eminently practical book, the work of a teacher who knows exactly what information is difficult of access for the less advanced student.

Such sections as 'The Preservation of Texts,' 'Norse Studies in England,' 'Runic Inscriptions,' 'The Old Norse Tongue in England,' are especially welcome. Both plan and execution show, indeed, just that combination of copiousness and restraint which was to be expected from one of the editors of *Sir Gawayn and the Green Knight.*

The maps and illustrations are attractive and practical. No more fitting frontispiece could have been found than the view of Hlitharendi, which, with its fatal beauty, plays so unforgettable a part in one of the sorrows of northern story-telling. Every reader, too, must enjoy the 'Diagram illustrating Norse Cosmography,' but the present reviewer would be grateful for further guidance, especially with regard to the citadels lying on the surface of the sky. Of the maps, one of the most useful is that of Scandinavia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,

[1] P. 399, *der* Scheu des Wortes! (i.e. nominative), p. 417 la tristesse *du* chair! p. 9 c'est à nous de leur frayer *en* la route, p. 107 compatriots.

[2] Proelss, p. 552 'die Schiffe zu verbrennen,' Butler, p. 299, 'of one who burns his boats behind him'; referring, in both cases, to Gutzkow's *Vorrede* to Schleiermacher's *Vertraute Briefe.*

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especially for students to whom Professor Craigie's map of thirteenth-century Scandinavia in the Oxford *Historical Atlas of Europe* is not accessible.

The use of the term *Norse* rather than *Icelandic* in the title is in the interests of clearness and precision. The inclusion of East Norse texts is also an important innovation, and is of value not only because these texts are not readily available for the English student, but as a reminder to the student of the Norse element in Middle English of the very existence of an East Norse branch. All teachers of Middle English will endorse Professor Gordon's statement that 'the conventional comparison of Old Icelandic with English forms...must often be misleading or unintelligible.' From the point of view of literature, however, the poverty of the East Norse section only serves to emphasise the astonishing richness of West.

It is a commonplace that no anthology will satisfy every reader, but it must be admitted that the present selection is admirably representative. Some old friends, the story of Þór and Útgarða-Loki, the story of Auðun and his bear and, of course, the *Þrymskviða*, could not have been omitted, but Professor Gordon has included a number of extracts not to be found in other readers. Snorri's *Edda* is well represented, but it is to be questioned whether the extract dealing with the vows of the Jómsvikíngs and one paragraph of the section on the Battle of Stiklastaðir, supplemented by the account in the *Fóstbræðrasaga*, represents adequately the pre-eminence of Snorri as a historian. It is well, however, to emphasise the fact that Snorri's historical writing does not stand alone, and the choice of the *Fagrskinna* account of the Battle of Stamford Bridge was a happy one. It is ungrateful perhaps to ask for more, but, on the score of antiquity at least, an extract from the *Ágrip* would have been of interest.

In accordance with the plan of making the volume self-contained, a *Short Grammar of Old Norse* has been included, with very useful sections on Old Norwegian and East Norse. The section on phonology only aims at providing what is necessary 'for a good working knowledge of the inflectional forms,' and within its limitations is admirably clear and complete. In the section on accidence a somewhat fuller treatment of the numerals would have been helpful, and it is possible that the very succinct explanation in § 140 of the difference in medial consonants between such forms as *sækja* and *sótti* may mislead the weaker student. In § 129 a cross-reference to § 63 seems to be needed, for the loss of initial *v* in the past tenses of *verða*, etc., and in § 171 *munau* appears wrongly for *mundu*. The section on syntax should prove especially useful.

Professor Gordon's 'Introduction' places the extracts in their setting as part of Germanic literature. Especially suggestive is the section on 'The Heroic Literature of the North,' with its insistence that 'the basis of the valuation (of conduct) is not moral, but æsthetic.' But while all lovers of Norse literature will sympathise with the author's impatience at the romantic conception of the 'incredibly heroic viking,' is it not going a little too far to doubt whether 'even a viking ever had pleasure

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in going into battle'? Perhaps the difficulty really lies in the definition of 'pleasure.'

In his section on the 'Poetry of the Skalds,' which is supplemented by a later section on metre, Professor Gordon does justice to the 'fine workmanship' of skaldic verse, and gives a much-needed warning against ignoring the word order of the skald. How many readers will feel a prick of conscience at the statement that 'the common practice of re-arranging the words in prose order before attempting translation is to be deplored'!

The section on 'Norse Studies in England' is of great interest. No attempt is made to deal exhaustively with the treatment of Norse themes in modern literature, but one may perhaps be allowed to draw attention here to the late Helen Barmby's interesting and too little-known treatment of the *Gíslasaga* in dramatic form.

In the 'Select Bibliography' a place might have been found for A. Walsh's *Scandinavian Relations with Ireland during the Viking Period* (Dublin, Talbot Press) under 'Scandinavians in the British Isles,' and for H. Falk's *Nordisches Seewesen* under 'Archæology.'

MARGARET ASHDOWN.

LONDON.

The Wandering Scholars. By HELEN WADDELL. London: Constable. 1927. xxviii + 292 pp. 22*s.*

This book covers an even wider range than its title promises. Ostensibly a study of the *scolares vagantes*, it is in reality a survey, lively and sympathetic in tone but casual in arrangement, of the Latin lyric from the fifth century to the thirteenth. The discrepancy between the title of the book and its contents is explained, in part, by the author's prefatory statement that her work outgrew its first intention. But the explanation does not furnish a complete excuse.

For, in that case, there was no need to retain, without modification, the original title. The fact is, Miss Waddell does not appear to have faced its inadequacy. Of the mediæval Latin lyric she says quite briefly: 'The Wandering Scholars were its makers and singers, and this book is the record of their vanished order.' It is more than that, by the author's own showing; and her crowded survey finds room for any scholasticus —monastic or clerical, sedentary or vagrant—whose achievement as a writer of Latin lyrical verse is sufficiently high. Nor is there any attempt to show clearly the historical links which would have justified this breadth of treatment. Periodic differences are scarcely stressed, and the line of causation runs always below the surface—intentionally so, the preface seems to imply. Yet surely the average reader, whose unenlightened state we are seldom for one instant allowed to forget, would have found a plain account of relations and causes distinctly helpful.

Miss Waddell writes vividly, and of the seasoned thoroughness of her knowledge there can be no doubt. But this does not exonerate the absence of design, the tendency to digression and over-statement, which characterise her work from first to last. Her brilliant fluency

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outruns discretion. Not content with eight centuries of mediæval life, she continually flings out anticipations of modern times, and the perspicuity of her survey is marred by a constant stream of cross-references, quotations from modern poets, uncalled-for challenges—in short, there is no economy. This discursiveness defeats its own ends. It is wearying to those who are well at home in the Middle Ages already, and have no need to be surprised into admiration at every turn; while it is more likely to confuse the average reader than add greatly to his enlightenment. The analogies are often apt, but their number is legion, and many fall wide of the mark. There is little to glean from the facile statement that 'the Latin poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is Pagan, as Keats is Pagan'; and to say that Hrotswith's *Callimachus* 'antedates by some centuries the discovery of romantic passion' is absurd.

This rashness, however, is the natural defect of a warm and exuberant temper capable, at the same time, of giving stimulus and pleasure. The book has imagination and charm to atone for its faults of structure: it contains many fine passages, much excellent character-drawing, and translations which needed no commentary beyond their own beauty and rhythmical ease. With these advantages the subject might well have been trusted to speak for itself. Undoubtedly, the author's real strength is her gift for translation. One would have liked to see that gift displayed at its full value, against a simpler setting.

M. F. Richey.

Englefield Green.

SHORT NOTICES

Continuing the work of Wyld, Heuser, Brandl, Ekwall, Ritter and others, Miss Mary S. Serjeantson in her *Distribution of Dialect Characters in Middle English* (Amsterdam: Swets en Zeitlinger. 1924) has examined a considerable number of sources for early place-names and made a valiant attempt to determine the dialectal boundaries in Old and Middle English from a study of the forms which they present. She has concentrated on those names which show (1) the fracture of *æ* before *l* + consonant, (2) the *i*-mutation of *ēa* (from W. Gmc. *au*), (3) ME. [*y*] from O.E. *ĕo*, (4) O.E. *y̆*, and *y* + front consonants. Perhaps the most interesting of her results are her conclusion that fracture of *æ* before *l* + consonant was not original in Kentish, and her suggestion that *ī* for *īe* (*i*-mutation of *ēa*) may have originated in Berkshire, of which King Alfred was a native. Miss Serjeantson has, of course, been able to examine only a fraction of the available material and her results must be regarded as provisional; for example vols. II and III of the English Place-Name Survey, since published, show that in the S.E. Midlands *u*-forms (from O.E. *ĕo*), though sporadic, are a good deal more common than she has recognised. Nevertheless her work is gratefully welcomed as a solid contribution towards a solution of the problem. B. D.

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Dr Mary Susan Steele's 'Cornell Study' *Plays and Masques at Court during the Reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles* (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1926. xiii + 300 pp. 18*s*.), is a chronological calendar of court performances. It is carefully compiled and conveniently arranged, with a good deal of detail, where available, about each performance. But it is largely based upon secondary authorities, some of which are cited on page after page. This is rather less so in the Caroline period. And where the authorities differ, on a date or the like, Professor Steele sets down conflicting statements side by side, and plumps for one of them, without attempting to appreciate comparative standards of accuracy, or to clear up discrepancies by reference to original records. Such a process would, for example, have saved her from giving further life to the non-existent William Gascoigne and William Spencer as Admiral's men in 1589. Fortunately, many of the points in question only concern the datings of warrants for play payments, which indeed might have been left out of such a book altogether without harm. Professor Steele has produced a handy work of reference, but hardly one of that original research which might be expected from a doctoral dissertation. E. K. C.

Mr F. P. Wilson's work, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London* (Clarendon Press. 1927. xii + 228 pp. 12*s*. 6*d*.), is an outcome of extensive studies made in connexion with his edition of Dekker's *Plague Pamphlets*. Written in terse and lucid English, and assisted by a large number of apposite illustrations, it gives a mass of information from original sources not only about the plagues of 1603 and 1625 (the main subject), but also about earlier epidemics, the theories of the age in regard to their causes and the measures taken to deal with them. The book must have great interest not only for the student of Elizabethan drama, the history of which was so much affected by periodical closing of the theatres owing to outbreaks of plague, but for the social historian, the statistician and the physician. Mr Wilson unfortunately perpetuates an old error on p. 54, in assigning the play *Ram Alley* to 'Lodowick Barrey.' Mr W. J. Lawrence in *Studies in Philology*, XIV, made it probable that the 'Lo: Barrey' (Lord Barry) of the title-page stands for David Oge Barry (son and heir of David Lord Barry, ninth Viscount Buttevant) who had died early in 1610, shortly before *Ram Alley* was entered on the Stationers' Register. G. C. M. S.

Professor J. H. Hanford, of Michigan, in his *Milton Handbook* (London: G. Bell and Sons. 1927. vii + 304 pp. 6*s*.) aims at supplying a convenient summary of 'the essential facts regarding the origin, dates, and circumstances of [Milton's] individual works,' embodying the results gained by recent investigators—amongst whom Mr Hanford himself is by no means the least. The result is a serviceable little book. In the first chapter we are given materials for Milton's biography, consisting of the most important autobiographical passages from Milton's prose writings —those of the *biographia literaria* type are given in an appendix—with

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extracts from the accounts by his nephew Edward Phillips and other contemporaries. Brief chapters and sections then deal with the individual works, prose and verse. Then come chapters on style and versification and on fame and influence; and finally there is a substantial bibliography.

The work is well done. A number of points, however, invite comment. For example, Mr Hanford quotes freely from Fellowes' translation of the *Defensio Secunda* without stating that the English is not Milton's own; he nowhere states, even in the section on the work, that Milton wrote it in Latin. (It is referred to by a Latin title in a passage from Phillips quoted in the 'biography' chapter, but Phillips' short title does not include *Secunda*, so that the reader may well fail to identify it with the *Second Defense* that Mr Hanford writes about and quotes from.) Again, in the bibliography (a good guide to recent Milton scholarship) it is curious to find Sir Walter Raleigh's brilliant study mentioned much in the way in which Francis Bacon did not want to be knighted, 'merely gregariously among a troop' of what are labelled 'one-volume biographies'; and to find no mention of what is perhaps with 'Raleigh' the best introduction to Milton, Mr John Bailey's excellent volume in the *Home University Library*.

Such points here and there any student of Milton will carp at in Mr Hanford's manual. Many other things, however, he will be glad to find; for example, the treatment of Milton's thought in *Paradise Lost*, and the passages in which, dealing with *Comus* and *Paradise Lost*, Mr Hanford well brings out the influence on Milton of Spenser. F. W. B.

The addition to *The World's Classics* of *William Congreve's Comedies*, edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Bonamy Dobrée (London: H. Milford. 2*s*.), is very welcome. Mr Dobrée has followed the usually accepted text of the collected edition of 1710. On the whole this text is sound. In some respects it is inferior to the first quartos, but it clearly embodies corrections intended by Congreve. Of these some are textual emendations; but others indicate a desire to meet the strictures of such critics as Collier. The editor has written a substantial Introduction of twenty pages, which is admirably suited to its purpose. It is as illuminating as the rest of Mr Dobrée's criticism of Restoration drama. One welcomes the inclusion of Congreve's letter *Concerning Humour in Comedy*, which is not as well known as it deserves to be. A. E. M.

Dr Hans Thüme has given us in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geniebegriffs in England* (*Studien zur englischen Philologie*, LXXI. Halle: M. Niemeyer. ix + 102 pp. 4 M. 80) a *résumé* of the development of the idea of genius in England down to the end of the third quarter of the eighteenth century. He has made a careful study of the materials, but in his inferences and conclusions he has not ventured far from the beaten track. His contention that the English conception of genius, which played so important a rôle in the European æsthetics of the eighteenth century, has its roots in Elizabethan times is something of a truism; and

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a broader view of the thought of that century in its international ramifications might have placed the English contribution to the theory of genius in a fresher light. The significance of Gerard's *Essay on Genius* is possibly over-estimated (pp. 99ff.); and it appeared too late (1774) to have an influence on the continent comparable with that of Young's *Original Composition*. J. G. R.

Professor W. E. Collinson's *Contemporary English: a Personal Speech Record* (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner. 1927. vi + 161 pp. 4 M. 80) has a double interest. It is a guide to foreign students on contemporary English, it is also a personal record of the author's linguistic experience, a note of the period in his life (he was born in 1889) when he first encountered this or that expression. To a reader of an older generation this record has very great interest. The foreign student may find it difficult always to seize on the expressions recommended to him; Professor Collinson gives a good many which are not worth adoption, and his style is highly compressed: unfortunately too the printer has not served him well (pp. 33, 34, for example, abound in dropped letters). But one cannot doubt that with the interest Germans now feel in our national psychology, the book will be eagerly read and a great deal that is useful will be learnt from it. The author makes a slip in referring 'the Great Commoner' (p. 46) to the *younger* Pitt, and on p. 120 the second initial of 'George A. Birmingham' is given incorrectly. G. C. M. S.

Dr Harold Walter Lawton has published a large volume on *Térence en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Jouve. 1926. 570 pp. 8*s*. 6*d*.). It deals only with the editions and translations of Terence, the consideration of Terence's influence being reserved for a second volume. He has rightly recognised that a study of this kind belongs to 'comparative literature' in its widest sense, and cannot be kept entirely within narrow national bounds. Before turning to the bibliography of Terence editions, Dr Lawton gives us a chapter on 'Térence au moyen âge,' which contains a useful guide to the Terence manuscripts in French libraries. With the third part, 'Les Traductions,' his work comes more within the scope of this *Review*. The first Terence translations, *Therence en françois, Prose et Rime*, published by Verard, are dealt with at great length. These appeared in the first years of the sixteenth century and have been attributed to Octavien de Saint-Gelais; Dr Lawton claims them for Gilles Cybille and Guillaume Rippe, who are mentioned as the authors in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale. A critical consideration follows of the translations of individual plays by Charles Estienne, Johannes Ericius, Antoine de Baïf, and one or two anonymous translators; the volume closes with a discussion of the complete Terence translation by Jean Bourlier in 1566. We hope to return to Dr Lawton's work when the second volume appears. J. G. R.

Students of the theory of the drama will welcome the reprint which Professor Pierre Martino has published of D'Aubignac's *Pratique du Théâtre* (Paris: H. Champion. 1927. xxx + 439 pp.), a book which is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain through the second-hand

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bookseller. Its intrinsic value may, as has been indicated elsewhere in the present number of this *Review*, be small; but of its importance for the literary theory of the eighteenth century there can be no question; even for as late a critic as Lessing it possessed canonical value, notwithstanding the contempt he frequently expressed for it. Professor Martino's introduction gives an illuminating survey of the theatrical conditions in Paris, and the experience and knowledge on which D'Aubignac based his treatise. His volume is also provided with some pages of notes, and with what will be a boon even to the possessor of one of the old editions, an excellent index. We should like to think that this edition will stimulate some fresh work on D'Aubignac; for Arnauld's *Les Théories dramatiques au XVIIIe siècle* (1888) is now in many ways out of date.

J. G. R.

Professor Paul Van Tieghem's *Précis d'Histoire littéraire de l'Europe* (Paris: F. Alcan. 1925. vii + 352 pp. 12 fr.) has been designed to meet a need of French schools which unfortunately is not known in ours, instruction in the general movement of European literature. But his preface sets forth a plan which in magnitude transcends the immediate educational purpose, and has been—as he himself admits—difficult to realise in a brief handbook. Few French critics of our time are better qualified than M. Van Tieghem to write such a handbook; for his knowledge of even the remoter literatures of Europe is astonishingly intimate. His judgment leaves little room for adverse criticism and is singularly free from national prejudices. In the nature of the case it was necessary to state concrete facts and dates; this has left him little room to deal with movements as a whole or with general ideas. Thus his imposing array of data from the Renaissance to the present time has a tendency to fall into little paragraphs which make his work rather a repertorium of knowledge than a very readable book. Its value for the non-French reader is lessened by the habit of French writers stating, not the real titles of books, but French translations of them; it has, however, to be noted that M. Van Tieghem has at least broken with the French custom by retaining untranslated the Christian names of his authors. J. G. R.

The Abbé Prévost is one of those unfortunate authors whose whole literary reputation is warped by the fact that they have produced one masterpiece. *Manon Lescaut* overshadows all the rest of his vast output and relegates it to unmerited obscurity. Mr Frank Howard Wilcox's monograph, *Prévost's Translations of Richardson's Novels* (*University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, XII, No. 5, pp. 341–411. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1927), comes to remind us of a too often neglected aspect of Prévost's activities. His skilful presentation of Richardson's novels assured them immediate success at the expense, curiously enough, of his own, and the influence of Richardson can be traced throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century—and after.

Mr Wilcox's task must have been a Herculean one, for to read Richardson's novels without skipping is in itself a labour of patience, while to

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compare such lengthy translations as Prévost's with the still more voluminous originals must have been a severe strain even on the most dogged purpose. We sympathise with Mr Wilcox's regret to sacrifice any of his material, and yet we feel that the essay would benefit from judicious condensation. The subject is too vast for a short paper, but too slender for a monograph. Mr Wilcox's treatment of it includes an examination and classification of errors, alterations and omissions, and is rather apt at times to resolve itself into a catalogue of these. The evidence is not always conclusive and the author is right in saying that too much must not be inferred from it. For if 'direct and vigorous expressions are frequently replaced by vaguer and more correct and more elegant locutions' ('Cease your blubbering' by 'cesse de pleurer comme un enfant,' etc.), others retain their full force ('slut' is translated by 'saloppe,' etc.).

Mr Wilcox seems to labour under a curious delusion (pp. 365–6) as to Prévost's gentlemanly horror of forgery: he had, alas, personal reasons for his attitude towards the subject. With the general conclusions of the essay, however, we have no quarrel. Prévost's translations were 'inadequate renderings of the originals,' and to that very inadequacy they owed their phenomenal success in France. Prévost adapted Richardson to the taste of the French public in suppressing or attenuating crudities and eccentricities in characterisation, incident and language, and in omitting scenes too harrowing for the feelings. The time was not yet ripe in France for Richardson's realism undiluted.

M. E. I. R.

Since the conclusion of the war and the loss of their colonies German students seem to have experienced a considerable growth of enthusiasm for the Spanish language which, in South America at least, represents an outlet for the energies of their nationals. They have created the admirable Ibero-amerikanisches Institut in Hamburg, with its extensions in Santander and Coimbra, and its linkages with German schools throughout South America. Textbooks of the most varied kinds are being compiled to meet the demand, and teaching has abandoned the philological narrowness of the age before the war. One of the best books of this kind is Professor W. Mulertt's *Lesebuch der älteren spanischen Literatur von der Anfängen bis* 1800 (Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1927. xiv + 391 pp. 14 M.), which is as useful an anthology of the whole literature of Spain as has been compiled anywhere. It is in four sections: the Early Literature, the Fifteenth Century, the Golden Age, and the Eighteenth Century. The last is particularly welcome as an act of recognition of the much-maligned eighteenth century, which at all events evolved a prose style more workman-like than any before or since. By rigidly applying the date 1800 the author has lost L. F. de Moratín and Quintana: I also miss Cadalso. In the first section Alfonso X gets rather less than his due, and the *Infantes de Lara*, *Alexandre* and *Apolonio* were worth an acknowledgment, especially the first. In the second and third sections the omission of all chroniclers, historians and travellers is really

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somewhat disconcerting. The lyrists are complete but for S. Juan de la Cruz, who is indispensable: the dramatists lack Alarcón and Rojas, but one can hardly enjoy drama in an anthology. The texts are carefully edited, sometimes from manuscripts, sometimes from early editions, usually from the best modern issues. The notes include a limited number of variant readings, translations of phrases, philological and historical remarks, and there is a massive Spanish-German glossary. These notes offer 'hostages to fortune' and have to be controlled (for instance, the *Lucina* of Garci-Laso, Egl. I, 371, is not Juno but Diana, and the three ballads that head the fifteenth-century literature are not fifteenth-century in form); but it is certain that all the difficulties of the texts have been faced, which is too rarely the case with editions of Spanish works. Any student with a smattering of German should find this anthology very useful. W. J. E.

Begun as a presentation volume, the *Estudios Eruditos in Memoriam de Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín*, 1875–1926 (Vol. I. Madrid: J. Ratés. 1927. xiv + 654 pp.) has become a necrology owing to the unfortunate chance which robbed Spain of one of her most encyclopædic savants in the plenitude of his powers. An omnivorous reader, Bonilla's interests were diverse, and even disparate. He was the last representative of the Spanish tradition of unspecialised culture, showing himself in this the *discípulo predilecto* of his master, Menéndez y Pelayo. He had, too, a rare faculty for friendship, and was to the stranger within the gates the most accessible of the greater scholars. The editors of this volume, Professors Lucio Gil Fagoaga and Gerhard Moldenhauer, have borne in mind both these characteristics. The topics of essays are drawn from the provinces of Law, History, Philosophy, Literature and Grammar; and if no single subject can be said to be much advanced by this treatment, it is certainly true to the manner of Bonilla himself to have produced such varied reading. The writers range from Bonilla's group of friends in California University to those he gained in Warsaw; and one supposes the omission of English and Portuguese tributes in this volume will be corrected in the next. The contents of the first tome are the following: *Philosophy:* 'Is there a Spanish Philosophy?' (answered affirmatively), A judgment on the æsthetician Azara (eighteenth century—by a descendant), 'The Sentiment of Disinterested Communion with the Non-Ego as a source of Æsthetic Pleasure.' *History:* Palæolithic culture of Africa Minor (Obermaier), Catalan régime at Athens (Rubió y Lluch), Inquisition and Press in Mexico, Censure of the picaresque novels, Flagellants, and notes from D. Antonio Agustín on genealogy. *Literature:* this is the most considerable section and admits of divisions. General Spanish Literature: *Coplas de la Panadera* (Artigas), Calderón (*Vida es sueño* and *Secreto a voces*), The theatre in Granada 1829–41, The identity of a poet D. Diego de Mendoza (distinguished from the historian), An ode by Estébanez Calderón. Cervantes: Episode of Clavileño (Schevill), Extraneous matter in the First Part (Buchanan), Devices for maintaining Suspense. South American Literature: Zenea, J. M. Gutiérrez. Comparative Literature: (Germany) *Peregrinus Composte-*

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lanus, Hoffmann in Spain, (France) Two Dances (Meyer-Lübke), Sources of Mistral's *Calendau*, (Italy) Attributes of the spirits in the *Divina Commedia*. Journalism: Bibliographies for Barcelona 1840–41, and Granada 1820–23. Folklore: Proverbs about Cats. *Philology:* Metrics: *Cid* (Hills), *Cancionero de Baena* (Lang), Orthography (syllabism) of Lope de Vega's autographs (Morley). Purism, Phonetics of Deaf Mutes, Hyperbaton, Catalan *rai* and congeners of *vaig portar*. *Law: Fuero Juzgo* in the present Code. There is a preface by Jacinto Benavente, and a portrait of Bonilla which has been much retouched. There is no bibliography, as yet, of Bonilla's works. W. J. E.

We have received from Prof. Letterio di Francia an agreeable and welcome pamphlet, *Il Pentamerone di Giambattista Basile* (Turin: Migliotti e Besso. 1927. 25 pp.), the inaugural lecture of a course on Italian literature delivered by him at the University of Turin. *Lo Cunto de li cunti*, to give Basile's book its alternative title, has been twice translated into English, and fresh attention has been called to it by the recent Italian version of Benedetto Croce. Basile is perhaps the only novelist of the Seicento who can still be read with pleasure; in its artistic elaboration of the Neapolitan dialect, the *Pentamerone* represents the southern reaction against the linguistic despotism of the Crusca; it combines in a singular fashion the literary tendencies of the seventeenth century with purely popular elements, and its handling of the *fiaba popolare*, the fairy-tale of popular folklore, has given it a place of importance in the study of comparative literature. Professor di Francia's lecture is an admirable introduction to the closer study of Basile, illustrating clearly the essential characteristics of his work, its relation to the literature of its times, and the claims it still has upon the attention of the modern reader. E. G. G.

In his *Mittelhochdeutsche Novellenstudien* (Palæstra, CLIII. Leipzig: Mayer und Müller. x + 541 pp. 34 M.) Dr Hans Friedrich Rosenfeld prints the texts of two Middle High German versions of the first story under the titles *Der Hellerwertwitz* and *Der Pfennigwertwitz*, together with hitherto unedited or not easily accessible Latin and English versions, as well as summaries of Russian, Indian, and African versions handed down by oral tradition. Of the second story he gives us the texts of the 'Münchener Fassung' and the 'Wiener Fassung' and texts A and B of the 'Gesamtabenteuerfassung.' The texts occupy about a hundred and fifty pages, whilst some three hundred pages are devoted to an exhaustive discussion of the language, metre, construction, relation to the sources, and to the influence of Godfrid, Wolfram, Konrad von Würzburg, Hartmann von Aue and others. Valuable annotations occupy some seventy pages, and an alphabetical list of annotated words, etc. ten pages. Rosenfeld most conveniently indicates by an asterisk words not found, or found only with other meanings, in Lexer.

The literary relations of the first story give little difficulty, but the relation of the various German versions of *Der Schüler von Paris* to one another and to other (e.g., French) versions of the story presents a very

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difficult problem. In his attempts to solve it Rosenfeld neglects one possible clue, namely the vocabulary. In the 'Münchener Fassung' of *Der Schüler von Paris*, for example, we find 'gesinde' with the meaning 'Gattin' (l. 43) and 'zwivelhaft' with the meaning 'ohnmächtig' (l. 427), and other words with meanings not found elsewhere. Since such uses look like attempts at transliteration an investigation of these words might throw some light on the problem. A. C. D.

Professor Karl Breul has returned once more to *Reinaert* and now publishes *The Cambridge Reinaert Fragments* (Cambridge: The University Press. 1927. xxiv + 51 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*). In addition to excellent photographic reproductions of the 'Culemann Fragments,' which are conveniently transcribed on the opposite pages, Professor Breul gives us a corrected text with parallels from *Reinaert II* and *Reinke*. The book also contains an introduction dealing with the origin and development of the Medieval Beast Epic, some annotations on his text, and a list of the more important books and articles on the subject. The publication of this book coincides with a reawakening of interest in *Reinhart Fuchs* in Germany, as witnessed by the work of Baesecke, Wallner and Zwierzina, recently published or announced as immediately forthcoming. A. C. D.

Professor Edwin H. Zeydel has sent us a useful little study of some forty pages dealing with *Early References to Storm and Stress in German Literature* (*Indiana University Studies*, Vol. XIII, No. 71. Bloomington, Ind. 50 c.). He has collected together such references, many of them new, including a particularly interesting (and inaccessible) characterisation of the period from the *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen* of J. K. Riesbeck (1783). I am not convinced by Professor Zeydel's conclusion that 'to contemporary writers the term "Sturm und Drang" is the standard description for the period'; and indeed it seems to stand in contradiction with his further statement that '"Sturm und Drang" does not become the fixed, standard phrase before Scherer,' or again that 'the phrase must have been perfectly well known in the eighteenth century, but was not widely used.' Professor Zeydel, however, does show the 'early potential development' of the phrase as a literary designation before Tieck's use of it in the Preface to his edition of Lenz (1828), and he cites one clear example in this sense in A. W. Schlegel's Berlin lectures of 1803–4. Surely 'Sturm und Drang' was used for the period long before Scherer. J. G. R.

American Indian words adopted by European languages are collected in two handy dictionaries: Karl Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der amerikanischen* (*indianischen*) *Wörter im Deutschen* (Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1926. 3 M. 50), and Georg Friederici, *Hilfswörterbuch für den Amerikanisten* (Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1926. 8 M.). These usefully supplement each other. Lokotsch gives the etymology of those Indian words in current use among educated Germans; he tries to fix the specific Indian dialects drawn upon and adds historical notes. Friederici is fuller, but like Lokotsch does not aim at exhaustiveness, as is shown by a comparison with the list of Indian words supplied by Krapp in his *English*

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Language in America (reviewed Vol. XXII, p. 468). In both works the foreigner would have been grateful for some indications of gender and inflexion in modern usage. The chief value of Friederici lies in the documentation, especially of the relevant Spanish sources. Both works have informative introductions, Lokotsch discussing the classification of the Indian languages and Friederici the conditions of borrowing by the Spaniards. W. E. C.

Among the many recent miscellanies two stand out. On his seventy-fifth birthday Sievers received a most handsome tribute in the *Germanica* (Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1925. 36 M.), adorned by two excellent photographs of himself and containing valuable contributions by thirty-two scholars (out of the hundred and ninety-five inscribed on the 'tabula gratulatoria'). The range covered befits Sievers' wide and varied interests with its inclusion of articles on place-names and personal names, the Germanic vocabulary, Old Norse, Old English (with an etymology of 'Beowulf' by Wadstein), Old High German (doublets in the weak conjugations), Middle High German (with an article by Schwietering containing an excellent illustration of a *zimier*), and the history of philological research. The volume presented to G. Ehrismann on his seventieth birthday is entitled *Vom Werden des deutschen Geistes* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1925. 8 M.). Apart from the opening contribution by Helm on some aspects of Germanic religion, this volume is concerned more with High German and is ably edited by Merker and Stammler. Zwierzina discusses Middle German 'e < i,' Behaghel the baffling forms in '-o' (*desto, jetzo*, etc.), Schneider the popular ballad and Sütterlin the prepositions in the Palatinate dialect. Both of these well-produced miscellanies are indispensable to the philologist. W. E. C.

Faced with the difficulty with which universities, all the world over, are confronted, owing to the increased costs of printing, the University of Chicago has now made the publication of theses presented for its higher degrees optional, but requires from all its graduates abstracts of some 1200 to 3000 words which are published by the university. We have received Volumes II and III of the Humanistic Series of these *Abstracts of Theses* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press; Cambridge: University Press. 504 and 431 pp. Each 15*s*.), which cover the years 1923–25. This is a valuable record of the output of the university, and the plan might well be adopted elsewhere—as, indeed, it is by the Historical Institute of the University of London in its *Bulletin*. Considering that the graduates have themselves to defray the cost of printing these abstracts, surely the volumes might be less expensive. It is obvious that only libraries will purchase them; but nowadays the resources of even large libraries are limited. J. G. R.

Readers of the *Modern Language Review* will regret to see the disappearance from our title-page of the name of Professor G. C. Moore Smith, who has been Editor of our English section for the past twelve years. He succeeded the late Mr G. C. Macaulay in the autumn of 1915. With

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what success Professor Moore Smith's whole-hearted labour has been attended it is unnecessary—as it would be out of place for us—to emphasise. Our readers and English scholarship as a whole are deep in his debt. The English contents of the present number have been entirely prepared under his editorship, and the April number will naturally still owe much to it. His resignation, we are glad to add, is in no way due to failing health, but rather to the desire to reserve himself for other work and to see the English department of the *Review* under the control of a younger man.

As his successor Dr Charles J. Sisson, Reader in English in the University of London (University College), has been appointed. We have been fortunate in obtaining the services of Dr Sisson who brings to his task enthusiasm and zeal, and a determination to maintain the tradition of the past. J. G. R.

CORRECTION. In the notice of Dr Mühlhausen's edition of *Die vier Zweige des Mabinogi* in vol. XXII, p. 487, it is stated that the text is a compound of the Red Book with the White Book versions of the *Mabinogi*. This should read: 'the Red Book text with White Book variants.' The last sentence of the notice should be deleted. The proof containing these corrections was unfortunately lost in the post.

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VOLUME XXIII APRIL, 1928 NUMBER 2

THE 'SOUL OF GRAMMAR' AND THE 'PHILOSOPHY OF GRAMMAR' WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE QUESTION OF ENGLISH CASES

IT is a delicate and invidious task to undertake the criticism of a work[1] by a veteran scholar, whose past achievement has earned him a just award of public recognition. The critic's task is rendered the more difficult by the chorus of approbation which *The Soul of Grammar* has evoked. *The Times Literary Supplement* commends it highly in a collective review, in which Jespersen's *Modern English Grammar* is relegated to second place. The *Journal of Education* in a short notice says: 'The case for conservatism in grammatical teaching has never been more ably stated than in these lucid and masterly pages.' From the *Birmingham Post* the publishers quote the dictum that no teacher or student of grammar can afford to neglect this essay. With this we can express agreement to the extent that it is most useful at the present juncture to have the 'conservative' or traditional case expounded by its foremost champion. By a stroke of good luck the simultaneous appearance of Jespersen's latest volume on English Syntax[2] enables us to assess the value of the 'reform' proposals as well, especially where the same phenomena are treated. For the teacher the 'philosophic doubt' engendered by Jespersen's writings in particular may be 'weakening,' as the *Journal of Education* points out; but for the philologist it is the growing-point of linguistic knowledge. The foreign teacher of English, already much influenced by the new outlook, is often surprised to find an issue being fought out here, which he has long regarded as settled. It, therefore, behoves us to consider very carefully what attitude we are to adopt and then fearlessly to draw the consequences from it.

Professor Sonnenschein calls his work *The Soul of Grammar*. The many pointed references to Jespersen (*s.v.* in index) suggest that the title is a counterblast to the latter's *Philosophy of Grammar*, in which indeed the words 'The Soul of Grammar' actually appear as a heading on p. 344. Jespersen's work is a closely-reasoned, systematic and largely original treatise on grammatical phenomena; whether acceptable in its entirety

[1] E. A. Sonnenschein, *The Soul of Grammar*. Cambridge, University Press, 1927. ix + 120 pp. 6*s*.

[2] O. Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar*, vol. III, Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1927, ix + 415 pp. English edition: London, Allen and Unwin, 1928.

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or not, it is an important contribution to methodology. The 'soul' of grammar would, however, judging from Sonnenschein's book, seem to manifest itself in two or three aspects only, viz., case, mood and tense, for these alone form the subject-matter of his book. Apparently, too, this 'soul' is immortal, for the cases, moods and tenses of the reconstructed ancestral language, Indo-European, have persisted into modern English (though Sonnenschein discounts the locative, instrumental and ablative), in spite of the obliterating effects of our lack of inflexions and in spite of the English child's patent difficulties in grasping the case-system of Latin, Greek and German. The motto of the book is 'Evolution, not Revolution,' and one of its aims is to demonstrate the *syntactical* kinship of modern English, French, German and Spanish to the ancient tongues of Greece and Rome (p. vii). The author would disclaim any purpose of imposing the Latin case-system upon English (p. 18, note 1), but he retains the Latin names *nominative*, *vocative*, *accusative*, *genitive* and *dative* for the English cases he posits, just as he uses *subjunctive* and *optative* in discussing mood. The method of presentment is a dogmatic one; a definition of the genus (e.g., *case*, p. 8, *moods* and *tenses*, p. 54) is given, then each species is taken separately and in turn subdivided according to its uses. Examples from English, German, Latin, French, Spanish and Greek are grouped together under each sub-heading with a view to exhibiting their essential resemblances.

Here, I propose to examine in more detail Sonnenschein's treatment of the English cases with special reference to his strictures on Jespersen's proposals, which we can now see fully worked out in practice in vol. III of the *Modern English Grammar*. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to make some general observations in regard to principles. This is best done by criticising some of Sonnenschein's introductory statements.

On p. vi he says: 'Comparative Grammar has definitely established the existence of certain families of human speech, which it classifies according to their affinities of structure.' 'It is still possible,' he continues, 'to speak of a "common grammar" in the sense of a grammatical system which is applicable not indeed to all language, but to all the languages of one family.' This major premiss, which seems to its author so obvious, is very vulnerable. Two distinct methods of linguistic classification are here confused. Languages are grouped *either* according to their historical or genealogical relationships (*genealogische Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse*, cf. Güntert, *Grundfragen der Sprachwissenschaft*, pp. 99 ff.) *or* according to their structure (*Art des Formenbaus* of Güntert). The question of structural affinity as apart from genetic kinship has been

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admirably treated by E. Sapir in his chapter 'Types of Linguistic Structure' (*Language*, pp. 127 ff.). Observation shows, indeed, that a certain structural unity or type may persist in an historical language-group (e.g., Finno-Ugrian in the method of suffixation with vowel harmony, or Semitic in respect of its system of word-building), but structural modifications may emerge which separate a language from its historical cognates and approximate it to languages of a totally different origin. Even so, there need be no 'breach of continuity,' such as Sonnenschein apprehends (p. vii). All languages are changing continually, but at varying speeds, as may be seen by comparing (*a*) the English, Low German, Norwegian, (*b*) the Modern Icelandic system of sounds and forms with (*c*) Primitive Germanic. All comparative grammarians would recognise that the Celtic languages have moved syntactically very far indeed from the Indo-European type, so that Pokorny, among others, seeks the explanation in the influence of non-Indo-European substrata. Within Celtic the Brythonic languages lack formal distinctions which the Goidelic languages preserve. Similarly Modern Persian presents a barer structure than Old Persian. We still class these various languages as Indo-European, for the assessment of change in its relation to continuous development is simply a matter of perspective. A modern house does not look much like a daub and wattle hut, but if we compare both with a cave-dwelling, we notice certain common features, e.g., a roof, supports and a door. All Indo-European languages share certain characteristics in contradistinction to the Finno-Ugrian if only in a negative way, e.g., none contains such a wealth of local case-forms and none uses a pronominal possessive suffix in the declension of substantives, adjectives and participles. But within Indo-European some languages (English and, to some extent, Welsh) show such a formal bareness, that it cannot be heinous to parallel them with Chinese. *I want water to wash my face* lacks all formal indication of relation beyond order and intonation, and is structurally far more like *na shui lai hsi lien*, lit. 'take water come wash face,' where each word is flexionless, than like the equivalent phrase in Greek, Latin or Sanskrit, which all express the person in a flexional suffix, have an accusative case-form for 'water,' an inflected gerund or a tense-differentiated infinitive for 'to wash,' congruence in gender, number and case of 'my' with 'face,' and the accusative form of 'face'! On the other hand in vocabulary, methods of word-building and the actual affixes employed, as well as in the major syntactical groupings (separation of the subject, verb and object; subordination by conjunctive particles;

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averseness from holophrasms) and in its characteristic idioms, English is still most strikingly Indo-European, i.e., structurally as well as genetically akin to the other languages of the family. But Professor Sonnenschein is not content with this. He recognises that the same English form of the substantive, say, *man* (or at any rate the same form apart from intonation and position) fulfils functions spread over the nominative, vocative, accusative and dative in Latin, but he desires to keep these terms to indicate the several 'functions' of *man* in: *man is mortal*; *man, know thyself*; *God created man*; *God gave man a soul* (my examples). His genitive alone has a separate 'form' as well: *man's*. Jespersen recognises the genitive, but following an Englishman, Sweet, calls the formally undifferentiated *man* a 'common case,' a term which rouses Sonnenschein's ire (p. 7). 'Common to what?' he asks—but surely Jespersen would reply: Common to the functions of acting as subject, mode of address, object and indirect object. Sonnenschein himself makes use of all these functional terms, but wants his cases as well. How does he proceed to justify his demand?

He proceeds by formulating a new definition of case (p. 8): *A case is a form of a noun or a pronoun or adjective standing or capable of standing in one of a particular group of relations to some other member or members of a sentence.* A little further on (p. 9), we are warned not to use 'case' as Deutschbein does, to include prepositional phrases, e.g., *in London, before dawn*, etc. The definition is hardly a happy one, for we are not informed what particular group of relations is intended, and the subsequent exclusion of prepositional phrases is not warranted by the definition, for whatever the particular group of relations is, there can be no doubt that *him* in *give it him* and *to him* in *give it to him* express the identical particular relation of the pronoun to the other members of the sentence and are formally distinct. The question arises in an acute form in Welsh. Are we to say that *i mi* (to me) is a prepositional phrase, but *iddi* (to her—*i* and *hi*) is a dative case? But each expresses the same particular relation. If Professor Sonnenschein argues that they are as formally distinct as *he, to him* and *him*, then that is making 'form' the criterion of case—as indeed Jespersen does—and we shall see when coming to his examples that he will not do so. What he does is to vacillate between form and function in a purely arbitrary fashion.

Let us first clear up a minor point at issue between Sonnenschein and Jespersen. On p. 177 of the *Philosophy of Grammar* Jespersen argues that he is justified in positing two cases, a dative and ablative, for the

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identic Latin form *Julio*, or a nominative and accusative for the form *templum*, because in other declensions this formal distinction obtains, e.g., *do* Julio (Juliae) *librum*; *cum* Julio (Julia) etc. In the same way he distinguishes nominative and oblique in *you* because of the parallel *I*, *me*, etc., and a present and preterite *put*, *cut* because of *sing*, *sang*, etc. It is to be noted that he will speak of different cases only when a distinction is found somewhere within the same word-class. This is intended to invalidate the objection that he should argue from the recognition of two cases in the pronoun *he*, *him* to that of two cases in the same substantival form *man*. In the context quoted above Jespersen says: 'No one would have dreamt of postulating a Latin ablative case if it had not in many instances been different in form from the dative.' Sonnenschein thinks he can clearly disprove Jespersen's assertion by quoting from Quintilian (p. 17): 'For when I say *hasta percussi*, I am not using an ablative proper (*non utor ablativi natura*), and when I express the same idea in Greek I am not using a dative proper.' But surely all this amounts merely to an awareness of a fact which no one disputes, viz., that the same case-form may have several different functions. I cannot see how Sonnenschein can escape from the dilemma of his own creating. If he is in earnest about case-distinctions representing particular groups of relations, even under the same forms he must speak of a Latin instrumental and sociative as cases apart from the ablative, he must allow Greek an ablative, and I cannot see how he can escape adding an ablative to English, for though I feel sure he would class *the country* in *to flee the country* as an accusative (*patriam fugere!*), what can he make of *his regiment* in *he was dismissed his regiment*? If it is conceivable that we should speak of a Latin ablative even if we had no declensional paradigm except the second, then I fail to see why we should not include an ablative in the Greek declensions as well. Ideas about cases would be straightened out by reading Noreen's remarks on 'status' and 'case' in *Vårt Språk*, v, p. 178. It is unfortunate that confused and antiquated views of case, exploded by a whole series of careful investigators, not only foreign, but including Sweet as well, should still be paraded before us. It is still worse that committees on terminology should make English more difficult to English children than it is to foreigners.

We must now examine the various uses assigned by Sonnenschein to his cases. The nominative is said to be used as the subject of a sentence or clause, and predicatively of the subject: England *expects*, etc.; *are you not* he...? It is not stated that the converse holds good, viz.,

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that the subject and predicative must stand in the nominative, but no provision is made under the other cases for the subject and predicative, and so we may fairly take it that in Sonnenschein's scheme subject = nominative, and predicative = nominative. Jespersen points out that in Finnish the predicative after the verb 'to be' is according to context a nominative, a partitive, an essive or a translative. He might have added that the subject, too, in Finnish is often partitive, so that there is no logical necessity to posit a nominative case for a subjective or predicative function. Even in Welsh (an Indo-European language!) the predicative substantive is preceded by the preposition *yn* (in), e.g., *y mae ef* yn wr *da* 'he is a good *husband*' in a manner analogous to the Ancient Egyptian use of the *m* (= in) of equivalence, cf. A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 38, and to the original locative force of the Finnish essive case-suffix *-na*. Further, even if he eliminates *it's me*, how will he interpret Dan. *det er mig*? Is *mig* a nominative-accusative or an accusative-nominative?

The vocative is said to denote not only the person addressed, but also the person or thing invoked. On the formal side it may be pointed out that English never had a separate vocative inflexion, though, no doubt, it had a special intonation and required the use of the weak instead of the strong form of the adjective, e.g., *Hróðgar leofa* (common Germanic, cf. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax*, I, § 114). On the functional side it may be pointed out that invocation is so far different from mere address that many Indo-European languages use for the first prepositions (*by*, *per*, Welsh *myn*, etc.) which they would not dream of using with the second. And it has escaped Sonnenschein's notice that if we grant him his vocative case in English on the ground of specific intonation, then he must grant us an 'invocative' case, for any sensitive ear will detect a difference of intonation and 'phrasing' in *Good God, is that you?* (his own example) and *O God, our help in ages past.*

The English accusative is assigned a great variety of uses: *who steals my* purse...(object); *he called me an* ass (predicative of object); *live a blameless* life (cognate object (cf. the much more fruitful treatment in Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar*, III, p. 234)); *he asked* me *a* question (two objects); *go* home, *I have walked* twenty miles, *they sat an* hour (all adverbial accusatives). In § 29 we hear of 'freer' uses of the adverbial accusative, e.g., *er arbeitet* jeden Tag ('time when'—why is not the English example *he works every day* inserted?); *er führte mich* einen andern Weg (same query); *es ist* keinen Heller *wert* (same query). Surely he cannot have omitted the English rendering *I teach you the English*

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language for his German *ich lehre dich die englische Sprache* out of deference to Jespersen's remarks on p. 175 of the *Philosophy of Grammar*! In any case, we have a formidable array of English accusative-functions given here, but where is the functional definition of the word accusative, which will cover them all? In the absence of that definition and of any formal distinction in English, how will the English pupil know when he is in the presence of an accusative, if his native 'Sprachgefühl' has not been reorientated by a course of Latin grammar? Only by reciting a long rigmarole of usages! But even the classical data have been manipulated to suit the accusative-theory, for on pp. 26 f., § 29, the reader is supplied with the accusatives *id temporis* and *τὴν ὥραν* as if they were the normal expression of 'time when,' and no mention is made of the Latin ablative *hoc tempore* or that Greek 'inherited' meaning of the dative treated by Sonnenschein himself in his *Greek Grammar*[3], § 433. Add to this that the accusative of 'time when' is apparently not a primitive Germanic construction either (cf. Behaghel, *op. cit.*, § 494, Anm.). I should also like to ask how Sonnenschein regards the italicised words in: 'he fought *night and day*' in view of the genitive in Greek *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρᾶς*, and in Anglo-Saxon, e.g., *Beowulf*, 2269, *dæges ond nihtes* (cf. Behaghel, *op. cit.*, p. 591). If he says 'acusative,' he must concede a 'breach of continuity.' He certainly will do so, for he is prepared to use accusative in certain cases where Anglo-Saxon had a dative or genitive on the ground that 'the accusative has encroached upon the domains of the other cases' (p. 27). What a precise criterion! If we are told that anyhow German has an accusative in the case of *night and day* as above, we may fittingly reply, that German shows an accusative in the 'absolute' construction, where Sonnenschein himself demands a nominative in English, e.g., *we sitting* as in Spanish (§§ 59, 63). So we had better drop the pretence that High German can tell us what case we are using, even if we do not know it ourselves.

Before passing on to the genitive we must ask for Sonnenschein's ruling on the following quite normal English constructions: *what* price *is that hat? that hat is ten* shillings; *what* colour (shape, etc.) *is this building?* If the italicised words are nominatives, then a rubric must be added to § 20, for they are neither subjects nor predicatives of the kind exemplified. If he proceeds historically in his search for an interpretation, we can give him his choice between genitive (Greek, Latin), ablative (Latin) and locative (as the origin of the Latin genitive of price, cf. Sonnenschein, *Greek Grammar*, p. 250, footnote). But he has already quite rightly claimed the *'s* form for the genitive

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and yet to emphasise the 'common grammar' of our family he must be tempted to take *price* as a genitive. Then we shall have two genitives in English, one inflected and one non-inflected—and that straw will break the camel's back!

At the inflected genitive we have a breathing-space, for the protagonists agree. So soothing is its effect that we find Jespersen proposing the term 'appositional' for the *of*-phrase in the *city of Rome*, just as Sonnenschein proposes 'appositive' on p. 39. Unfortunately it is a temporary lull only, for when we come to the 'English dative,' we see that it is war to the knife! Once again Sonnenschein unrolls before us a catalogue of uses of the 'dative proper' in English, e.g., (1) he caused his *father* anxiety; give [pay] *me* the money; tell *him* the truth; write *me* a letter (indirect object); (2) tell *me*; pay *me*; pardon *me* (dative proper as sole object); (3) he has built *me* a house (adverbial dative with verbs); (4) the ethical, emotional or pathetic dative; (5) like *him*; near the *fire*; opposite the *post-office* (adverbial datives). Fortunately 'datives improper' have not found a lodgment in our modest speech (p. 34). The parallel examples supplied show a dative in Latin throughout, a dative in German except with *bezahlen*, an *à*-clause in French except with *payer* without the 'payment-object.' The ancestor is an Indo-European dative (p. 14) limited to the meanings 'to' and 'for.' Lastly, we have as a rule in English the order: indirect object + object, so that there is even a formal criterion for an English dative and respectable historical evidence. How does Jespersen propose to assail this well-entrenched Sonnenschein line?

His plan of attack is clearly described on p. 174 of his *Philosophy of Grammar*; his 'moppers up' follow in the *Modern English Grammar*. We will summarise his points as follows: (1) absence of inflexional distinction between direct and indirect object in English; (2) failure of positional criterion in view of *I give it him* and *I give him it*; (3) his own inability to distinguish dative from accusative in sentences of the same formal type, e.g., *ask* the boy *a question*; *hear him his lesson*; *take the boy a long walk*; *call him names*; *call him a scoundrel*; *paint the wall a different colour*; (4) inadequacy of the 'conversion-test' in view of the admissibility of both *the boy was awarded a scholarship* and *a scholarship was awarded the boy*, and of the inadmissibility of *names were called the boy*, despite the fact that Sonnenschein must take *names* as an accusative. Even Sonnenschein's ally, Mr Morgan Callaway, has merely stiffened Jespersen's opposition (*Grammar*, p. 280). To speak of a dative as separate from the accusative in Modern English is, he says, just as unhistorical as to speak of Normandy

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and New England as parts of the British Empire. In the points given I can see but one opening for a counter-attack and that is the argument from the pronominal order *give it him*; *give him it* to a different word-class, the substantive. However there is the possibility of saying *give it the boy*, even though I think that the 'recipient' is placed second only when it is collocated with a pronoun. Jespersen's 'position' is so far maintained.

It is to be noted, however, (1) that Jespersen does draw a distinction between the direct and indirect object in *I give him it* or *I give it him*, and that he speaks of (2) two (direct) objects in *they struck him a heavy blow*, (3) a nexus in *they made him President*, and (4) an object and subjunct in *they banished him the realm*, *paint it a different colour*. The chief marks of (1), i.e., indirect and direct object, are the not always realised possibility of substituting a *to*-phrase for the indirect object and the negative one of not standing alone with the verb, e.g., from *they offered the man a reward* we can isolate *offered a reward*, but not *offered the man*. Sometimes we can isolate either constituent, e.g., *teach a lesson*, *teach the boy* (cf. *ask*, *hear*), and Jespersen is not always sure himself, as he is candid enough to admit (*Grammar*, p. 299), whether to speak of two objects or not.

It may occur to some to judge that, having admitted a distinction between the direct and indirect object Jespersen has really been admitting a dative all the time though under a different name. But the different kinds of 'object' are to Jespersen *functional* as opposed to formal distinctions and not tied to any particular case. Thus, he might say, in Finnish the indirect object is in the allative case, and in some Low German dialects it is in the oblique case. Now I think we are justified in asking Jespersen whether he regards his distinction between direct and indirect object as a 'functional' one, that is—in his own terminology —one of syntactical function, or as a 'notional' one. As I tried to face Sonnenschein with a dilemma in connexion with *what price*, I must redress the balance by facing Jespersen with a dilemma of *his* own creating! If the difference between *him* in *see him* and *give it him* is a 'notional' one, then I fail to grasp the meaning of the first sentence of 14. 8: 'While the use of the indirect object...goes back to the earliest times accessible, the concurrent use of a prepositional phrase has been steadily growing....' But no doubt Jespersen would agree that there is no 'notional' distinction between *give it him* and *give it to him*. Is the indirect object, then, a 'functional' or 'formal' term (using *or* not in the disjunctive sense, but rather as *and/or*)? If so, I fear Jespersen may have to yield ground! Let us see what he himself says on p. 50 of the

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Philosophy of Grammar: 'The principle here advocated is that we should recognize in the syntax of any language only such categories as have found in that language formal expression, but it will be remembered that "form" is taken in a very wide sense, including form-words and word-position.' So, we may take it, the 'indirect object,' if a functional term, has found in English *some kind of* formal expression! In the substantive formal differences would be classed by Jespersen himself as 'cases' and I cannot see any escape from the inference—if Jespersen is prepared to stand by the principle just quoted—that the recognition of an indirect object as a separate function carries with it the recognition of two cases of *me, him*, etc., and—still more serious—of a differentiation within the 'common' case of the substantive! Whether he calls the case 'dative' or not is a minor matter compared with this. If I were he, I would give up the 'functional' distinction and re-word 14. 8, so as to make sure that *him* and *to him* were alternative expressions for the same 'notion.' Otherwise he must abandon a good deal of the ground captured. After all, he makes use of 'notional' categories in organising his syntactical material, for the object of 'result' (pp. 232 ff.) is 'notional' rather than 'functional,' so that it would not involve an infraction of his plan. Owing to the Janus-like character of syntactic categories (*Philosophy of Grammar*, p. 56) he must often refer to meanings.

Have we then no means of distinguishing *him* in *call him a cab* and *call him a liar*? I think we must face the fact that we have no *purely* linguistic grounds for doing so in English. The 'schema' of both sentences is identical, not only in word-order, but apparently even in intonation. The difference is 'notional' or 'psychological'; it lies in our varying mental reaction to the sense both of *call* and *him*. We bring home this distinction to ourselves by isolating *him* and substituting for it in the first place *to him, for him* or *for his sake*, but rejecting these substitutory equivalents in the second. A crucial example would be one with identical wording and different senses: *call me a slave*. Torn from its context, this sentence obviously bears two different interpretations. If it is claimed that we can distinguish the predicative use of *slave* by its inability to stand as subject in a passive 'turn,' we must reply that without a definite context, i.e., a consideration of 'meaning,' we do not know what form the passive will take! Similarly in the case of *the ruler gave him her in marriage*, we should perhaps be tempted to regard *him* as the object of the transaction and *her* as the recipient, beneficiary or transferee (to use notional terms) if the context dealt with matriarchy, but *him* as recipient and *her* as object if it did not.

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Judging Jespersen's instances from a purely psychological point of view I fail to differentiate between *him* in *they gave him a blow* and *him* in *they hit him a blow*; I recognise the same relation again in *I hear him the lesson, I ask him a question* and *I teach him English*. It would be an interesting investigation to ascertain whether this applies to many other English speakers as well.

In English—as in the Scandinavian languages and in Welsh—much is left to mere juxtaposition. This rudimentary 'formal' device has been treated by Paul in his *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, chap. VI, as *Aneinanderreihung*, by Bühler in the Vossler miscellany and by Sechehaye in *La Structure Logique de la Phrase*, Paris 1926, s.v. *juxtaposition, préposition zéro, absence de copule* in his index. Everyone is aware of its importance in word-building by composition. As Sechehaye says we do not think of a *coffee-mill* as a mill driven by coffee or of a *wind-mill* as a mill which grinds wind! In syntax too the relation may be left implicit in a similar way. French shows some examplés, e.g., *parler littérature* (cf. *talk shop*), *je viendrai lundi* (cf. *come Monday*) and occasionally goes beyond what is admissible in English, e.g., *cela sent le goudron, cela sent le renfermé*. Welsh uses juxtaposition where we use a genitive or an *of*-phrase, e.g., *ty pen y bryn*, lit. 'house top the hill.' It has it even for such relations as in *dannedd gosod* for 'false teeth,' lit. 'teeth place,' *bara dangos* 'shew bread,' lit. 'bread show,' *burm gwneud* 'home-made barm,' lit. 'barm make,' *llaeth cadw* 'milk for making butter,' lit. 'milk keep,' *injan malu gwair* 'hay-chopping machine,' lit. 'engine chop hay,' etc. Economisation by the use of contact alone is very common in English. Some relations normally find explicit expression, others remain implicit. Misunderstanding does not arise if the leading word or words arouse an expectation of a specific kind. The following sentence, though not English, i.e., not sanctioned by usage, will probably be understandable by most in spite of its lack of all 'relaters': *man dog stalk deer forest yesterday kill deer bring antlers home put wall*. This is merely carrying a stage further a process we are constantly employing, e.g., *I drove the car home yesterday afternoon full speed*. One task of the grammarian would be to determine the limits of such economies. A purely notional grammar in which all the constructions and turns available to express a given category of meaning, e.g., 'moment of time at which, by which,' etc., would, I think, show two remarkable qualities of English: on the one hand a great wealth of relational expressions and on the other a tendency to dispense with certain of these in certain contingencies. But we must now return to Sonnenschein.

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It is when we come to Sonnenschein's 'case-phrases' that we are left in the worst confusion. In § 69 we are told that 'in Modern English it may fairly be said that all sense of a distinction between the two cases [viz., accusative and dative] in dependence on prepositions has been blotted out.' Now, surely, the use of the expression 'sense of a distinction' involves a new criterion, which Sonnenschein—unfortunately be it said—has not seen fit to use. Does it not imply an appeal to the experience of native English speakers, whose 'sense' of their language has not been deflected by a study of historical grammar or of foreign languages? In § 44 we are told that *him* in *like him*, *near him*, *opposite him* is an adverbial dative (with adjective and adverb) and that it is replaceable by the dative-phrase *to him*, e.g., *nearer to him*, etc. A dative-phrase is a prepositional phrase replacing a dative case. Now if Sonnenschein is so sure that *him* is a dative after *near*, why should he hesitate to call *him* a dative after *near(er) to*? Though I should not call *him* a dative in either instance, I fail to see why Sonnenschein should be sure of his ground in one instance, but not in the other. Still more remarkable is the wording of the second footnote to § 69: 'The British Terminology Committee, in view of the need of giving *some simple rule* [my italics] for the teaching of English, appealed to the analogy of Latin, French and Modern Greek and recommended that *if the case depending on a preposition in English be named* [author's italics] it be called the accusative.' The American committee likewise adopted the accusative here. Again we cannot help wondering why it should seem less desirable to name the case after a preposition than after an adjective or verb. More important still we must ask whether the 'sometime Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Terminology of Grammar' now throws over the accusative his committee proposed and if not, how he can reconcile this recommendation with the wording of his text in § 69 as quoted above. A very little thought will show the utter absurdity of the proposal to speak invariably of an English accusative depending on a preposition. It would involve taking *him* in *similar to him* as an accusative (but *him* in *like him* as a dative), but it is still worse when we come to expressions like the following: *the firm of Lewis*, *the firm of Lewis's*, for there we have, adopting the suggestion of the committee, an accusative in each case, one in the form *Lewis* and the other in the form *Lewis's*, which, however, Sonnenschein claims as a formal genitive.

It has been a thankless, but necessary task to point out the confusions and inconsistencies with which *The Soul of Grammar* teems. It is now time to indicate the general mistakes of method and outlook to

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which they are due. We may sum these up as follows: (1) vacillation between *formal* and *functional* criteria of classification; (2) total failure to distinguish between the task of *historical* grammar and that of *descriptive* grammar—and this in spite of the work of men like De Saussure whose views in the *Cours de linguistique générale* have become almost a commonplace of linguistic research; (3) perhaps the root of all the trouble, viz., the first footnote on p. 9: 'it is of course assumed that the relations in which words stand to one another in a sentence correspond to the relations of the things or activities denoted by the words.' In regard to this latter assumption the author cannot do better than study carefully what Ogden and Richards have to say about symbolisation in *The Meaning of Meaning*, a work which was warmly commended by that precise classical scholar, the late Professor Postgate. He would also do well to ponder Sechehaye's penetrating analysis in *La Structure Logique de la Phrase*, more especially pp. 98 ff., which treat 'De l'attribution arbitraire d'une idée à une catégorie dans la langue.' As Sechehaye says: 'Les catégories de l'imagination ne sont pas...dans les choses elles-mêmes, mais dans la vision que nous en avons, ou pour mieux dire, que nous en prenons.'

Before proceeding to my final task, that of discussing vol. III of Professor Jespersen's *Modern English Grammar*, to which I have often had occasion to refer, I feel it is only fair to the holders of the views criticised, that the critic himself should sketch, however summarily, his own attitude to problems of English grammar. It is based upon Jespersen's view to the extent that distinctive grammatical terms should be applied only to distinctive *formal* categories. We should recognise in the pronoun a nominative and an oblique case; in the substantive a genitive case and an undifferentiated case which might be called the general case, the uninflected case or the basic form (cf. Noreen's use of 'grunnform'). Although it would be premature to express certain reservations as to the adequacy of Jespersen's 'functional' classification of syntactical phenomena—we are all eagerly awaiting Professor Williams's review of *The Philosophy of Grammar*!—I cannot help feeling that more might be made of two characteristics of English, which seem fundamental from the descriptive point of view. The one is, as we have seen, the use of mere contact as a means of conveying the most diverse relations; the other is the tendency to leave implicit what many other languages make explicit. We have already seen that *give the man a book*; *make the man a king*; *make the man a pudding* are formally identical, but convey different relations. How do we know that the relations to be expressed are different? Only

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by attending to the 'meanings' the speaker or writer intends. Now what matters to the student of any mother-tongue above all is (1) the recognition of the value for thought and emotion of the formal and lexical features which that language offers, and (2) the acquisition of devices (whether inflexions, constructions, phrases or vocables), whereby he can render the expression of his thoughts more precise and that of his emotions more adequate. In what way can it benefit a student of English to be told that *home* in *go home* is an accusative, but *home* in *near home* is a dative and then again in *nearer to home* is an accusative? In each case he will use the same form *home*. But it may be of considerable value as an exercise to get the learner to express more explicitly the latent implications of a group of words, to select synonymous or approximate equivalents and comment upon their relative stylistic value. That is one thing. Another is to use the language as Grattan and Gurrey do, to stimulate to thought on general linguistic problems. It is a preposterous demand to ask us to put our language, so marvellously free from grammatical encumbrances, into a straight-jacket of Latin or Greek or German grammar or what-not, just for the sake of using English grammar as a means to a study of those languages, this being naïvely assumed to be a higher aim! Though it may seem strange to some, there is a considerable amount of evidence to show that the best preparation for the study of a foreign language is the preliminary study of a 'constructed' language like Esperanto, as Professor Bovet, of the Institut-Jean Jacques Rousseau in Geneva, has amply demonstrated in his monograph *L'Espéranto à l'École*. In studying English, however, let us study English and nothing else! It is only after the other languages have been assimilated that comparative and historical study can be made fruitful.

With feelings of relief we may now turn to Jespersen's latest work. This is not the first occasion on which his ideas have been used for the lay-out of a modern grammar, for we have Western's admirable grammar of the Norwegian Riksmål. Western describes contemporary phenomena; Jespersen's grammar is descriptive as to present-day usage and historical to the extent of supplying chronological series of quotations to exhibit the changes in the constructions discussed. Neither aims at being normative, though Jespersen occasionally refers to controversial questions touching 'correctness,' and marshals the historical and actual data upon which alone we can found a reasonable judgment[1].

[1] It is noteworthy, though sometimes forgotten, that Jespersen never attempts to tell Englishmen how to use their own language. He never deals in vetoes or warnings. The utmost he permits himself is indirectly to encourage users of particular constructions by pointing to literary occurrences and specific tendencies in the language.

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In welcome contrast to Sonnenschein, Jespersen never lets the historical encroach upon the descriptive parts and in regard to the latter, my colleague Professor Mawer and I know what infinite pains he took to assure himself which usages were current and which were not. Some batches of slips contained problems which really belong to experimental linguistics: terms were transposed and variants propounded with a view to determining the extreme limits of the 'latitude of correctness.' Like previous books of Jespersen's this grammar shows some neat word-coinages designed to embody his classifications with sharper relief. We may note in passing *content-clause* (instead of the old noun or substantive clause) and *contact-clause* (relative clause with the relative omitted).

Chapter I deals with various primaries and includes a valuable discussion of the construction *an old friend of Tom's* with a successful defence of *that nose of his* against Fowler's criticisms. To this chapter I should like to add one or two parallels from the modern Celtic languages. In l. 15 Jespersen adduces some cases in English, where we find adverbs and adverbial phrases used as 'primaries.' It is remarkable that in the Bangor dialect of North Welsh the substantive *hwyr* 'evening' has been largely replaced by the phrase *gyda'r nôs* (lit. 'with the night') used as a 'primary.' The Celtic languages also draw a clear distinction between *one of my friends* and *a friend of mine*. The latter is in Irish *cara dhom* (lit. a 'friend to me')—cf. *capall liom* for 'a horse of mine,' lit. 'a horse with me'—and in Welsh *cyfaill i mi* (lit. 'a friend to me'). Scottish Gaelic has *an cú agam*, lit. 'the dog at me.' Welsh has also another rendering which seems to afford a transition between the partitive use of *of* and the appositive use: *cyfaill o'r eiddof*[1], where *o* is the partitive preposition and *eiddof* is a substantive *eiddo* 'property' with a post-fixed possessive ending, so that the group means literally 'a friend of (out of) my property.' It should also be noted that the *N.E.D.* offers an earlier quotation for *of yours* than Chaucer, viz., *Cursor Mundi*, 5061, *Knauing of yours have i nan*. A good parallel to *the City of Rome* is the old Norse *Yggdrasils askr*, 'the ash Yggdrasil.'

After a chapter on clauses as 'primaries,' about 150 pages are devoted to a thorough survey of relative clauses, the most thorough and suggestive we possess. All English speakers should be interested in the demarcation of the uses of *which* and *that* and the development and present extent of the 'contact-clause.' Once again I have a morsel or two to add from Celtic. When dealing with 'relative connective plus

[1] Cf. in the Welsh Bible, *Luc.* xi. 6: *cyfaill i mi*, but 1 *Cor.* viii. 9: *eich rhyddid hwn yr eiddoch chwi* ('this liberty of yours').

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personal pronoun' in 5. 61, Jespersen refers to a number of parallel constructions in many languages, including Persian and Malay. Sentences of the type 'the man (who) I sold the horse to [him]' are normal in both Goidelic and Brythonic; cf. Ir. *an fear ar dhiolas an capall leis* and Welsh *y gwr a werthais y ceffyl iddo* side by side with other constructions. One would also welcome a note on such modern colloquial uses as the interrogative *whoever*, etc., e.g., *whoever said so? whatever did he say it for?* and the curious tautologies: *Who's who?* (contrast the title of the corresponding German publication *Wer ist's?* and the French *Qui est-ce?*), *I don't know which is which, he knows what's what.* A good instance of a differentiation between *who* and *what* as applied to persons is found in Shakespeare's *Who is Sylvia, what is she?* Chapter IX (Relative *as, than, but*) might be expanded by a reference to the Scottish use of *na* (*N.E.D.* from fourteenth century) and the English dialect use of *nor* after a comparative, e.g., S. Oxf. *no older nor I be*, where Northumberland has *or*, e.g., *aa wad raather thou went or me* (*E.D.D.*).

The following chapters are concerned with nexus, subject, various types of object, subject of passive verb, transitivity and predicatives. Chapter XVIII gives a valuable collection of verbs used sometimes with an object and sometimes with a preposition. Under *at* in 13. l_3 one might add verbs like *bite, nibble*, where German would use the prefix *an-* to indicate the 'inchoative' aspect of the action, cf. also the English use of *nibble away at*, etc., where the idea of continuous effort is added. To the examples of prosiopesis on pp. 226 f. we have parallels in the Welsh use of the infinitive *gobeithio* for 'I hope,' the full form being *yr wyf fi yn gobeithio, considro* perhaps from a conditional sentence like *come to think of it*—English uses 'considering,' *dywedyd y gwir*, 'to tell the truth,' *begio'ch pardwn*, etc.

We have not been able to take more than a passing glance at the rich contents of this grammar. The English-speaking world is under a great debt of gratitude to Professor Jespersen for the immense amount of labour and hard thinking he has bestowed upon our language and we shall eagerly await the appearance of the next volume of this truly monumental work.

W. E. COLLINSON.

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CLEOPATRA

CLEOPATRA—the name itself works a spell. It wakens memories, renews vibrations; a name, I suppose, that has at no time been forgotten during two thousand years. Ever since the age of woman-worship and chivalry the Egyptian queen has been one of love's martyrs. She is a Good Woman to Chaucer and figures in his *Legend*. Being all save dull and stupid that a loving woman ought not to have been, she then became all that for her own delight and her lovers' she ought to have been, having loved and been loved unto death. That was the mediæval cardinal virtue; without warrant in holy writ, it was the saving grace:

Ne shal no trewe lover com in helle.

And though intellectually we do not accept that dogma, imaginatively we do.

Poets, from Boccaccio to Hérédia, have sung of her; but since Shakespeare put her into a play she has been his; and Swinburne and Heine have chosen to write, not of the person but of the character, not poems but rapturous prose. Shakespeare himself keeps his head. No creature of his pen is so many-coloured—so romantic and yet so real. Most of Shakespeare's women are less real than romantic, the creatures of his dreams. They are highly individualised, have their own unmistakable tone and accent, but are not presented fully, in the round, and have few connexions with the world as we know it. They are encompassed and enshrined in a penumbra of poetry—we know their emotions but not their everyday thoughts and ways. Shakespeare's Cleopatra, too, is enveloped in poetry, but through it we see her from every side, and are dazzled by her many facets. She is treated sympathetically, yet austerely, in a drier light than Juliet or Rosalind. She is made more interesting and bewitching than lovable, is loved more than she loves. The mediæval virtue the poet does not accept at par: he looks upon Cleopatra both as what she ought to be and as what she ought not to be, a very vulnerable heroine, a quite mingled blessing unto her lord, though saved and saving at the last.

I

Though no character of Shakespeare's is more of an imaginative success, there is difficulty and disagreement about the interpretation. Professor Schücking has of late declared that as a whole the character is inconsistent, with a great cleft in the middle, being that of a vulgar

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hysterical harlot at first and of a sublimely devoted lover at the end. And discussion of all sorts has arisen about Cleopatra's intentions in her flight from Actium, in her dealings with Thyreus, and in her attempt to cheat Cæsar out of her treasure before her death. Did she think of betraying Antony? Did she conceal the treasure to deck herself out for her final triumphal exit, or was it all a little game with Seleucus, and her rage a mere feint to make Cæsar think she intended to live? All these questions are interesting to us not only for their own sakes but also because of their involving Shakespeare's methods of presentation in general. But are we not considering too curiously? We treat Shakespeare as if he were Browning; and the critic who perhaps best knew Browning and Shakespeare both, Mr Arthur Symons, wrote, more than forty years ago, much to the point:

> The dramatic poet, in the ordinary sense, in the sense in which we apply it to Shakespeare and the Elizabethans, aims at showing, by means of action, the development of character as it manifests itself to the world in deeds. His study is character, but it is character in action, considered only in connection with a particular grouping of events, and only so far as it produces or operates upon these. The processes are concealed from us, we see the result. In the very highest realisations of this dramatic power, and always in intention, we are presented with a perfect picture, in which every actor lives, and every word is audible; perfect, complete in itself, without explanation, without comment; a dogma incarnate, which we must accept as it is given us, and explain and illustrate for ourselves. If we wish to know what this character or that thought or felt in his very soul, we may perhaps have data from which to construct a more or less probable hypothesis; but that is all. We are told nothing, we care to know nothing of what is going on in the thought; of the infinitely subtle meshes of motive or emotion which will perhaps find no direct outcome in speech, no direct manifestation in action, but by which the soul's life in reality subsists. This is not the intention: it is a spectacle of life we are beholding; and life is action[1].

When he says we 'care to know nothing' of what is going on in the thought, Mr Symons is thinking, however, of the Elizabethan or of the whole-souled spectator to-day, not of the reader or critic, who cares much. And the 'drama of the interior,' such as Browning's, does not leave such obstinate questionings of our modern spirit unanswered. It analyses the motives. It presents the character's point of view. Indeed, in large part, the point of view—the character's intellectual structure and anatomy, his opinions of himself and others, in particular his attitude to some special question or issue in the play as contrasted with that of others, together with his purposes, both open and hidden, and the mental processes involved—all this is the character itself. The character lies in the psychology, and actions and the manner and turn of the speech are less important. But in Shakespeare these are more important, point of

[1] *Introduction to the Study of Browning* (1906), pp. 4–5.

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view being slightly and not clearly and explicitly presented; and consequently, since the character can be only what Shakespeare made it, point of view should be also less important to us.

With him the main thing is action, says Mr Symons above, what the characters do. But Shakespeare's characters have, above all, much to say. It is not the internal organism that concerns him but the man as he appears—as he acts and speaks, and as (in a sense) he externally thinks and feels. The speeches are not so long as in Browning, but they are much longer than in the stage plays of our time, and are far more developed than the action requires. They present the thoughts and emotions, the fancies and imaginations, of the moment, and serve both to reveal character and to give the action significance and force. In a fashion, of course, the characters give their point of view fully and clearly enough—in respect of others, themselves, or the question in hand. Hamlet is an example,—so are Iago, Brutus, and Macbeth. But yet they do this very inadequately for our present-day interest in soul states. Hamlet never tells why he delays; Iago tells why he acts, but with apparent falsity; Macbeth, instead, gives every reason why he should not act; and Brutus produces reasons for action which are fairly incomprehensible. Often, indeed, anything like a really psychological interpretation is forestalled by the dramatist's construction, which in true dramatic and Aristotelian fashion is concerned primarily with plot and situation, and depends on conspiracy or feigning, disguise or mistaken identity, slander or deception, and the unmotivated acceptance of these, in so far that we are often at a loss to tell when the characters are quite themselves, when merely playing a rôle or being played with. Hamlet, one of the poet's most vivid characters, plays a part through four acts, and the only psychology that can be made out for him is the (to me) absurd one of a double consciousness[1]. And when they do speak of their motives, often the point of view is not strictly their own. The bad men, in particular, like Iago and Richard, consider themselves bad, as Browning's and Dostoevsky's and the criminals of real life do not. Even the great issue, upon which, according to some conceptions of the drama, it necessarily hinges, is never clearly faced and debated as it is in Browning and in most French plays. As in so many of these, in this play that issue would be between love and honour, between Cleopatra and the empire of the world. It is involved in the story but never clearly propounded or considered; and Antony returns to Cleopatra without weighing her in the balance against the world, without

[1] Posited by Mr Clutton Brock.

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consciously and deliberately choosing between them, as Dryden's hero does. *All for Love* is the Laureate's well-chosen title[1].

It is in a sense from the exterior, therefore, that Shakespeare, as compared with Browning, presents the character. The opinions, the point of view expressed, are, though important in them too as a means of characterisation, less vitally and essentially so. Are Shakespeare's characters therefore less noble works of art? A question not to be asked. Though intellectually less consistent, emotionally they are more consistent; though less carefully analysed and perfectly articulated, they are more vivid imaginative wholes. How can this be? As I have often said, mainly through their speech, both the substance and the form of it[2]. In the place of psychology, with its analyses and subtleties, the poet had an infinite tact, the artist's delicate, plastic, life-giving touch. 'The Shakespearean delineation of character owes all its magic,' says Mr Shaw, 'to the turn of the line, which lets you into the secret of its utterer's mood and temperament, not by its commonplace meaning, but by some subtle exaltation, or stultification, or shyness, or delicacy, or hesitation, or what not in the sound of it.' Browning, too, of course, has something of this touch to his hand, as in Pompilia and Caponsacchi—else he would not have been a great dramatic poet—though he has less than Shakespeare; just as Shakespeare has at moments, and in simpler form, something of Browning's analysis. The touch, however, the simple but mysterious act of external, imaginative formation, is the chief thing of all.

II

Critics, brought up on Browning, Ibsen, and the French drama, nowadays forget this; and one wonders whether they find vital characters in Aeschylus and Sophocles, in whom, of course, they can find no psychology. But if the sculptor has clay or marble, and the painter lines and colours, to fashion into the semblance of a man, what has the dramatist? Speech, primarily; it is speech that he has to mould and form. Like an architect, to be sure, he has other material at command. Action, too, as we have seen, and the relation of the character to the other characters are important; and mere speech of itself, of course, is not much, and the deeper he can go into the thought of the character the better, if without losing his hold upon the imagination of the audience. But there is a region of simple thought, in which most men live and move, devoid of

[1] The ideas in this paragraph are for the most part reproduced from E. E. Stoll, *Shakespeare Studies* (1927), by permission of the Macmillan Company.

[2] See E. E. Stoll, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–116, and *Othello* (1915), pp. 63–70.

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subtleties, and requiring little analysis, which suffices—nay, is preferable —for the purpose. Such is the thought of the characters in Greek drama, and of many in Scott, Dickens, and Jane Austen. And the greatness of a dramatist or novelist as a creator of character lies, not in going deeper, but in making much of this and giving it reality. For it is essential, not that the character himself should be a thinker, or even that he should be thought about, but that he should take shape and live. And as with other works of art, it is in the special medium of expression—speech in this instance—that he lives or fails to live. It is always in the appeal to the eye or ear that the artist's power lies—a painter must know how to paint, a dramatist how to write. For art proceeds from sense to sense, from imagination to imagination, rather than from intellect to intellect.

Even in recent times this is so—essentially, art has not changed. Analysis and psychology, now more practised, are far less immediate, less powerful means of presentation. They are like a knowledge of anatomy in sculptor and painter, important but not all-important. Nothing counts like ordinary speech, formed, transformed, by the creative, imaginative touch. It is the method of Dickens[1] and Thackeray, page after page. Micawber and Pecksniff, Sairey Gamp and the Wellers, Major Pendennis and Beatrix, one and all they live not by virtue of the analysis—not by their ideas and opinions or point of view, nor even by the vividness of their manners or picturesqueness of their eccentricities, though certainly these have a part in their make-up—but like Juliet and her nurse, like king and clown, and the whole immortal company, by their accents and intonation, their unmistakable voice and utterance, by the turn of the thought rather than the thought, and by their vocabulary and the form and rhythm of the phrase. Everything belongs together—but the ear, rather than the reason, is the judge. Everything belongs together (though no one else would have put them together) as it does in Shakespeare; and there is, of course, a spirit or

[1] The present essay, though for some time in mind, has been immediately prompted by a desire to demonstrate more fully what is meant by characterisation without psychology, particularly by the differentiation of the speech. In the last pages (63–70) of *Othello* I have sketched it, and in *Shakespeare Studies* I frequently illustrate it, but at least one reviewer of the latter regrets that I have not made it clearer. It is not an idea peculiar to Mr Shaw, or a practice peculiar to Shakespeare. Since finishing the essay I have come upon Professor Elton's discussion of Dickens (*Survey of English Literature*, 1830–1880) and find the following: 'The best of his creatures... whether Pecksniffs or Gargerys, are triumphs of style rather than of character-drawing... the word-craft of Dickens, the energy and keeping, the resource and wit, with which he fabricates the right style for them all, is the wonderful thing. It is never quite the language of this earth, but something better, which he has caught up and sublimed out of what he has actually heard.' The words, as I think Professor Elton would agree, apply well to Shakespeare; though the best of his creatures are triumphs of character-drawing, also—which is not quite psychology.

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thought pervading the volume of words, but with only glimpses of the innermost soul—its secret motives, its self-deceptions and masked movements. And so it is even with Hardy and George Eliot, Meredith and James, who deal with these. The analytic turn of the last three makes and keeps their characters logically (or illogically) consistent and distinct, but it is not what makes them real to us, and makes them effectively known. And it is this power that in the best creations of Meredith and James overrides and overwhelms their authors' own personal idiosyncrasies of speech, as indeed it does Browning's and Shakespeare's. Then the voice of the puppet is no longer the right voice of the showman, even as its gesture is not the proper gesture of his hand. Of James's characters, indeed, Mr Chesterton says: 'We cannot but admire the figures that walk about in his afternoon drawing-rooms; but we have a certain sense that they are figures that have no faces.' Shakespeare's figures, though not psychologised, are more realised and embodied. They have voices and (though he hardly ever describes them) we have the certain sense that they have faces too.

Of the foreigners one has to speak more warily[1]—with them one's ear is a treacherous guide. But certainly of the psychologists Proust and Thomas Mann the same holds true. Character after character in the *Buddenbrooks* speaks with his own particular tongue: and many of the characters of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky seem to us to do so even in translation. And whether our own ear perceive it or not, the great foreigners, of course, cannot be far apart from Shakespeare. They mould speech as cunningly as others of their nation do clay or colour. Only, as is obvious, it is a power that is more apparent and easily perceptible in prose than in verse, in the romantic writers than in the classical, in the Teutonic and Slavic than in the Latin.

III

Even the action, to Shakespeare more important than any psychology, is often important for its own sake, for the effect of plot and situation, rather than for its bearing on character. We have not the right at every turn to interpret it as owing to character. This, as has been recognised by Sir Walter Raleigh and others, is the case especially at the beginning of the play, as in *King Lear* and the *Merchant of Venice*; and we must not come to the conclusion that Cordelia cherishes her own pride more

[1] And the foreigner, in turn, of us! So fine a poet and critic as Chateaubriand complains that Shakespeare's young women are all alike—the same smile, look, and tone of voice. Evidently what he misses is the analysis, the Racinian psychology. And his ear is not sufficiently attuned to perceive the exquisite differentiation in tone between Rosalind and Beatrice, Viola and Julia, Perdita and Miranda.

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than her father's happiness or safety, or that Bassanio in his dealings with Shylock is extraordinarily careless or obtuse and in the choice of a casket exceedingly clear-sighted. And as is universally recognised, this is the case in the *dénouement* of the comedies. But it is so even in the body of the play. The wager on one's own wife's chastity, as in *Cymbeline*; the woman's substitution of herself for another, as in *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure*[1]; the sovereign deposed or lurking in disguise, as in *As You Like It*, *Measure for Measure*, and the *Tempest*; and the avenger biding his time, with insufficient reason, until the last scene of the play, as in *Hamlet* and other Elizabethan tragedies: one and all, these situations are not to be reckoned to the discredit of the principal persons concerned. They are traditional and conventional, and are made use of because of the situations they afford, or because of the ingenious solutions to complications, or—and here they affect character most nearly—because of the opportunity for contrasts. They display character, but often they do not spring out of character. They are to be taken for granted, not to be interpreted, analysed, or motived. Posthumus is not meant to be a cad; nor Helena and Mariana, to be man-hunters; nor the three dukes, to be replicas of Richard II or Henry VI; nor Hamlet, to be an insidious procrastinator. Plot came first with the poet, not, as the critics often say and continually imply, the central character. The action gave birth to the character, not the character to the action. The story, in its essentials, was not invented but borrowed, and the characters then fitted to it; and often the plot was so ingenious and improbable that the character could not well be fitted to it and remain romantically engaging. Indirect conclusions and inferences, particularly, are unjustifiable. In a learned and enlightened essay that recently met my eye, I find the Duke in *Measure for Measure* taken to task for being 'shifty, timid, and inclined to intrigue,' in part responsible for Angelo's fall whose hypocrisy he had a little suspected, and therefore not worthy of Isabella. As for inclination to intrigue—yes, and as for shiftiness, if the action is to be the evidence—is he not getting, in her, a kindred spirit? And as for mere inclination to intrigue, is that a flaw or defect (save where it is explicitly made out to be such) in all Shakespeare or Elizabethan drama, or all the drama of the Renaissance, French, Spanish or Italian[2]?

[1] In his articles in the *Publications of the M.L.A. of America* Professor W. W. Lawrence has shown how traditional, familiar, and unquestionable these situations were in Shakespeare's time.

[2] Mr Masefield, who exquisitely and poetically misreads Shakespeare, dwells on the evils of conspiracy and treachery as if the plays were studies of the subject, instead of an element of structure. See my *Shakespeare Studies*, p. 101.

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In Ibsen, in Alfieri, in Racine, the action and character are pretty much one and the same. So far at least as the hero is concerned, every detail of the action implies character or has a bearing upon it, although action is not the only means of revealing it. But as Sir Robert Bridges and others have shown, Shakespeare's characters are much larger than the business in which they engage, often are superior to it, sometimes, like Macbeth and Othello (as we shall see), are in a sense contrasted with it. Helena, Mariana, and the three dukes, certainly, are superior and somewhat external to it. They have better natures, and bigger thoughts, than their conduct betrays. But that is not all. We have a more vivid and intimate impression of their personality (though in many other Shakespearean characters it is more vivid and intimate still) than in the case of other dramatists. This is produced, not indirectly, by the action, but by means quite direct and immediate. And that, I think, is, above all, by this abundant and (so far as the requirements of the action are concerned) somewhat superfluous speech. The characters are 'oversize,' are (though intended to serve the action) in the upshot presented somewhat for their own sake, and are so real that they project from the scene, stand out upon the page. Or rather, they seem so real because they do that.

IV

Now this plastic power is the decisive thing, as it seems to me, in the question regarding Cleopatra. Not that I accept Professor Schücking's opinion that Cleopatra is artistically inconsistent. On the stage as in life a character has a right to change—in Cleopatra's case, to cease from changing—under stress of love and in the presence of death; and of this Shakespeare takes due account when the mercurial lady cries,

> now from head to foot
> I am marble-constant; now the fleeting moon
> No planet is of mine.

And Professor Schücking, as so many of us do, exaggerates to make his point. She is no Doll Tearsheet or Doll Common in the early scenes, nor a sublime Queen—'Thusnelda in chains'—in the later ones. She is vain and voluptuous, cunning and intriguing, wrangling and voluble, humorous and vindictive, to the end. Her petulance and violence when she gets the news of Antony's marriage is not her then prevailing mood, and yet it reappears when she rails against fate and fortune at Antony's death and against Seleucus in his treason. She had been elegant and queenly enough before the news, and so she is afterwards; in a moment she recovers herself and makes amends; and she had but used the licence

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—exercised the divine right—of a queen. She is a monarch, a maker of manners, after the similitude of Elizabeth, who raged and stormed on occasion, but did that, like everything else, with an air. Shakespeare keeps 'decorum,' but not like Corneille and Racine; his kings and queens are given greater range and latitude, and are such by what they do rather than by what they do not. They are human nature enlarged, not enchained. And her caprice, why, it is the premiss with which the poet, as in Enobarbus' and Antony's own description of her 'infinite variety,' begins. Caprice, conscious and unconscious, is her nature, as to be queen and coquette is her station in life. *La donna è mobile*, and she is quintessential woman. It is so that she lives—so that she delights and attracts the men. In her inconsistency she is consistent. But the chief means by which the dramatist makes her so is the identity, through all her changes, of her tone and manner. She changes as a vivacious, amorous, designing woman changes, not so as to lose her identity, like Proteus.

V

When she first appears she is languishing:

> *Cleo.* If it be love indeed, tell me how much.
> *Ant.* There's beggary in the love that can be reckon'd.
> *Cleo.* *I'll* set a bourn how far to be beloved.
> *Ant.* Then must thou needs find out new heaven, new earth.

And these first words in the delectable colloquy are like her, time and again. It is love but also 'the love of love and her soft hours.' This phrase is Antony's, who for the moment is in her mood; but it is she who is most settled in it, as at the nucleus or centre of her emotional vortex. The voluptuous invitation of the first line—as if it would coax the very soul out of his body—is, both in its sentiment and its rhythm, in keeping with the beginning of a later scene, when Antony is gone:

> Give me some music; music, moody food
> Of us that trade in love.

That is the sensuous murmur of one who in retrospect or in prospect tells the moments over and over, and whose mood craves music for company, rather than a fire flickering on the hearth or a flowing stream. But a lover's imagination is necessarily dramatic in form, though wholly lyrical in substance. *He* now is murmuring:

> He's speaking now,
> Or murmuring, 'Where's my Serpent of old Nile?'
> For so he calls me: now I feed myself
> With most delicious poison.

The last phrase, with its figure, is it not exactly—poetically—fitted to

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her lips? They know every pulse of passion, but no touch of restraint, every refinement but that of propriety. She is the serpent, which twines and charms, lovelier than lamb or dove. And in the same audacious, sensuous key, for all her exaltation, she expresses herself on her deathbed. She is tenderer with her women, and stronger and more constant, than she had ever been; but her thoughts of Antony, now an inviolable shade, are not celestial or Platonic. They are steeped in amorousness, and she is waiting, coiled on her couch. She loves him more than at the beginning; but neither now nor at his death is she, as Professor Schücking declares, 'all tenderness, all passionate devotion and unselfish love'; nor does she quit life because it is not worth the living. On life she really never loosens her greedy grip. Her beauty she clutches to her dying bosom as the miser does his gold. Her robe and jewels are, even in death, assumed to heighten the impression of it upon Cæsar—though only to show him what he had missed. She hears Antony mock him now, from over the bitter wave; and at the outset she had cried,

> go fetch
> My best attires; I am again for Cydnus—

as one who, to please both him and herself, would fain die at her best, reviving all the glories of that triumph. To an ugly death she could scarcely have brought herself; and it is an admirable example of the dramatic touch and tact and mere instinctive choice of what belongs together (of which we have been speaking) that a little before she should have vowed to Proculeius, as she spoke of going to Rome:

> Rather a ditch in Egypt
> Be gentle grave unto me! rather on Nilus' mud
> Lay me stark-nak'd, and let waterflies
> Blow me into abhorring.

The death which even then she is choosing and devising, is not to be like that, but well-nigh an amour. When she sees Iras fall and pass away so quietly, she thinks the stroke of death is as a lover's pinch, which hurts and is desired. And what nerves her up to make haste and apply the asp? Pride, fear to be made a show of at Rome, and—something deeper. 'Love is enough,' but not enough for her.

> If she first meet the curlèd Antony,
> He'll make demand of her and spend that kiss
> Which is my heaven to have.

Without kissing what would heaven be—nay, without jealousy? The vanity and coquetry of her lightly clear the grave. Of all these, her

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truly 'immortal longings,' Plutarch, the philosopher, says nothing, and makes her apply the cobra, as if it were a leech in a clinic, to her *arm*.

> Peace, peace!
> Dost thou not see my baby at my breast
> That sucks the nurse asleep?
> *Charmian.* O, break, O, break!
> *Cleo.* As sweet as balm, as soft as air, as gentle—
> O Antony—Nay, I will take thee too;
> What should I stay— [*Dies*

No Freudian is needed to defend the change. For a woman this in itself is a sensation, turning the poison all to balm; and she is wrapped and folded up in sensuous imaginations to the end.

The above indication of her vanity and amorous indulgence is the nearest approach in the character to what we should call psychology. But this is simple, concrete, for the popular stage. Not analysed, it is variously, abundantly presented, and, with the phrase 'of us that trade in love,' is plainly labelled. And it is in harmony with her luxurious, coquetting spirit throughout. She lives for pleasure and neglects the state. She deals affably with Cæsar's ambassador, Thyreus, and vouchsafes him her hand; and is demure and complaisant and even apologetic with Cæsar himself when she meets him, and when, long before that, she begs good news of the messenger who has none but that of Antony's marriage. As his supreme reward, she proffers him her bluest veins to kiss, a hand (quoth she) that kings have lipp'd and trembled kissing. And continually she is dreaming of conquests past, of triumphs yet to be. She compares her lovers and her love for them, and herself as a prize, in her 'green and salad days' and now:

> Think on me
> That am with Phœbus' amorous pinches black
> And wrinkled deep in time? Broad-fronted Cæsar,
> When thou wast here above the ground, I was
> A morsel for a monarch; and great Pompey,
> etc.
> Ink and paper, Charmian,
> Welcome, my good Alexas. Did I, Charmian,
> Ever love Cæsar so?

If she is swarthy, why, Phœbus himself was enamoured of her! The same figure, we have seen, she has at the end, for the touch of death; and every now and then her language is tinged with erotic notions, although, as we shall see, the poet here restrains himself. This coquetry and eroticism, Professor Schücking thinks, is vulgar, but the point is that it continues to the last. She makes eyes at Cæsar and Thyreus, and though uplifted by the situation, she speaks when facing death in the same vein. If this be a sign that she is a harlot, she is ever one. But

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again Professor Schücking exaggerates. Few women who have had more lovers than one can easily forget the circumstance; and Cleopatra is not so much boasting as (out of her extensive experience) making comparisons, and declaring that Antony overtops them all and their mutual love is greater than any other she had shared. He is her 'man of men.'

VI

The death scene, then, though queenly and elevated through Cleopatra's dignity and tenderness, is quite true to her earlier self; and though glorified by the poetry shed upon it, is not sublime. She is no Thusnelda, whether in chains or out of them. Indeed, she now shows still other traits of her earlier self—her jealousy of Octavia as well as of Iras, her pride of place and achievement, her spirit of intrigue and emulation, her *camaraderie* with her maids, her sense of humour. To Octavia she had paid her compliments (and not for the first time, either) the moment before, as she vowed she would not go to Rome:

> Nor once be chastised with the sober eye
> Of dull Octavia.

Now, at the supreme moment, she would rob the legitimate one even of her title. She would have everything, not only fame but name—the despoiler. She has always remembered that she was a queen; she remembers it still, with robe and crown, but by virtue of her more than conjugal courage puts in the still higher claim. And with Iras and Charmian she is mellower but not different. It is like her inconsistent, inconsiderate spirit to be tart with them when they cross her, and yet make them companions, and kiss them both before they die. She does not sentimentalise; they are not foremost in her heart:

> Come, then, and take the last warmth of my lips.
> Farewell, kind Charmian; Iras, long farewell.

But the pre-eminently felicitous touch, I think, which links her most unmistakably with all her earlier self, and thus effectually contradicts any impression of sublimity, is her sense of humour. Seldom does a tragic dramatist—even Shakespeare—let his characters keep this faculty to the last. Mercutio does, and Edmund, the cynical bastard; Juliet shows a single faint flicker of her earlier gaiety[1]; but Cleopatra, the tameless and reckless, keeps more of hers. Juliet, speaking to Romeo, though dead before her, cannot help doing it—out of the simple fullness of her love—a little as she had always done, as if he were alive. Cleopatra is not so lost in love or in sorrow either; but she is still less concerned to

[1] 'O churl, drunk all, and left no friendly drop
To help me after?'

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preserve propriety and decorum. Even as they are about to lift up Antony into the monument, she cries, with something like mirth, out of her excitement and rebelliousness:

> Here's sport indeed! How heavy weighs my lord!
> Our strength is all gone into heaviness,
> That makes the weight: had I great Juno's power,
> The strong-wing'd Mercury should fetch thee up,
> And set thee by Jove's side. Yet come a little,—
> Wishes were ever fools—O, come, come, come.
> [*They heave Antony aloft to Cleopatra*

And when, afterwards, she receives the country-fellow with the basket, she draws him out, and then, for the curious fun of it, asks him abruptly, upon his praying her to give the asp nothing, because it is not worth the feeding, 'Will it eat me?' She is playing with her thought, as with her man. But though it takes nerve to do this, she strikes no heroical attitude; and, just before that she asks him, like the very woman, the coquette and coward that she really is, who had fled from Actium,

> Hast thou the pretty worm of Nilus there
> That kills and pains not?

For she would do it prettily, painlessly, by a poisoned bouquet if she could. And she is half in jest with Charmian when she utters her fears of Iras stealing a march upon her in the purlieus of Paradise. And then, in the moment that she is nerving herself up, and gritting her own teeth, as the sound of the verse betrays:

> With thy sharp teeth this knot intrinsicate
> Of life at once untie—

she laughs out, as one who has played cleverly and won:

> O could'st thou speak
> That I might hear thee call great Cæsar ass
> Unpolicied.

There, perhaps, is a bit of the pluck and spunk of Thusnelda, but a lighter spirit. Apostrophes generally seem rhetorical and artificial, but they have a root in nature, and never was there one more appropriate and dramatic than this. The contrast between 'great Cæsar' and the worm, which scorns him—a feeling which is but her own playfully transferred, a boast which rebounds delightfully as a compliment! All her life has been a game, the asp is her last little unexpected trump, and even though now Cæsar cannot hear her, she cannot but cry, 'Ah, ha!' It has been *another* game, for the most part:

> Give me mine angle; we'll to the river: there,
> My music playing far off, I will betray
> Tawny-finned fishes; my bended hook shall pierce
> Their slimy jaws; and, as I draw them up,
> I'll think them every one an Antony,
> And say, 'Ah, ha! you're caught.'

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But it is in the same spirit, whether she wins an Antony or beats a Cæsar and his sister. And the bold, insulting language is in keeping with that used earlier, in her amorous rage against her lover—

> none our parts so poor
> But was a race of heaven: they are so still,
> Or thou, the greatest soldier of the world,
> Art turn'd the greatest liar;—

or in her retort to Dolabella, when he denies there was ever such a man as the Antony she has pictured—'You lie, up to the hearing of the gods'; or in her threat when Iras is praising the great Julius at Antony's expense—'By Isis, I will give thee bloody teeth'; or in her railing against the messenger and Seleucus and her jesting with the eunuch Mardian. Hers is not the language of Windsor or Versailles, then or since; but nature's and her own. And the words to the worm, almost her last, how felicitously *un*sublime! For in a drama, as in life, the most poetic death is the most natural, Sir Thomas More's, Charles the Second's, or the Emperor Vespasian's, who jested when fairly *in extremis*; and Cleopatra, though dying, and doing it like a queen, is unmistakably the same old girl.

Her vivacity and volubility, another trait which she never loses, it would take pages to illustrate. When in the earlier scenes Antony is trying to break to her his purpose of setting out for Rome she will not let him have more than a word at a time, and she catches him up and twits him, rallies and teases him, without mercy or remorse. So with the messenger of his marriage—she interrupts and anticipates, wheedles and deprecates, bullies and cajoles. And when baffled by Fate at Antony's death and by Seleucus in the presence of Cæsar, she rails almost as volubly as ever. Once the excitement holds over and appears in connexion with another subject. The monument has been scaled and she has been thwarted in an attempt at suicide; then Dolabella appears; and into his kindly but unheeding ear she pours a eulogy of Antony. Again and again Dolabella, who has something to tell her, and is as little interested in her amorous recital as she herself would have been in one of his, endeavours to distract her, but in vain. And in such excitement, in joy and in grief, but not in anger, she is given to repetition, in a way that is not quite like that trait in any other Shakespearean character. 'Note him,' she says of Antony to Charmian in the first Act, 'Note him, good Charmian; 'tis the man; but note him.' It is the language of exuberant glee. And nothing so much gives us an impression

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of the identity of her character as the appearance of this trait in the midst of her grief:

> What, what, good cheer! Why how now, Charmian,
> My noble girls! Ah women, women, look,
> Our lamp is spent.
>
> He words me, girls, he words me, that I should not
> Be noble to myself.
>
> Ah! women, women! come; we have no friend
> But resolution and the briefest end.

Here it is really not the language of grief but of her bearing up against grief—or rather it is the essential utterance of Cleopatra. For she is alive every inch of her, to her finger-tips; and her speech has the undulation of a bird's flight, or of a thoroughbred woman's gait of her own time, ere woman had heard of heels. Only it is not a walk, but a dance—or rather, a flight, which is, no doubt, more satisfying and exhilarating for one who is equal to it than either.

VII

Surely, then, this character holds together, as a living thing. There are matters left unexplained, but none that cannot be explained—which is Shakespeare's method. Why did Cleopatra conceal the treasure and pretend that she had given a full account? It may have been to make use of this for her supreme, ultimate toilet, or it may even have been in order to be detected in the fraud and convince Cæsar that she had no thought of death. Either explanation would be in keeping with her sinuous, elusive nature, but neither (without some hint to the audience) with Shakespeare's popular art. What fits both his art and the character is that she should have endeavoured to deceive and defraud Cæsar for the game's own sake, without material profit, as indeed she does again presently, with her asp. Jonathan Wild, on the scaffold, applied his hands to the parson's pocket, and emptied it of his bottle-screw, which he carried out of this world in his hand.

However it be, her conduct at this juncture—her lie and her rage against Seleucus for not bearing her out in it—is, though quite like her, unbecoming; it is vulgar, though Professor Schücking does not call it so. But her vulgarity here, where she is supposed to be a sublime queen, like the other vulgarity when she is only the harlot, should not offend us, whether artistically or morally. Vulgarity has a place in great art; and we suffer, Professor Schücking and some others of us, from a Victorian, or a petty French, decorum. No lady, no Cornelian or Racinian

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queen, would act so: but neither the one nor the other could interest us so much. It is too late to apologise for human nature as it is—for the art of Shakespeare or Dostoevsky. How many of Shakespeare's greatest gentlemen are on occasion vulgar—Hamlet, Othello, Mercutio, Brutus—and his ladies, too—Beatrice, Portia, Rosalind! And there is the wonderful Lisa, in Dostoevsky's *Possessed*, who slaps Stavrogin's face in the presence of the whole company! And Tony, the heroine of the *Buddenbrooks*, who speaks so freely of her divorced husbands, and makes sport to their faces of the preachers at her mother's house! Scott's Elizabeth is of the same spirited, irresponsible family, dragging Amy Robsart from her hiding-place 'in a fit of vindictive humiliation and Amazonian fury.' In all these writers, including Shakespeare himself, decorum, too, plays a part—that it may be, with fullest effect, flung aside. At the great moments, in art as in life, it often proves to be but a mantle. And taste in an author and taste in the character are, of course, not altogether one and the same.

VIII

And morally, too, the vulgarity, and above all the voluptuousness, need not touch us nearly. The dramatist has despite his sympathy 'held the balance even.' He has secured our interest without prejudicing the moral cause. He takes care, indeed, that the virtuous woman Octavia should be kept in the background, and that the simple beauty of the homely and civic duties should not enter into competition with the dark and dubious beauty of an abandoned passion. But he shrewdly remembers its illicit basis, its suspicions, jealousies, and resentments; and at her best Cleopatra is fain to call herself a wife. Here is no glorification, in mediæval style, of illicit love at the expense of the married state, whether on the part of the lovers or their friends. These are no Lancelot and Guenevere, Tristram and Iseult. For that matter, there are none such in Shakespeare[1].

And, most remarkable of all, the poet restrains himself in the matter of voluptuousness and erotic colouring. This is suggested rather than presented and expressed. We are made to see that Cleopatra and Antony indulge their sensuous imaginations but are not told them: Cleopatra feeds herself on most delicious poison but pours very little of it into our

[1] He must have known something of the mediæval romances and their chivalric code of morals; at any rate he knew Elizabethan dramatists, like Chapman, who reflect it. But nowhere does he take up this point of view. Antony and Cleopatra are his nearest approach to this type of lover.

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ear[1]. How much more reticent and restrained is the expression of their sensations than that of Browning's Sebald and Ottima, of Meredith's Richard and Bella, creations of proper Victorians; and our contemporaries I forbear to cite. Though real enough, these Egyptian passions are not near and nude, but keep the cool, serene distance of art. They are as if in a picture or a song, not as if heard and seen through a cranny in a bedroom wall. And Cleopatra's words are sweet as her woman's lips, soft as her breast, sharp on occasion as her teeth and nails, but in the lines her alluring person or Antony's overmastering one scarcely appears, and troubles no innocent spirit.

But the main reason is—that this man and woman love each other. There is more in it all than mere body and beauty. Their imaginations are fired, even their hearts are touched. There can be no question of this at the end—the words of Antony and Cleopatra at his death are among the immortal utterances of sexual tenderness. But this appears also elsewhere, particularly after Actium, in the quarrel about Thyreus, and at the time of Cleopatra's birthday, as well as at the beginning of the play. In Cleopatra it is another vein of unity and continuity in her nature. Though afterwards deepened through trial, her feeling at the outset is more than mere vanity and sense. She knows Antony and has with him a community of tastes. Like true lovers they *like* each other, and that is partly because they like the same things. They are comrades and companions. Not on the highest level, to be sure—they do not spend their evenings talking philosophy or reading. But not all good or respectable people do, married or unmarried. They are given to sport and merrymaking. They have a taste for billiards, somewhat before their time. They go fishing, and play huge pranks upon one another. They roam the streets together incognito and note the qualities of people. They feast and carouse and—most delicious intimacy (read Anacreon, the Greek or the Scotch)—once fairly get drunk together. Vulgar, again, there is no denying, but 'wine and women,' the pair of them, have longer been known to poetry than daisies and daffodils; and next to being one soul (which but seldom comes to pass) is the having of the same sensation. On this occasion, as Cleopatra recalls—for *meminerunt omnia amantes*—

[1] Others have remarked upon this, as Mr Arthur Symons and Professor Tucker Brooke.—Of the elaborate technique of enticement, as found in the *Ars Amatoria* (which Shakespeare surely knew), there is almost no trace in his plays. The lovers' lies and perjuries, stratagems and deceits, the various devices to keep the lover guessing—when he is anxious, to thwart him, and when he is cooling, to lead him on—which we find in Chapman and Fletcher, as in Spanish and Italian comedy, are here almost unknown. His lovers are of the frank idyllic tradition, which came down from Greene; and the coquetry the young women have in them is of the innocuous sort which we see in Rosalind.

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they played the true lovers' game of changing places, and she put 'her tires and mantles on him, whilst she wore his sword Philippan.' So they once did, the man fondly remembers, in Browning's *Lovers' Quarrel*. And while in the former case it was more the woman's doing than the man's, and like Bella's dressing up as a dandy in *Richard Feverel*, designed (by a contrast less practicable nowadays) to heighten the effect of her feminine charms, it was for the fun of it as well. And not for long can two people have so much fun together without being fond of one another too. Sense craves and cries out for spirit as its consummation, even as spirit does for sense.

IX

Yet they betray each other. Antony marries; Cleopatra coquets with Cæsar through his emissary, and is agreeable enough with him to his face. And she flees from Actium, and possibly (though not probably) is to blame for the conduct of her fleet at Alexandria. Heine explains this to his own satisfaction. 'For Cleopatra is a woman. She loves and betrays at the same time. It is a mistake to believe that women when they betray us have ceased to love.' There is Manon Lescaut! But there is Antony! It is a mistake, also, to believe that *men* when they betray us *others* cease to love. And that is nearer the truth. Richard Feverel certainly loved Lucy, and there is many another hero like him, whether in romance or in reality. Our monogamous logic is quite too narrow and absolute; and we practically contradict it ourselves by our approval of second marriages, which are not supposed *ipso facto* to declare the love for the first wife or husband to be as dead as they are.

But was this Shakespeare's opinion? He was not given to generalisation or to abstract thinking of any sort. He presented situations truly, but without premises or conclusions, and apparently without full consciousness of them. He was no Browning, Meredith, or Balzac. Indeed, he was conventional in his opinions and ideas, and such premises or conclusions he might even have abhorred. Though not at all a Puritan, he was in this respect like Tolstoy; his presentation of character was far wider than his intellectual scope. He saw farther or deeper than he undertook to think. And very likely, if called upon, he would have explained the treason as it seems that he would have us understand the jealousy—the fact, like the suspicion of the fact—as owing to their illegitimate relation.

Here again he holds the balance even. He disapproves of their relation and yet does not refuse it love's title or prerogative. He makes the lovers

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jealous and suspicious, and yet glorifies them with poetry and elicits our sympathy. This is not a contradiction save as it is a contradiction in life (as we have seen) and as it must be (still more) in art. A character in a drama or a novel is not quite the same as in reality, and far more than in life must we be made to sympathise as we disapprove. Macbeth and Lady Macbeth are unjustifiable traitors and murderers. But an all-encompassing cloud of poetry, and various devices of mediation and conciliation, such as the soliciting of fate, the love of the woman and the pride of the man, engage and secure our interest and sympathy despite the heinous crime. Painters like Velazquez shed the glory of colour and chiaroscuro upon the meanest and most ignoble of objects. Poets do the same. All art is a compromise, an accommodation; all art, even the noblest and truest, must needs please or interest, must in a measure sacrifice truth to effect. It regards the proportions of nature less than the limitations of the medium—of the readers' or spectators' minds. Sculptors peremptorily continue the line instead of breaking it; and in marble thicken the ladies' necks, wrists, and ankles, and (if it be *bas-relief*) flatten the naturally round muscles. Painters, like stage-managers, turn, however animated the group, the faces of nearly all the figures towards us. And seldom can a character in a drama or even in a novel bear the full stark light of common day. It is a product of a fine labour of simplification and intensification, of projection or subordination, of parallel or contrast. So the love of Antony and Cleopatra is in a sense incompatible with their lives and their natures. The poet puts words of censure in the mouths of Antony's friends and respectable enemies at the beginning; but more and more suppresses these, and instead makes much of their servants' devotion, as he seeks to elicit our sympathy towards the end. He is careful to put Octavia and her children, and the legitimate claims of society, in the play (indeed) but in the background; and to touch on no note of pathos in connexion with hearth and home. As in most people, the love of the famous paramours is the noblest thing about them; but by the licence of exaggeration in art their love is made greater than they. That licence we instinctively allow; all this paltering with the truth we warrant. Yet here, and here only, as it seems to me, is there cause to cavil at the unity of Cleopatra's character;—as we carelessly forget that she is a figure in a drama and look upon her as but a bit of life.

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VIRGIL AND THE OLD FRENCH EPIC

THE continuity of the literary tradition from the first to the tenth century, from the classical Latin poets to the mediæval French authors, has been insisted on by recent writers in spite of the paucity of documents which have come down to us, compared with the length of time which elapsed between these two periods. The studies of Tavernier[1] and Wilmotte[2], with special reference to the *Chanson de Roland*, have helped us to detect 'la trace très nette de la pensée antique' in this poem. Indeed, if we follow these authors implicitly, we must come to the conclusion that Turoldus was a man of such colossal power of reading and assimilation that, in the words of M. Wilmotte, 'il n'a rien ignoré, rien négligé de l'effort de ses devanciers.' In the second volume of his edition of the *Chanson de Roland*, recently published, M. Bédier[3] finds it not inconsistent with his theories to insist upon the 'tradition léguée par l'Antiquité' and to assert that the origin of this *genre* is to be found in this tradition, although he insists on the absence of any direct imitation of a Latin work. He cites, however, in a note one or two passages and 'motifs' which are reminiscent of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and concludes the note with the exclamation: 'Entre les deux poèmes, combien d'analogies, de concordances, de harmonies![4]' The object of the present article is to examine some of these points of resemblance, and to try and determine a little more precisely than has been done hitherto the nature of the debt which not only the *Chanson de Roland*, but the *chanson de geste* as a *genre*, owes to the great Latin epic. The object has not been so much to find parallel passages, though these may occur, as to show the extent to which the old French epic poet was guided in his procedure by the model with which at that epoch he was most likely to be familiar.

The vogue of Virgil in the Middle Ages is too well known to be insisted upon, and the existence of the *Fragment de la Haye*, in which an attempt is made, however clumsily, to adapt the heroes of the Old French epic to a Virgilian style, is evidence that they were not considered by the mediæval author to be incapable of being fitted into a classical framework. Over this framework of the epic we need not linger, but let us look for a moment at the main conception and, as it were, the ground plan of

[1] Cp. Tavernier, *Beiträge zur Rolandforschung* (*Zs. für französ. Sprache*, 1910).
[2] Cp. Maurice Wilmotte, *Le Français a la Tête épique*, Paris, 1917.
[3] Joseph Bédier, *La Chanson de Roland* (*Commentaires*), Paris, 1927.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 316, note to v. 3483.

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the two epics. In Virgil's *Aeneid* we see demonstrated the conquering and civilising power of a superior race directed by a divine providence. Resistance to this divinely ordered course of events is represented as the work of inferior deities, rude races and the baser human passions. It is the struggle of Rome, represented by Aeneas and his followers, against the rude, barbarous tribes of Italy, headed by Turnus. The conflict is a bitter one and many are the sufferings and losses of Aeneas, but the issue is beyond doubt, for Aeneas has the supreme divine support and is himself the embodiment of all those virtues which the Romans held most dear and which must emerge victorious in the end. In the Old French epic the central idea is almost identical, although the working out of it is on different lines. Here the epic struggle is between Christianity and heathendom—between the knights of Charlemagne fighting for the true God and exhibiting all the Christian virtues on the one side, and the Saracens, who did not love God and worshipped all sorts of strange deities, on the other. Here, too, the struggle is a long and bitter one, and many are the defeats and losses of the Christians. But the result is certain, for the Christians have the true God on their side, against whom the heathen divinities must inevitably fall, and themselves represent the mediæval conception of perfect knighthood which could not remain permanently eclipsed. Nor is the method of making known the divine will very dissimilar in the two epics. Charlemagne, in the *Chanson de Roland*, is warned by dreams and portents much as Aeneas is warned in the *Aeneid* (cf. VIII, 26 f.), and contempt for the gods (or God) always meets with condign punishment. We are as little in doubt as to the eventual fate of Mezentius—'contemptor divum'—as we are in regard to that of Raoul de Cambrai after he has blasphemed God and all his saints (cf. 3017 f.). Even nature reflects the bent of the divine will in similarly unmistakable fashion. The sun stands still for Charlemagne to pursue his foes (*Rol.*, 2450). The swiftly-flowing Tiber becomes like a stagnant pool to speed Aeneas on his journey (XIII, 86) and his ships dive into the water like dolphins to escape the threatening torch (IX, 119).

Just as the general conception of the Old French epic resembles that of the *Aeneid*, so too the general principles that underlie Virgil's *technique* are the same as those that we observe in the *chansons de geste*. There is the same limitation of the interest in the fight to as few personalities as possible; the same emphasising of national characteristics, though never to the exclusion of human psychology; the same holding of the reader's interest by variety of action and dramatic swiftness[1]. Heroes

[1] See Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, Leipzig, 1903.

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appear on the scene and are mentioned by name as though the audience were expected to recognise them, and disappear just as rapidly never to be seen or heard of again. Besides these general principles there are certain conscious methods of procedure which, in the case of the Old French epic, are obviously an inherited feature. If we take, for example, the symmetrical arrangement which has often been noticed in the *Chanson de Roland*—the two kings with their knights, the two councils, etc.—a mere glance at the *Aeneid* shows that this parallelism at any rate did not originate with the mediæval poet[1]. In Virgil, as in the Old French poems, it is most deliberately followed in the battle scenes. First Turnus slays Pallas, the young son of a doting father, inferior to his conqueror in years and strength; then Aeneas slays Lausus, the prop of his father's old age, and in each case the victor's heart is moved to pity at the sight of his young victim. In the Old French epic first a Christian slays a heathen, then a heathen strikes down a Christian, both episodes being described in almost identical terms and frequently ending with a eulogy of the dead man by one or more of his friends, corresponding to the parallel laments of Evander and Mezentius over their dead sons.

These parallel laments bring us to another feature of the Old French epic for which the Latin poem may well have furnished a model, viz. *le regret funèbre*. Besides the sorrowful words spoken by the two fathers in rival camps over their dead sons, we have the lament of Aeneas over Pallas[2]:

> 'Tene,' inquit, 'miserande puer, etc.
> ...Hei mihi, quantum
> præsidium Ausonia et quantum tu perdis, Iule!' (*Aen.*, XI, 42 ff.)

or the funeral dirge uttered by the comrades as they bore the youth away on their shields:

> O dolor atque decus magnum, etc. (*Aen.*, X, 507 ff.)

which recall to us many a *regret funèbre* in Old French epic poetry from *St Alexis* onwards. We do not wish at all to insist upon any mere verbal parallels, but how reminiscent of the laments of Aeneas and his followers over Pallas are the words of Charlemagne in the *Chanson de Roland* when he sees his nephew's dead body:

> Ami Roland, pruzdom, jovente bele, etc. (*Rol.*, 2916.)
> E! France dulce, cum remeines deserte! etc. (*Ibid.*, 2928.)

[1] The symmetrical setting of the rival kings with their councils, the messengers arriving with their traditional 'branches d'olive,' has often been compared with corresponding scenes in the *Aeneid*, cf. Tavernier, *loc. cit.*, p. 79; Wilmotte, *loc. cit.*, p. 114; Fr. Schürr, *Das altfranzösische Epos*, Munich, 1926, and Bédier, *loc. cit.*, p. 316.

[2] Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

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Nor have we only the models of the eulogies in Virgil; the *vilain reprovier* is there too, so familiar to readers of the *chansons de geste*. Seldom does one warrior slay another without letting forth a final parting shot at him with his tongue. Aeneas, as he snatches his sword from its sheath to give the *coup-de-grâce* to his enemy, shouts:

> Ubi nunc Mezentius acer et illa
> Effera vis animi? (*Aen.*, x, 897 f.)

in the same fierce spirit that Guillaume or Roland or Raoul taunts his dying foe:

> 'Glous,' dist Guillaumes, 'fol plait avez meü;
> Or est faillie la vostre grant vertu,' etc. (*Alischans*, 1308 f.)

Camilla stands over her fallen foe and taunts him in her fury:

> Hunc illa exceptum (necque enim labor agmine verso)
> traiicit et super haec inimico pectore fatur:
> 'Silvis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti?' (*Aen.*, xi, 684 ff.)

Olivier, looking down at his dead enemy, exults with equally savage triumph:

> Guardet a terre, veit gesir le glutun,
> Si li ad dit pur mult fiere raisun:
> 'De vos manaces, culvert, jo n'ai essoign!' (*Rol.* 1230 ff.)

The tendency to exaggerate, especially with regard to numbers engaged in battle, has often been called attention to in the *chansons de geste*. In every fresh combat thousands are engaged (cp. *Rol.* 'plus de iiii milliers,' l. 1685; 'plus de cinquante milie,' l. 1919). We find the same use of *hyperbole* in the *Aeneid* (cf. 'media inter milia,' ix, 549; x, 761, etc.); for it is clear that the size of the armies is equally exaggerated in both. Due to a certain striving after effect also, and the conscious effort to sustain the interest of the hearers in the somewhat prolonged descriptions of battles, are the means employed in both epics of dropping a hint as to what is to happen. Generally it is a hint of coming tragedy. When Turnus, rejoicing, despoils the corpse of Pallas, the fateful words are added:

> Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum
> intactum Pallanta et cum spolia ista diemque
> oderit. (*Aen.*, x, 503 ff.)

Similar in intention, though couched in less beautiful language, are the lines so often employed, in slightly varying form, by the mediæval poets to foreshadow coming calamities:

> Tel en ot joie, par le mien escient,
> Qui puis en ot le cuer triste et dolent. (*Raoul de Cambrai*, 43 f.)

There are a number of 'motifs' which one meets over and over again in reading the *chansons de geste* and which formed part of the stock-in-

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trade, as it were, of the *jongleur* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nor were these motifs confined to France. They crop up again in the German *Heldensage*, and it is difficult to say whether the *Spielmann* borrowed them from the *jongleur* or whether they both obtained them from a common source[1]. In any case there are certain ones amongst these 'motifs' and the traditions which accompany them which are as clearly part of the legacy of Rome as the technique and the general conception of the Old French epic. Here again we must insist that there is no question of direct or crude imitation of a Latin source. The reminiscent scenes are rather in the nature of accepted traditions which the poet embodied quite naturally into his composition and without which it would have seemed incomplete.

First and foremost comes necessarily that of the great battle—the 'gravis luctus' of the last six books of Virgil, the 'bataille pesant' and the 'grant dolur' of *Roland*, of *Alischans*, of *Gormont et Isembart* and *Raoul de Cambrai*. Here it may be objected that all descriptions of battles are inevitably more or less alike. But in this case there is such a remarkable correspondence in detail, besides the similarities of a general character, that the conclusion is forced upon us that one has served, either directly or indirectly, as a model for the other. We start in each case with the general *mêlée*, the 'bataille commune' of the *chansons*, the 'mutua funera' of the *Aeneid* when

> caedebant pariter pariterque ruebant
> victores victique, neque his fuga nota neque illis. (*Aen.*, x, 756 f.)

In each case thousands are engaged on either side, and the battlefield is quickly strewn with limbs and blood. But rapidly we pass to the descriptions of single combats in which, in the Latin as in the French, the combatants are mentioned by name as though familiar to the hearers:

> Euneum Clytio primum...
> tum Lirim Pagasumque super;....
> ...His addit Amastrum
> Hippotaden, sequiturque incumbens eminus hasta
> Tereaque Harpalycumque et Demophoonta Chromimque.
> (*Aen.*, xi, 666 ff.)

[1] This question has been carefully considered in a very interesting article by H. Schneider in the *Zs. für romanische Philologie*, Bd. li, 1926. Schneider indicates a number of 'gemeinmotive,' in the *chansons de geste* and the *Heldenepos*. In certain cases he is convinced that the German poet has borrowed from the French, in others he inclines to the view of a common source, and he asks reflectively: 'darf man altes merowingisches Gemeingut in dieser Motivgemeinschaft sehen?' He does not consider the question of possible classical tradition.

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Compare:

Engeles fiert Malprimis de Brigal
Ses bons escuz un denier ne li valt....
Et Anseïs laiset le cheval curre
Si vait ferir Turgis de Torteluse....
Et Gualtier fiert un paien Estorgans....
E Berenger il fiert Astramariz, etc. (*Rol.*, 1261 ff.)

The savage fights with sword and spear are the same, and the cowardly attacks from a distance when the assailants dare not approach:

non ulli est animus stricto concurrere ferro;
missilibus longe et vasto clamore lacessunt. (*Aen.*, x, 717 f.)

Mien escientre ne·s osent aproismer:
Il lor lancent et lances et espiez, etc. (*Rol.*, 2073 f.)

How deeply this idea had taken root we may gather from the well-known lines in *Girart de Viane*:

Mal dehé ait qui premier fu archier!
Il fu coarz, il n'osa aprochier.

An object of ambition to the Latin warrior as to the mediæval knight was to be granted the privilege of striking the first blow in the battle, and the daring, almost foolhardy prowess of young heroes against a seasoned and experienced enemy often ends in the same tragic manner[1]. At last when the wounded warrior lies down to die in the *chanson de geste* he places himself face downwards, 'contre tere murir' (*Rol.* 3488):

Sur l'erbe verte s'i est culchet *adenz*. (*Rol.* 2358.)

Or veit Rollant que mort est sun ami,
Gesir *adenz*, à la terre sun vis. (*Rol.* 2024 f.)

Surely a reminiscence of the Latin custom of placing a dying man face downwards on the ground—'ut extremum spiritum redderent terræ'—to which Virgil refers when speaking of the father of Iapyx. His life was despaired of and he was already 'depositus' with a view to breathing his last when his son intervened to try and save his life:

Ille (= Iapyx) ut *depositi* proferret fata parentis etc. (*Aen.*, xii, 395)[2]

In fact the whole battle scene, in its brutality and in its beauty, in *Roland*, in *Alischans* and in *Raoul de Cambrai*, is but an elaboration, suited to a different epoch, of the scene described in Books x, xi and xii of the *Aeneid*. Nor is it only the personal traits which the two epics have in common. The episode of the faithful, intelligent horse, so familiar to readers of the *chansons de geste*, also has its precursor in the Latin poem. What more delightful example of the faithful horse, or more likely

[1] Cp. Wilmotte, *loc. cit.*, pp. 128, 129; Bédier, *loc. cit.*, p. 316.
[2] Cp. Warde Fowler, *The Death of Turnus*, p. 80, note on *Aen.*, xii, 395.

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to strike the imagination of the mediæval poet, could be found than that of the horse of Pallas, weeping big tears as it follows its master's corpse:

> it lacrimans guttisque humectat grandibus ora (*Aen.*, XI, 90);

or of the horse of Mezentius to whom his master addresses the touching words:

> Rhæbe, diu, res si qua diu mortalibus ulla est,
> viximus. Aut hodie victor spolia illa cruenta
> et caput Aeneae referes Lausique dolorum
> ultor eris mecum aut, aperit si nulla viam vis,
> occumbes pariter; neque enim, fortissime, credo,
> iussa aliena pati et dominos dignabere Teucros. (*Aen.*, X, 861 ff.)

Surely we may see in Rhæbus the model for Guillaume's famous steed, Baucent, whom he addresses so frequently in loving terms:

> 'Bauchant,' dist il, 'molt le m'avez bien fait,
> De moi servir vos voi tos jors en hait' etc. (*Alischans*, 1095 f.)

As regards inanimate objects it is hardly necessary to recall here that the invincible sword, forged by Vulcan in the Latin poem, has many counterparts in the *chansons de geste*, though a different creator has been substituted for Vulcan, viz., the Germanic figure of Welant the smith, familiar to French hearers under the name of Galant.

Amongst the traditional elements in the *chansons de geste* we may place also the curious legendary character and appearance of the uncivilised races. The 'paien' are in marked contrast to the ideal of the Christian knight. They come from unknown, unblest lands:

> Icele terre, ço dit, dun il (= Chernubles) esteit
> Soleill n'i luist, ne blet n'i poet pas creistre.
> Pluie n'i chiet, rosee n'i adeiset,
> Pere n'i ad que tute ne seit neire. (*Rol.*, 980 ff.)

Their skins are so hard that they need neither shield nor helmet:

> Durs unt les quirs ensement cume fer,
> Pur ço n'unt soign de elme ne d'osberc;
> En la bataille sunt felun et engrés. (*Ibid.*, 3246 ff.)

They give an unpleasant impression of being like wild beasts. Of course exceptions to this general character may be found, but the above may be taken as being traditional traits which evidently represented the typical heathen in the earlier poems. It is interesting to find in the *Aeneid* exactly the same characteristics in the descriptions of the barbarous tribes which fought under Turnus against the Trojans. They too come from savage, barren lands:

> qui Tetricae horrentis rupes montemque Severum
> Casperiamque colunt Forulosque et flumen Himellae,
> qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt, quos frigida misit
> Nursia....
> saevus ubi Orion hibernis conditur undis etc. (*Aen.*, VII, 713 ff.)

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They also so resemble wild animals that they have no need of arms or shields, nor of any more protection to their heads than a helmet of wolf-skin:

> Non illis omnibus arma,
> nec clipei currusve sonant...
> fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros
> tegmen habent capiti. (*Aen.*, VII, 685 ff.)

It is clear that the typical barbarian of the *Aeneid* became the typical heathen of the *chanson de geste*.

This brings us to the very interesting question how far the characters and ideals in the *chanson de geste* represent the characters and ideals portrayed in the *Aeneid*, when due allowance has been made for the influence of Christianity and the Church. Here too the legacy of antiquity is undoubtedly an important factor in the formation of these ideals and characters. The two supreme Roman virtues which are personified in Aeneas, viz., *temperantia* and *pietas*, appear again in the Old French epic as the essential qualities of a Christian knight. *Temperantia*, moderation, or *mesure* in the mediæval jongleur's language, and that *ensemble* of virtues comprised in the word *pietas* as Virgil uses it (devotion to one's religion and country, goodness of heart, mercifulness, kindness, especially to members of one's own family[1]), are the indispensable parts of a man's nature, the absence of which leads to catastrophe. Roland is lacking in one[2] and Raoul de Cambrai is lacking in both; hence the innate tragic character of two of the greatest Old French epics. The conception of *mesure* has been treated elsewhere[3] and need not detain us here, but we must linger for a moment over the idea of *pietas* as understood by Virgil. No word could better sum up the ideal character of the Christian knight, and we find its varied elements beautifully expressed in individual heroes of the *chansons de geste*—in the devotion of Roland to his lord, his country and his countrymen, in the touching relations between Guillaume and his nephew Vivien, strikingly reminiscent of those between Aeneas and Pallas, in the filial devotion of the sons of Aimeri to their father, and in the faithful affection displayed by Guibourc and Hermenjart towards the children they have brought up.

[1] Warde Fowler has pointed out that Virgil has enlarged the meaning of the word, thus paving the way for Christian virtues. Cp. *Death of Turnus*, p. 148.

[2] Cp. the words of Olivier, ll. 1725 ff.:

> Kar vasselage par sens nen est folie,
> Mielz valt mesure que ne fait estultie.
> Franceis sunt morz par vostre legerie.

[3] See *Modern Language Review*, XXI, pp. 380 ff.

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Just as the idea of *pietas* is summed up in the character of Aeneas, so the absence of this quality and its companion virtue, restraint, is personified in his rival Turnus. In the Old French epic this double lack culminates, as it were, in the person of Raoul de Cambrai. It is difficult to believe that the author of the poem *Raoul de Cambrai* had not the character of Turnus in his mind when delineating his hero. Like Raoul in the *chanson*, Turnus was beautiful when we first hear of him ('ante alios pulcherrimus omnes,' *Aen.*, VII, 55), beloved of his mother and capable of inspiring love in the breast of a lovely maiden. His one fatal weakness was lack of self-control; he had none of the *temperantia* by which the Romans set such store. *Turbidus*, *violentia*, *furia*, such are the words used in connexion with his appearance[1]. Like Raoul, flouting the prayers of his mother, he rushes into conflict on purely personal grounds; his passion is only increased by opposition; like Raoul he is inconsiderate to his friends and merciless to his enemies. His madness causes him much mental anguish and brings him to a shameful end at last. The words used by the author of *Raoul de Cambrai* when describing his hero might well serve as an epitaph for Turnus:

> **Biax fu Raoul et de gente faiture;**
> **S'en lui n'eüst un poi de desmesure,**
> **Miendres vasals ne tint onques droiture.**
> **Mais de ce fu molt pesans l'aventure,**
> ***Hom desreëz a molt grant painne dure.***
> (*Raoul de Cambrai*, 494–8.)

Equally well Raoul's 'desmesure,' in good or evil fortune alike, might have prompted the Latin poet's reflection on the inability of Turnus to restrain himself in success:

> **Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae,**
> **et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis!** (*Aen.*, X, 501–2).

'Servare modum' was in fact the ideal inculcated by the Roman poet which emerged again, after a long period of obscurity, as the object to be striven after by the mediæval poet, lover or knight.

If then we find in Aeneas the epitome of all those virtues which, after being partially obscured during the centuries of barbarism, revived in the character of the Christian knight, in the contrast between Aeneas and Turnus we see foreshadowed the well-known comparison in the Old French epic between the *preux* and the *sage*, between Roland and Oliver, between Raoul and Bernier. We must insist again upon the fact that

[1] Cp H. Nettleship, *Lectures and Essays*, Oxford, 1895, pp. 109 ff.

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there is no evidence of any conscious imitation[1]. But in the characterisation, just as in the conception, the technique and the choice of certain 'motifs,' there seems ample evidence for the assumption that the Old French epic poets drew naturally and freely from a source of inspiration which they had probably imbibed as part of their school curriculum.

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[1] A possible exception might be made to this generalisation in the case of *Raoul de Cambrai*. Beside the character of Raoul which is so accurately described in the words referring to Turnus above, the poem offers other points of resemblance of a rather special nature. As in the *Aeneid*, in order to put an end to the sanguinary battle, a single combat is decided upon. The *corz sainz* are brought ('saintes reliques i fait li rois porter,' ll. 4949 f.), and each combatant calls heaven to witness, just as Aeneas and Turnus offer their vows before joining battle with each other ('Fer sacra, pater,' etc., *Aen.*, XII, 13, 176 f.). A very singular verbal parallel occurs also in the two poems. Aalais in describing certain unwilling vassals says:

> Trop par sont bon por vuidier escuele
> Mais au combattre, tex en est la novele,
> Ne valent mie un fromage en ficele
> (*Raoul de Cambrai*, 1184 f.);

Tarchon taunts the 'semper inertes Tyrrheni' with the words:

> At, non in Venerem segnes nocturnaque bella
> aut ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi,
> exspectate dapes et plenae pocula mensae, etc.
> (*Aen.*, XI, 736 ff.)

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THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH CRITIC AND THE CONTEMPORARY NOVEL

IT seems almost obvious that any attempt to trace the evolution of a literary genre must involve a survey of criticism in so far, at least, as it affects the type of literature under review. Yet, in the case of the French novel of the eighteenth century, the literary historian says little or nothing about the attitude of the eighteenth-century critic towards the prose fiction of his time. Are we to conclude, then, that the novelist was of so little account in the eyes of his contemporaries that his art excited no comment? The object of the following pages is to show that this is far from being the case and also to reveal, if possible, a growing consciousness in the mind of both critic and novelist of the functions, the limitations and the aims of the novel. Our idea is not to attempt a précis of the evolution of the novel: that can obviously be derived only from a study of the novels themselves. It is rather to provide an auxiliary aid to such a study by offering a synoptic picture of eighteenth-century criticism in so far as it directly affects the contemporary novel. Whilst the bulk of such critical matter is obtained from literary journals and pamphlets, some of the pronouncements, and not the least important, are obtained from novelists' prefaces which in certain cases were written in reply to critical attacks.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century literary journals were still few in number and of devastating dullness. It is not surprising, therefore, that not until 1728 do we come across any important reference to the novel[1]. Commenting on the various sorts of novel then in vogue, heroic, comic, pastoral and historical, the critic makes it clear that the chief object of this type of literature is to please. A fertile imagination, he thinks, would seem to be the principal requirement in a novelist. Yet the average reader, though perfectly willing to be deceived by the writer's fictions, insists on being deceived in a probable and intelligent manner. 'Ceux même qui consentent à être trompés, veulent que ce soit avec art.' The seventeenth-century novelist, with his abuse of *le merveilleux*, has gone completely out of favour, and it is clear from our critic that the novel of the future must assume one of two forms. Either it must be obviously allegorical or it must copy nature. Allegory, if resorted to,

[1] *Bibliothèque française*, XI, p. 46, *Lettre à Mme D. sur les romans*. This periodical was edited by Dusauzet, Granet and Goujet.

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must be a mere setting, a gauzy veil, which by its very elusiveness irritates the reader's curiosity and draws his attention to the truths which form the real substance of the novel. But the real novel, 'le roman sérieux,' will present a happy blend of characterisation and simple descriptive matter centring round a love story, for, since the object of fiction is to please, to touch and to interest the reader, love, which is the greatest motive force of the sentiments, must assume an all-important rôle.

It will be observed that this critic does not lay stress on the educative or moral value of novels. True, some of the seventeenth-century critics had tried to suggest this conception of fiction as an instructional medium but with no success, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century the novel was not deemed worthy to rank along with tragedy, poetry and history as a moral and educative influence. Indeed, as we continue our examination, it will become increasingly clear that the history of criticism as it affects the novel is the history of a prolonged struggle against a deep-seated prejudice towards fiction. And, curiously enough, both *philosophes* and *anti-philosophes* will be found making common cause against the new form of literature. In 1731, for example, Desfontaines, one of the bitterest opponents of the new philosophic doctrines, thinks it necessary to apologise for devoting space in his paper to reviews of novels, 'dont le genre passe pour frivole et même dangereux.' Nevertheless, his notices are very frequent and quite detailed.

About this time we note a complete lack of accord amongst critics as to their definition of the novel and their conception of its purpose. Nor does Lenglet du Fresnoy throw much light on the question in his *Usage des Romans*[1], a barren treatise which takes an unconscionable time to repeat the old view that the novel is a heroic poem in prose and to deplore a growing tendency to introduce low realism into fiction. The author of *Fanféredin*[2] repeats Lenglet's definition, yet notes the advent of a different kind of novel, the novel of manners, the chief exponent of which is Lesage.

Voltaire's contempt for novels is well known, but it is interesting to find him remarking in 1733 that the public is losing its taste for fiction and has taken to reading history instead. He finds an unexpected ally in a certain Père Porée who, in 1736, delivered a public lecture on the evils of novel reading at the Collège Saint Louis. Desfontaines thought Porée's speech exaggerated, but the good priest had many supporters, not only amongst the clergy, but in the government. From the following

[1] *Le Nouvelliste du Parnasse*, t. IV.
[2] *Le Prince Fanféredin* (Anon.) in *Année littéraire*, VII (1754), p. 55.

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allusions it seems clear, in fact, that some sort of decree was issued by the police severely limiting and perhaps proscribing the publication of novels. I have endeavoured to discover the actual text of this document, but so far with no success, though the available evidence indicates 1735 or 1736 as the probable date of promulgation. Here are the facts. Speaking of De Mouhy's *Nouveaux motifs de Conversion*, l'abbé de la Porte, in his journal[1], says: 'A la tête de celui-ci est une préface où il tâche de justifier ses premiers travaux: il y fait entendre d'une manière fort touchante qu'il est une des principales victimes de la funeste proscription des Romans. "Ce n'est point à moi," dit-il, "de raisonner sur cette matière; il me convient de garder un respectueux silence et de tâcher de me mettre au ton où on me veut. L'ouvrage que je donne aujourd'hui est une preuve de ma soumission."' Again, Granet, writing in 1739 and deploring the fact that the country is being inundated with novels, remarks: 'Le goût misérable des romans...paraissait un peu ralenti ces dernières années par le zèle du chef de la magistrature qui les a proscrits avec raison, mais les Français aiment trop la bagatelle et l'amusement pour pouvoir se passer longtemps de livres puérils et frivoles[2].' Finally, in the archives of the Bastille there is a pathetic letter from De Mouhy to Maurepas, dated May 19, 1741, in which the novelist says: 'Je ne me suis soutenu jusqu'ici qu'en faisant un métier pour lequel je n'avais point été élevé. Jusqu'à la proscription des romans ce genre de travail m'avait soutenu. Depuis ce moment, obligé d'avoir recours aux libraires étrangers, je me suis vu dans la triste obligation pour être payé de mes ouvrages, de céder à leurs usages. La misère a pris tranquillement le dessus et, avec des principes dont je ne m'étais jamais écarté, j'ai succombé[3].' Farther on in his letter, he promises 'qu'il n'y aura rien dans mes écrits qui intéresse gouvernement et mœurs et religion.' The immediate cause of De Mouhy's incarceration was the publication without permission of a novel called *Les mille et une faveurs*, which was considered prejudicial to religion and morality. Now, the state censorship of literature had been in force since 1658, so that we cannot regard the proscription of novels like the above as an innovation. Again, many novels continued to appear during this period duly provided with the legal *privilège*, so that there can have been no wholesale ban on novels as such. What is more probable is that, about 1735 or 1736, some new decree was issued providing for a more rigorous prosecution of novelists

[1] *Observations sur les écrits modernes*, XIV (1738), p. 70.
[2] *Réflexions sur les ouvrages de la littérature*, IX.
[3] Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal, MS. 3866.

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who in their works made any allusion to contemporary events, persons or institutions, calculated to offend religion or morality. The same result might, of course, have been obtained by issuing instructions to censors to refuse *privilèges* to novels falling under this category. In any case the intention of the authorities can only have been to stem the rising tide of novels of manners or, in the language of officialdom, 'contenir la licence des auteurs[1].'

L'abbé Granet indicates 1722 as the beginning of a period of reflorescence for the novel which for some years had been at a low ebb. It was then re-established in the public favour by the success of Mme de Fontaines' *La Comtesse de Vergi* (1725) and her *La Comtesse de Savoie* (1726), which attracted large numbers of feminine readers[2]. Granet regards novels purely as a source of pleasure and amusement. This form of literature, he thinks, is the chief cause of the general decadence of letters, and he praises the English who leave the frivolous pastime of novel writing to their French cousins. This critic admits that the substitution by the novelist of French characters for the impossible Greeks, Romans and Gauls of the heroic novel is an improvement, but denies that it indicates any real advance towards probability. He asks: 'Est-il plus étonnant de voir un Artamène, un Alexandre, un Pharamond, né, élevé et formé en Français que de voir un jeune rustre sortir de Champagne, venir à Paris, y endosser la livrée, plaire à sa maîtresse, à la suivante, de le voir, dis-je, pétillant dans ses reparties, étaler sous l'écorce d'une simplicité artificielle l'esprit le plus fin et le plus délicat[3]?' This is of course a palpable hit at *Le Paysan parvenu*, by Marivaux, whose *Vie de Marianne* had fared just as badly at the hands of another critic[4]. Again, in his notice on Mme de Tencin's *Siège de Calais* which in its day was considered a second *Princesse de Clèves*, Granet remarks: 'Un autre défaut de ce roman et de presque tous ceux que j'ai lus, c'est de n'avoir égard aux caractères convenables des personnages de la scène ni aux mœurs de leur temps[5].' De Tencin's novel is situated in the reign of the Valois, yet the characters analyse their sentiments in a sophisticated fashion which is purely eighteenth-century, a psychological anachronism which Granet considers as a sin against probability.

De la Chesnaye des Bois, an ardent protagonist of the novel, scouts

[1] See, in the archives of the Bastille in the Bib. de l'Arsénal, in the *dossier* of Crébillon *fils* the order exiling this novelist from Paris, for his *Le Sopha*: 'M. le Chancelier désirant cet exemple pour contenir la licence des auteurs.'

[2] *Reflexions sur les ouvrages de la littérature*, IX, 1739.

[3] *Ibid.* I, 1738.

[4] *Bibliothèque française*, t. XVI, 1731.

[5] *Réflexions sur les ouvrages de la litt.*, IX, 1739.

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the idea that the reading of fiction is harmful. He claims, on the contrary, that the novelist, by means of his vivid descriptions of the unhappy effects of love, puts his young readers on their guard, a utilitarian conception which is typical of the eighteenth century[1]. This writer is the first to discuss the influence of the English school of novelists. Touching on the gruesome and sensational episodes which abound in the works of Prévost, Des Bois remarks that these are more to the English than to the French taste. 'Un Anglais en est peu touché, mais un Français ne peut les lire sans frémir.' Richardson's *Pamela*, he claims, was unfavourably received by the majority of the French public, and he does not share Fréron's enthusiasm for this novel which, he says, fills the reader with disgust and *ennui*. Nor is he the only French writer to criticise Richardson, for there appeared in 1742 a *Lettre sur Paméla* which took the author to task for improbability and made very merry with Pamela, that 'connaisseuse en œillades,' and the attempts against her chastity, each one of which is duly followed by 'une vapeur d'honneur qui la fait tomber en syncope.' Fielding is much admired by Fréron[2] who cannot understand why a public which welcomed the realism of *Gil Blas* should cavil at the description of low life in the English novel, *Joseph Andrews*. However, the translator of that work realised that Fielding's naturalism would offend French taste, and in the preface begs his readers to remember that in England nothing which represents nature is despised by the novelist, who in this respect may be compared to the Dutch school of painters[3]. The editor of *Les Jugements sur quelques ouvrages nouveaux* also defends Fielding, and contrasts *Joseph Andrews* very favourably with the current type of French novel, with its disconnected, improbable adventures flooded with vague reflections and swollen with tiresome dialogues and insipid soliloquies[4]. It is clear from the context that this critic is aiming at the analytic novel of manners introduced by Marivaux, for in the same number of his paper he violently takes De la Place to task for suggesting that this type of psychological novel might give rise to a new school of drama. 'Il serait bien singulier,' he sneers, 'que l'art de diviser un cheveu produisît ce merveilleux effet.' The President Caulet[5] echoes this criticism. 'On s'étudie à exprimer avec esprit les mouvements des passions sans songer par là qu'on les affaiblit, qu'on les énerve. Les

[1] *Lettres amusantes et critiques sur les romans*, 1743.
[2] *Observations sur les écrits modernes*, 1743.
[3] *Bibliothèque française*, XXXIX (1744), p. 201.
[4] T. II (1744), p. 169.
[5] *Recueil des pièces d'éloquence et de poésie qui ont remporté les prix des Jeux Floraux en cette année*, 1745.

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grands sentiments qu'on étale avec emphase ne font point d'impression, parce que les situations ne peuvent jamais être les mêmes.'

L'abbé de la Porte, whilst no admirer of novels, is compelled to admit in 1749 that the new genre is firmly established. He notes that the taste for fiction has become so general as to influence playwrights. Referring to Marmontel's *Aristomène*, De la Porte observes that this play is a typical specimen of the new *Tragédie-Roman* which seeks its material, not, as formerly, in history, but, after the fashion of the novel, in the imagination [1]. This critic exposes one great limitation of the novel of his day. The French author, unlike his English colleague, is exclusively interested in the morals and manners of aristocratic society. His heroes and heroines are all drawn from the quality and if, by a rare exception, they are represented as of humble condition, it is merely to provide a romantic situation and, by contrast, to emphasise their rise to fame and fortune. Yet this snobbery is unnecessary. The Faubourg Saint Marceau, says De la Porte, can provide as many subjects for fiction as the Quartier Saint Honoré. And again, few authors are really in a position to give a true portrait of the *mœurs* of the great because they have no access to their society. The result is to give the nobility a wrong idea of the capacity of the novelist, and the people an entirely false impression of the life of the nobility. Yet, he continues, the novel of manners, inaccurate as it sometimes is, is immeasurably superior to the purely *romanesque* novels which seem all to be cast in the same mould. The magic and enchantment resorted to by the seventeenth-century writers violated, of course, the rules of probability, but, he asks, were they any more improbable than the perfections of the novel hero of 1750? Yet De la Porte would not entirely exclude the *romanesque* element from fiction. He does not want the novelist to imitate reality too closely. 'Il est même nécessaire que les Romanciers ne soient pas trop scrupuleux sur l'article de la vraisemblance.' This apparent paradox has a curious explanation. He fears that, misled by the specious titles of the contemporary novel and the ingenious fictions contained in their prefaces, the novel reader will take these so-called *Mémoires*, *Histoires* and *Relations* [2] at their face value and thus confuse history with fiction. And will posterity be less credulous, he anxiously reflects. After all, is there not some justification for the Abbé's misgivings? for it sometimes does happen that modern historians of eighteenth-century France go to these spurious yet fascinating memoirs for their 'documentation.'

[1] *Observations sur la littérature moderne*, 1749.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1752.

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The vexed question of the status of the novel in literature was revived by the Abbé Jacquin in 1754. This barren treatise[1] does little more than repeat Porée's views on the pernicious effects of novels, and denies that the novelist has any artistic or moral value. Delasolle, in the preface to his *Deux Amis* (1754), takes up the gage. He places the novel on the same level as comedy and tragedy and claims that the novelist's task is to depict, not imaginary vices and virtues, but men as they are in society. In this way, he urges, the novelist will interest his readers and perhaps reform them. The Chevalier de Mouhy goes farther and asserts that, of all the genres, that of the novel is the most difficult since it demands great imagination and originality[2]. Both these writers follow broadly the arguments already put forward by Crébillon *fils*[3]. The novel has, like comedy, a didactic and moral value, since it is a picture of human life and does, or should, censure vices and foibles. Readers of Crébillon will doubtless find it difficult to derive this moral inspiration from his works, but that is, for the moment, beside the point of this discussion. Mauvillon, in his *Romans appréciés* (1756), launches into a diatribe against contemporary novelists and challenges them to prove that their works are useful to society. He condemns the spirit of persiflage which permeates fiction, and accuses the novelist of using philosophy to cloak his immoralities. 'Notre siècle,' he says, 'a enchéri sur tous les siècles précédents: au libertinage du cœur les hommes ont associé le libertinage de l'esprit. Autrefois on était vicieux par tempérament, actuellement on l'est par principes, et les lumières de l'esprit ne servent ordinairement de conseil avec le cœur qu'à nous égarer plus sûrement.' It is evident that the frivolous and immoral novel depicting the *mœurs* of ultra-fashionable society is beginning to fall out of favour. *La Correspondance littéraire de Grimm et de Diderot* advocates a wholesome burning of all such works from De Cahusac's *Grigri* to Chevrier's *Le Grelot*, though indeed an exception is made in the case of Crébillon, whose *Sopha* is declared (1754) a masterpiece.

This paper—it was not known to the general public until 1812—devoted considerable space to well-informed criticism of a fairly constructive kind[4]. Its predilection for the English novelists is increasingly pronounced with each new number. One defect of the French novel is criticised in a review of Florian's translation of an English novel, *L'Étourdie* (1754). French novelists, says Grimm, are excellent in their portrayal

[1] *Entretiens sur les Romans.*
[2] Preface to *Le Financier*, 1755.
[3] Preface to *Les Egarements du cœur et de l'esprit.*
[4] It was distributed secretly to select subscribers of philosophic tendencies.

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of individual characters, yet their novels leave a general impression of unnaturalness. The reason is that in real life such characters would be linked up with a number of minor personages whose conduct, it is true, has no immediate bearing on the principal action exposed. Still, it is just this failure to suggest the presence of such lesser actors which deprives the French novel of background and produces the effect of unreality. This acute criticism, it seems to me, lays bare the essential difference in the technique of the two schools. Rousseau, on the other hand, points to the number of characters in Richardson's novels as an indication of weakness, and takes considerable credit to himself for holding the interest through six volumes of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* with a small number of characters[1].

This important novel, his masterpiece, is badly handled by Grimm in the *Correspondance* (1761). He condemns the author for sacrificing the action to his predilection for dogmatic moralisation. Unlike Richardson, who has twenty different manners, Rousseau makes all his characters talk alike, thereby producing an impression of monotony. Grimm's great rival, Fréron, in the *Année Littéraire* for 1761, is more lenient and attributes much of Rousseau's diffuseness to the epistolary form which he has borrowed from the English. Fréron sees the influence of Richardson in the conception of the characters of Julie, Claire and M. d'Orbe who, he says, are imitations of Clarissa, Miss Howe and that lady's fiancé. Fréron distinguishes in the *Nouvelle Héloïse* the *romanesque* element, which he condemns, and the moral element, which he praises. He sums up shrewdly. 'Pour résumer ce que je pense du roman de M. Rousseau, ses principaux personnages sont vicieux dans la pratique et vertueux dans la spéculation,' a criticism which modern writers have elaborated, but have not substantially altered. La Dixmérie, a critic whose work has hitherto been ignored, comments on the unusual lack of restraint, or, as we call it, the lyricism of Rousseau and says of these letters: 'Elles ont toute l'effervescence, tout le désordre qui caractérisent l'amour porté à son comble, exemple rare dans notre langue. Il est peu de nos romans où l'amour ne parle sur le ton de la simple galanterie[2].' Marmontel, oddly enough, agrees with his enemy Fréron and condemns the novel as immoral[3]. That excellent critic, La Harpe, emphasises Rousseau's originality in beginning his novel with what is usually the climax, i.e., the consummation of the love affair. He characterises the

[1] *Oeuvres*, I (1846), p. 288.
[2] *Les deux âges du goût et du génie français*, 1769.
[3] *Essai sur les romans*, 1787.

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marriage of Julie as revolting, and doubts if the last four volumes will live as the interest languishes after the second[1].

Writing in 1762, Fréron says: 'Jamais on n'a tant vu de romans en lettres...le sentiment y est monté sur des échasses[2].' Commenting on the vogue for the epistolary novel which he traces to the success of *Clarissa* and Graffigny's *Lettres péruviennes*, he thinks that this form has the disadvantage of interrupting the narrative[3]. About this time he severely criticised the moral tales of Marmontel and his school which he doubtless has in mind when he speaks of stilted sentiment. He objects to Marmontel's didactic tone and advises him to imitate Hamilton who is the grand model for all *conteurs* in prose. Fréron of course detested Marmontel, but Grimm, who can scarcely be suspected of animosity towards his brother *philosophe*, practically echoes Fréron's objections and amusingly enough considers the *Contes moraux* lacking in philosophy, the one quality on which Marmontel prided himself. However, it is clear from all the critics that the novel is destined for a time to become an instrument of morality and instruction. La Dixmérie, for instance, would have everyone imitate Richardson, whose novels are 'cours de morale pratique' and who, by introducing characters drawn from the common people, appeals to a wider circle. He himself deliberately chooses such characters since, he says, thanks to the progress of reason, the attitude of the reading public towards such a proceeding has entirely changed. 'On sait maintenant qu'il se trouve des hommes dans tous les états,' he remarks, 'et que nul état ne donne exclusion à la vertu'[4]—an interesting statement since it is the first definite critical pronouncement on the subject of the transition from the aristocratic to the democratic novel. Dorat, an even greater anglophile, gives us in his *Idées sur les romans* (1771) an excellent comparative study of the two schools of novels, English and French. He defends the former against current reproaches that they pay too much attention to detail, and coins a phrase which anticipates Balzac's famous 'Donnez-moi un gant, je reconstitue l'homme.' 'Les observateurs britanniques,' says Dorat, 'ne négligent rien quand il s'agit de l'étude de l'homme; ils savent que *le physique est le flambeau du moral*; la contraction d'un muscle leur donne la clef d'un sentiment.' The French, he continues, fail because their observation is superficial. Where they produce merely a dazzling *feu d'artifice*, the English, by their patient, laborious method, provoke a

[1] *Correspondance littéraire*, 1774.
[2] *Année littéraire*, t. VII.
[3] *Année littéraire*, t. V.
[4] Preface to *Toni et Clairette*, 1773.

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veritable explosion. Dorat condemns the immorality of the French in a genre which ought to be one of the most useful productions of the human intellect. The novel, according to him, is superior to history since its moral utility is greater. 'Le roman, quand il est bien fait, est pris dans le système actuel de la société où l'on vit; il est, osons le dire, l'histoire utile, l'histoire usuelle, celle du moment.' These words, if we accept the utilitarian pretention, express our modern conception of the novel. Dorat profoundly admires the energy and the grandeur of the great English novels which in his eyes reflect the greater social freedom enjoyed by the English. He admits, however, that they betray a convulsiveness which detracts somewhat from their artistic value: still, they realise the effect they aim at. Dorat's theories reveal him as one of the pre-Romantics. Take, for instance, the following lines: 'Pour arracher à la nature quelques-uns de ses secrets, il faut être nourri de méditations profondes, de recueillements solitaires, de l'enthousiasme du bien et de cette mélancholie qui masque d'une empreinte auguste toutes les idées qui en émanent.'

In the *Sacrifices de l'amour* (1771) Dorat tried to illustrate his doctrines. The novel enjoyed an immense popularity, but was savagely attacked by Grimm, who ironically suggests that it should have been called 'Les Sacrifices du bon Sens de l'Auteur à la Pauvreté de son Imagination[1],' an unfair judgment inspired by his animosity towards Dorat.

One of the greatest protagonists, though by no means the innovator of the new melancholy, didactic and moral novel, is Baculard d'Arnaud. Like La Dixmérie, he looks on the novel as a 'cours de morale,'[2] and claims to have invented what he calls *le genre sombre*, of which his *Epreuves du sentiment* (1772) is a striking illustration. It is interesting to note that Fréron, who intensely admired D'Arnaud, in the course of a lengthy eulogy of this novel, deliberately avoids discussing the *genre sombre* and confines himself to a panegyric of D'Arnaud's naturalness, his simplicity, his morality and his respect for established social institutions. And indeed, speaking of Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, which profoundly influenced Baculard d'Arnaud, Fréron[3] is most reserved and coldly dismisses the book as an uninteresting 'espèce de roman dans le genre du poème d'Arioste.' There is, on the other hand, no possible doubt as to the attitude of Grimm and La Harpe towards the gloomy school of fiction. The former condemns the 'genre triste' which, according to the

[1] *Correspondance littéraire*, 1774.
[2] Preface to his *Nouvelles historiques*, 1774.
[3] *Année littéraire*, 1774.

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English, comes from France: the French, on the contrary, reproach the English for having infected their novelists with this malady[1]. La Harpe detests these 'contes noirs' and coins the epithet, 'l'embonpoint du sentiment' to describe Baculard's declamatory and prolix style[2]. In connexion with the vogue for English and other foreign literature which is at its height in 1774, Grimm advances the interesting view that cosmopolitanism is inimical to the progress of the arts. He complains of the anglomania of his countrymen, and is convinced that this mutual imitation of literary fashions prevents the development of national genius, since it fetters the imagination. Fréron's successor in the *Année littéraire* for 1781 regrets that for so many years England has been almost the sole source from which French novelists have drawn their inspiration. It is true, he points out, that the war has somewhat shut off the supply of models for translation, yet French novelists are still obliged to disguise their own work as English in order to satisfy their anglomaniac reading public. This writer, however, fully acknowledges the French debt to Richardson who, he says, 'me paraît avoir atteint le degré de perfection dont le roman est susceptible.' In 1782 he develops his views on the purpose and the potentialities of the novel which he compares to dramatic poetry. It is subject, he thinks, to all the rules which govern drama save the unities of time and place, the object of which, of course, is merely to add more probability to the theatrical representation. The essential purpose of the novel is, like that of drama, to portray virtues and vices, to expose the effects of the sentiments and passions and to unfold interesting situations drawn from nature. He then proceeds to demonstrate that every species of novel has its counterpart in drama. The novel, he concludes, is not a vehicle for puerile adventures, but a regular dramatic poem in prose 'assujetti à la plus rigoureuse vraisemblance, destiné à peindre les mœurs, les caractères et les passions.'

Marmontel's *Essai sur les romans* is a real attempt at a critical study of the development of the novel. Omitting the historical part, interesting though it is, let us confine ourselves to a consideration of Marmontel's theories on the purpose of fiction. His opinions are not precisely new, since they but reflect and elaborate the casually expressed views of the outstanding critics of the second part of the eighteenth century. However, from that very fact they serve our purpose. Taking as his starting point the *Princesse de Clèves*, this critic reproaches Mme de

[1] *Correspondance littéraire*, III (1774), p. 176.
[2] *Correspondance littéraire*, I (1774), p. 46.

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Lafayette for neglecting to define more sharply the boundary between culpable and innocent weakness. A woman reading this novel, according to Marmontel, is liable to rely too much on the protection afforded against vice by a virtuous nature and a good upbringing. He would have preferred a heroine less strong-willed than Mme de Clèves, a heroine who by her fall would have served as an example of the folly of over-confidence in the power of character over circumstances.

Marmontel, whilst doing justice to the eloquence and sensibility of Prévost, as well as to his moral intentions, nevertheless accuses him of forgetting that the purpose of the novel is not primarily to rack the emotions, but to correct morals. 'L'art de feindre pour émouvoir,' he says, 'est une espèce de chimie qui a ses remèdes et ses poisons.' It is useless, he feels, to overwhelm and depress the reader with the spectacle of imaginary sufferings and misfortunes, unless we inspire him with a proper detestation for the vices or weaknesses which precipitate the downfall of the hero. In his *Manon Lescaut* Prévost has not done this: he enlists our sympathies for a young libertine and a prostitute. It is true, he admits, that Prévost's heroes are plunged into misfortune and are overcome with remorse, but this does not satisfy the implacable Marmontel. 'Je n'entends pas que l'on sépare la compassion de la terreur.' In the character portrayed, misfortune must be clearly shown as the result of crime, and crime as the consequence of a moral lapse, which in turn is caused by passion. The character of the victim of this passion must be fundamentally good: there can be no room in it for any vice, because if the novelist tries to reconcile vice and virtue, for instance, by portraying a woman as good yet unchaste, the result will be an immoral novel. It is this mixture of vice and virtue, he says, which makes *La Nouvelle Héloïse* the most dangerous of all novels. 'Il était réservé à notre siècle,' indignantly exclaims Marmontel, 'de permettre à l'homme flétri et à la femme déshonorée d'espérer qu'après des bassesses et de honteux dérèglements, une contenance imposante, une récrépissure d'honnêteté tardive les blanchirait et leur rendrait leurs droits à l'estime publique.' How well this criticism applies to the novels of the Romantic school! Marmontel emphasises the moral responsibilities of the novelist who, having a wide choice of subjects, is bound morally to select those which will enlighten and edify his public. His doctrine is contained in these words: 'Dans nos fictions ce n'est pas assez d'imiter, il faut épurer la nature.'

Marmontel, then, represents the critical attitude towards the novel adopted by the majority of his contemporaries who look on fiction as a

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useful instrument of moral propaganda. We have already noted the lip homage paid to this principle by the early novelists of the century. Yet, as was indicated in the case of Crébillon fils, this respect for morality was confined to theory. The fact is that these novelists were willing to adopt any expedient to overcome the prejudice of the critics and thus obtain recognition of their status in the hierarchy of letters. This recognition when it came was largely due to the success of Richardson, who convinced the most sceptical that the novel, like tragedy, had didactic possibilities. But by the 'sixties the tone of French society has changed and the works of the Crébillon school, the 'romans corrupteurs,' though still read, are read in secret (La Dixmérie, 1769). Sensibility, humanitarianism, morality, are now in fashion, and it is because it is the fashion, as Dorat tells us in his *Idées sur les Romans*, that the public turns to the English models, 'plutôt par un goût de mode que par un véritable attrait.' Critics and novelists now unite in extolling the moral utility of the novel. There are, however, dissentient voices and one of these is Rousseau's. Writing to Duclos in 1760 he says: 'Je persiste... à croire cette lecture (i.e., des romans) très dangereuse aux filles. Je pense même que Richardson s'est lourdement trompé en voulant les instruire par des romans, c'est mettre le feu à la maison pour faire jouer les pompes.' In his *Nouvelle Héloïse* he makes Saint Preux say that the novel should only be resorted to as an educative medium when a society is so corrupt that all other means have failed. Rousseau's ideal novelist is Jean Jacques, the individualist and sentimentalist who is not above human weaknesses and on that account does not discourage his readers by depicting virtue as an inaccessible thing. For Rousseau the novel is primarily a confession and here he is absolutely at variance with Marmontel and his school[1], who curtail the liberty of the novelist by limiting him in his choice of subjects. The novelists of manners from Marivaux onwards, whilst apparently respecting the doctrine of moral utility, were really approaching the liberty which the nineteenth-century realists, led by Balzac, afterwards claimed as a right. The Romantics, though they conceived the novel, not as a reflection of society, but as an expression of the author's most intimate sentiments, likewise vindicated the novelist's right to freedom in choice of subject. So the analytic novelists of fashionable manners, the Romantics and the Realists, though differing in everything else, are unexpectedly in accord in their refusal to obey the dictates of the moral utility school. To them the prohibition contained in the axiom 'il faut épurer la nature' is anathema, not because

[1] Part II, Letter XXI.

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they desire to be immoral in their work, but because they want to exercise their right to imitate nature in all its aspects, which frequently means to portray that 'mélange de vice et de vertu' to which Marmontel and his followers object so strongly. In the words of the Marquis de Sade[1] the novel is 'le tableau des mœurs séculaires.' And, after all, that is precisely what all good novels have been. It is significant that of all the productions of the French moral utility school there is not one which interests us because of its moral lesson. Strip *Paul et Virginie* of its exotic colouring and picturesque descriptions, and you have some idea of the disastrous results which ensue when even a good writer attempts to distort human nature in the sacred name of morality. Sometimes, perhaps, the end may justify the means, but not in the case of the novel which is a picture of society and not a sermon.

F. C. GREEN.

TORONTO.

[1] *Idée sur les romans*, Paris, 1878. Probably written in the eighties of the eighteenth century.

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TWO PROBLEMS OF THE GERMAN PRETERITE-PRESENT VERBS

I

THE MUTATED VOWEL IN 'KÖNNEN,' 'DÜRFEN,' 'MÖGEN,' 'MÜSSEN.'

ONE of the outstanding problems in Historical German Grammar is the mutated vowel which since about 1200 appears in the plural forms of the present indicative and in the infinitive of the preterite-present verbs.

As there can be no doubt that in the infinitive the mutated vowel is due to analogy with the 1st and 3rd persons plur. ind. pres., and as the problem is practically the same for all three persons of the plural, it can be reduced to the question: Why did O.H.G. *tugun* become late M.H.G. *tügen*; *unnun*, *(g)ünnen*; *kunnun*, *künnen*; *durfun*, *dürfen*; *turrun*, *türren*; *s(c)ulun*, *süln*; *magun*, *megen*; *mugun*, *mügen*; and *muozun*, *müezen*?

Jacob Grimm (*Deutsche Grammatik*, I, p. 964), without attempting an explanation, described the mutated vowels 'which caused the plural forms of indicative and subjunctive to fall together' as 'missbräuchlich.'

For a long time the view was generally held that the umlaut in the plural forms of the indicative was due to analogy with the corresponding forms of the subjunctive. This view was definitely stated, among others, by K. Weinhold in his *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik* (²1883), § 409 ff., and H. Osthoff in *P.B.B.*, XV, 1891, p. 212.

It was challenged by O. Brenner ('Der umlaut der praeteritopraesentia,' *P.B.B.*, XX, 1895, p. 84), who at the same time suggested that the mutated forms, in the first instance, were due to phonetic change caused by the pronouns *wir*, *ir*, *si*, whenever they followed the verb, and were then also used when the pronouns preceded the verb.

His theory, though meeting with approval in many quarters, was by no means generally accepted. V. Michels in the first edition (1900) of his *Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch* gave the older theory (§ 222) and has kept to it down to the last edition (§ 279) published in 1921. Similarly W. Wilmanns in his *Deutsche Grammatik* (1906), III, § 53, 5, explained the mutated indicative forms by levelling with the corresponding sub-

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junctive forms, though not entirely rejecting Brenner's explanation. H. Paul in his *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik* (§ 172, note) mentioned the new theory since the fifth edition (1900), without however endorsing it. In his *Deutsche Grammatik* (1917), II, § 191 ff., he maintained his non-committal attitude, though obviously preferring the older theory[1]. L. Sütterlin in all the editions ([1]1907, [5]1923) of his *Deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart* gave the older explanation only, while in his *Neuhochdeutsche Grammatik* (1924), pp. 128 and 483, he refers, rather sceptically, to the new[2].

O. Behaghel was among the first to welcome Brenner's theory (*Gebrauch der Zeitformen im konjunktivischen Nebensatz*, 1899, p. 186). He stated it with some reserve in the second edition (1901) of his *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, §§ 41[3] and 148[4], but in the third and fourth editions (1911 and 1916), §§ 157 and 344, he definitely accepted it[5].

The authors of the German grammars which have appeared in England and America[6] mention only the older theory, all of them, with the exception of Curme, describing it, however, as only 'probable.'

In view of such divergence of opinion it is clearly desirable that the problem should be re-examined.

There are serious objections to either theory. Against the older the following arguments may be put forward.

Though in M.H.G. the subjunctive was used much more than in N.H.G., it may safely be assumed that even then subjunctive forms occurred less frequently than indicative forms, and it is therefore difficult to see why the former (the minority) should have prevailed over the latter (the majority).

As a matter of fact, whenever levelling between indicative and subjunctive has taken place in High German[7] it has, as a rule, been the indicative and not the subjunctive which has prevailed.

Already in O.H.G. the regular weak verbs which formed their preterite

[1] 'Der Umlaut im Pl. Präs., der sich bei den Präteritopräsentia mit umlautsfähigem Wurzelvokal findet, wird aus dem Konj. übertragen sein. Nach einer andern Auffassung wäre er durch die nachgestellten Pronomina veranlasst.'

[2] 'Die Schriftsprache zeigt in der Mehrzahl gewöhnlich den Umlaut, den man.... gemeiniglich dem angefügten Fürwort zuschreibt.'

[3] 'Wahrscheinlich verdanken auch die Formen *wir dürfen, gönnen, können, mögen, müssen*, mhd. *süln* den Umlaut ihrer Verwendung mit nachgestelltem *wir, ir*.'

[4] '...der Umlaut...wahrscheinlich begünstigt durch die Verwendung mit nachfolgendem Pron. *wir, ir*.'

[5] '...der Umlaut stammt von dem nachgestellten Pronomen personale. Der Gedanke, dass der Umlaut aus dem Konjunktiv stammt, ist abzulehnen.'

[6] G. O. Curme, *A Grammar of the German Language*, [1]1905, [2]1922; J. Wright, *Historical German Grammar*, 1907; E. Prokosch, *The Sounds and History of the German Language*, 1916; A. Kirk, *An Introduction to the Historical Study of New High German*, 1923.

[7] As to Low German, see note 2, p. 190.

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by rückumlaut levelled the indicative vowel into the subjunctive, e.g.:

O.H.G. *brennen*, pret. ind. *branta*, pret. subj. *branti*,
hengen, „ *hangta*, „ *hangti*,
zellen, „ *zalta*, „ *zalti*.

This was continued in M.H.G., e.g.:.

M.H.G. *zellen*, pret. ind. *zalte*, pret. subj. *zalte*,
hœren, „ *hôrte*, „ *hôrte*[1],

and when in N.H.G. the pret. ind. came to be formed direct from the present, the subjunctive again followed the indicative, e.g.:

N.H.G. *zählen*, pret. ind. *zählte*, pret. subj. *zählte*,
hören, „ *hörte*, „ *hörte*.

The M.H.G. strong verbs, wherever possible (i.e. in classes II–VI), preserved the distinction between pret. indicative and subjunctive by keeping the mutated vowel in the subjunctive, e.g.:

M.H.G. pret. plur. ind. *wurfen*, pl. subj. *würfen*,
„ *gâben*, „ *gœben*,
„ *truogen*, „ *trüegen*.

The distinction has also been maintained in N.H.G. without any such levelling of the umlaut into the indicative as the older theory assumes to have taken place in the case of the pret. pres. verbs[2].

Moreover, whenever in N.H.G. the normal development of the vowel in the plur. pret. indicative is interfered with by analogy, the subjunctive is nearly always remodelled on the new indicative, e.g.:

M.H.G.	pret. indic.	*zôh, zugen*:	pret. subj.	*züge, zügen*;
N.H.G.	„	*zog, zogen*:	„	*zöge, zögen*.
M.H.G.	„	*sanc, sungen*:	„	*sünge, süngen*;
N.H.G.	„	*sang, sangen*:	„	*sänge, sängen*.
M.H.G.	„	*vaht, vâhten*:	„	*vœhte, vœhten*;
N.H.G.	„	*focht, fohten*:	„	*föchte, föchten*.
M.H.G.	„	*huop, huoben*:	„	*hüebe, hüeben*;
N.H.G.	„	*hob, hoben*:	„	*höbe, höben*.

[1] The subj. form *brente* (besides *brante*) is a new formation after the analogy of *dœhte, brœhte*.

[2] The umlaut of the pret. plur. indicative in Middle Low German is generally ascribed to the influence of the subjunctive, but more likely, as H. Osthoff (*P.B.B.*, XV, p. 213) suggested, it spread within the indicative from the 2nd sing., where it must have existed at an early time, e.g., O.S. 2nd sing. pret. ind. *sprâki*, M.L.G. **sprêke*, *sprêkest* (with *st* from 2nd sing. pres. ind.), hence plur. *sprêken*. A. Lasch (*Mittelniederdeutsche Gram.*, § 422, 2) seems to assume that the Low German 2nd sing. pret. ind. after giving up its umlaut by analogy with the plural, reintroduced it by analogy with the subjunctive.

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The late M.H.G. change of the ending *-ent* of the 3rd pers. plur. pres. indicative to *-en* is sometimes considered to have been due to analogy with the ending *-en* of the corresponding subjunctive form. It is, however, sufficiently explained by levelling with the 3rd pers. plur. pret. indicative and the 1st pers. plur. pres. and pret. indicative, whereas the late M.H.G. substitution of the ending *-ent* for *-en* in the 3rd pers. plur. pres. subjunctive can only be due to analogy with the indicative.

The later (Brenner's) theory rests on no surer foundation. The instances of O.H.G. *a* having been mutated by an enclitic are few and far between. In 'Tatian' *meg iz* occurs once, Otfrid (MS. V) has *meg ih* three times (*mag ih* twelve times), *meg iz* six times, *drenc ih* once, *nem iz* once, *scel iz* twice, *wes iz* once, *werd iz* twice, *werf iz* once, *geb ima* once, *gereh inan* once, *sunter in* for *suntar in* once, and possibly *leg iz* for *lag iz* once (MS. P has much fewer examples, *meg ih*, e.g., occurring only once), and in *Psalm* cxxxviii *meg ih* is found twice.

These instances are obviously quite haphazard and sporadic, and are by no means confined to forms of the pret.-pres. verbs or even to verbal forms. They disappear in M.H.G. without leaving any mark on the language. As far as I know, *meg ich*, *scel ich*, *derf ich* are not found in any M.H.G. text, and it is not easy to believe that, while in the monosyllabic singular forms the enclitic pronoun did not cause mutation, it should have done so in the dissyllabic plural forms, and that the forms so affected should have been sufficiently numerous to extend their mutated vowel to forms not followed by a pronoun[1]. The forms preceded by the pronoun together with those used without any pronoun must surely have far outnumbered the forms with the pronoun following.

And if the mutated vowel in *megen*, *mügen*, *dürfen*, *müezen* was due to the enclitic pronoun, why did *tragen wir*, *bugen wir*, *wurfen wir*, *truogen si* not go the same way?

Behaghel (*Gebrauch der Zeitformen*, p. 186) has applied Brenner's theory also to a number of mutated plural forms of the pret. indicative[2] which occur in Wolfram's *Parzival* and some other M.H.G. texts, viz.:

si nœmen, *Parz.* 18, 2 D;
wœren, *Parz.* 34, 26 G; 56, 13 D; *Klage*, 221 A; *Biterolf*, 2445.
wœr(e)t ir, *Parz.* 166, 7 D; 326, 20 D;

[1] The mutated sing. forms found in modern dialects are due to levelling with the mutated plur. forms. See p. 194, note 1 and Paul, *Deutsche Grammatik*, II, § 193, note 1 (p. 266).

[2] O. Erdmann (*Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, § 168), G. Bötticher (*Germania*, XXI, pp. 286 ff.), and particularly K. Bacher ('Wolframs indikativische Konjunktive,' *Zs. f. d. öster. Gymn.* LXXII, 1911, pp. 675 ff.) regard these mutated forms as subjunctives, both in form and meaning: Weinhold (*Mhd. Gram.*, § 362), E. Martin (*Parzival*, note 17, 2) and Michels (*Mhd. Elementarbuch*, [4]1921, § 271, 3) describe them as indicatives.

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si tæten, *Parz.* 17, 3 DG; 82, 5 D; 348, 8 G. Lamprecht, *Tochter Syon*, 1402;
tætet, *Parz.* 417, 28 D;
bræhten, *Parz.* 25, 19 D.

If these forms, as Behaghel suggests, really owe their mutations to enclitic pronouns, they would of course lend some support to Brenner's theory, but they admit of another and, I venture to think, more likely explanation.

Apart from the fact that the present plural forms of such verbs as *vrâgen*, *râten*, *slâfen*, *lâzen*, *lân*, *gân*, even when followed by *wir*, *ir*, *si*, are never mutated, it can hardly be accidental that all the above forms, supposed to have been so mutated, are plural preterite forms belonging either to strong verbs which in the 2nd sing. pret. regularly have *æ* (*næme*, *wære*, *tæte*) or to *bringen* which occasionally takes it by analogy with them (*du bræhte* for *brâhtest*, e.g., *Parz.* 524, 16; *Tit.* 168, 4; *Wilh.* 454, 1). It seems therefore more than likely that they have taken the mutated vowel by analogy with the 2nd pers. sing.[1]

The principal weakness of both the old and the later theory as to the origin of the mutated vowel in the plur. pres. indicative of the pret.-pres. verbs is their failure to explain why this anomalous vowel change should have been confined to this particular group of verbs, or to suggest any reason why the analogical formations involved should have been made.

To find a satisfactory explanation it will be necessary to look for a cause which existed in the case of the pret.-pres. verbs only, and in assuming any analogical formations to make sure that, however unconsciously, they were made for some purpose.

What sets the pret.-pres. verbs apart from almost all others is their disintegrated system of conjugation, and in their history from O.H.G. to N.H.G. we can clearly see a succession of attempts to repair this on the model of some regular system prevailing at the particular time.

In M.H.G. a large number of weak verbs formed their preterite by rückumlaut, and this interchange of mutated with unmutated vowel was, no doubt, at that time felt to be as regular as the ablaut of the strong verbs. How deeply it was rooted in the 'Sprachgefühl' of the

[1] Similarly the mutated pret. indicative forms, 1st and 3rd sing. *hæte*, plur. *hæten* (for *hâte*, *hâten*), may very well be due to levelling with the 2nd pers. *hæte* formed on the analogy of *du tæte*. K. Zwierzina (*Abhandlungen z. germ. Phil.* 1898, p. 493 and *Zs. f. deut. Alt.* XLIV, 1900, p. 102) regards them as new formations on the analogy of the weak pret. indicatives *næte*, *sæte*, *wæte*, *dræte*, apparently leaving out of account the 2nd pers. sing. pret. ind. *du hæte*. Analogy with the preterite of *sæen*, etc., would have given *du hætest*.

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time is seen from its spreading to verbs which in O.H.G. did not take it (O.H.G. *legita* > M.H.G. *lahte* besides *legete, leite*) and from new formations with false rückumlaut, such as *liuchten* : *lûhte, kêren* : *kârte, lêren* : *lârte, enden* : *ante* (O.H.G. *entôta*).

It seems permissible therefore to assume that in an unconscious attempt to assimilate the anomalous verbs to a normal type, *magen* was changed to *megen, mugen* to *mügen, kunnen* to *können, durfen* to *dürfen, muozen* to *müezen*. It is not essential that there should have been a definite model in each case, but, e.g., *decken* : *dahte, legen* : *lahte* may have served as such for *megen* : *mahte*; *fürhten* : *forhte, schürfen* : *schorfte* for *dürfen* : *dorfte*; *zünden* : *zunde, künden* : *kunde* for *künnen* : *kunde*; and *büezen* : *buozte, grüezen* : *gruozte* for *müezen* : *muoste*. The essential point is that the principle of interchanging a modified vowel in the plur. pres. indicative with an unmodified vowel in the pret. indicative was adopted throughout this group of verbs.

In the late M.H.G. and early N.H.G. periods attempts to normalise the pret.-pres. verbs continued to be made. Many analogical formations were tried, some never taking root, others dying out again or surviving only in dialects.

Megen : *mahte* quickly lost ground and disappeared in the fourteenth century. *Mügen* : *mohte* by assimilation of the indic. preterite to the plur. indic. present or vice versa became either *mügen* : *muchte* or *mögen* : *mochte*.

In the same way *dürfen* : *dorfte* became either *dürfen* : *durfte* or *dörfen* : *dorfte*, and *tügen* : *tohte* became either *tügen* : *tuchte* or *tögen* : *tochte*; and *süln* : *solte* became either *süln* : *sulte* or *söln* : *solte*. Late M.H.G. *künnen* : *konde* in the same way became either *künnen* : *kunte* or *können* : *konte*, and late M.H.G. *günnen* : *gonde* became either *günnen* : *gunte* or *gönnen* : *gonte*[1], while *müezen* : *muoste* by regular phonetic development became *müssen* : *musste*.

In the meantime the practice of forming the weak preterite by rückumlaut had been losing ground, and the growing tendency to level the mutated vowel of the present into the preterite (as N.H.G. *hören* : *hörte* from M.H.G. *hœren* : *hôrte*) had given rise to such forms as *mügen* : *müchte, mögen* : *möchte, tügen* : *tüchte, söllen* : *sölte, dürfen* : *dürfte, dörfen*:

[1] Late M.H.G. *konde, gonde*, were formed on the analogy of *mohte, tohte, dorfte, solte* (E. Schröder, *Zs. f. deut. Alt.* LVI, p. 243) as O.H.G. *konda, (g)onda* on the analogy of *mohta, tohta, dorfta, scolta* (O. Behaghel, XIX, p. 382 note, and *Gesch. der deut. Sprache*, § 314).

It is sometimes assumed, among others by H. Paul (*Deutsche Gram.*, I, p. 214, II, p. 264), that the change of *künnen* to *können* and *günnen* to *gönnen* was phonetic (rounding of *ü* before nasals) and preceded the change of *kunde* to *konde* and *gunde* to *gonde*. However that may be, the result of the cross-levellings discussed above would have been the same.

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dörfte, künnen : künte, kŏnnen : kŏnte, günnen : günte, gŏnnen : gŏnte. Of these only the last (*gŏnnen : gŏnnte*) has survived in the standard language[1].

Levelling in the opposite direction happened only in the case of *sŏllen : solte* leading to *sollen : sollte* which ultimately prevailed over all the other varieties owing to the fact that already since the end of the tenth century *o* had developed in the sing. pres. ind. of this verb.

In early N.H.G. we find nearly all the forms which could be made in this way[2]:

Late M.H.G.	Early New High German			
	With rückumlaut		Without rückumlaut	
tügen : tohte	tügen : tuchte	tögen : tochte	tügen : tüchte	tögen : töchte
mügen : mohte	mügen : muchte	*mögen : mochte*	mügen : müchte	mögen : möchte
dürfen : dorfte	*dürfen : durfte*	dörfen : dorfte	dürfen : dürfte	dörfen : dörfte
günnen : gonde	günnen : gunte	gönnen : gonte	günnen : günte	*gönnen : gönte*
künnen : konde	künnen : kunte	*können : konte*	künnen : künte	können : könte
süln : solde	süllen : sulte	söllen : solte	süllen : sülte	söllen : sölte
				sollen : solte
müezen : muoste	*müssen : muste*		müssen : müste	

The forms which ultimately prevailed are printed in italics.

II

The Vowel Change in 'wissen' : 'wusste.'

The late M.H.G. change of the preterite *wiste* to *wuste* has been explained in various ways.

Weinhold (*Mhd. Gram.*, p. 455) and Wilmanns (*Deutsche Gram.*, p. 100) considered it a purely phonetic change due to the labialising influence of *w*, but this fails to explain why in other forms of the verb (*wizzen, wizzet, wizze*, etc.) the *i* remained unchanged. Moreover, the rounding of the *i* by the preceding *w* ought to have resulted in *wü* and not in *wu*.

H. Collitz (*Journal of Engl. and Germ. Phil.*, VI, 1906, p. 298 and *Das schwache Präteritum und seine Vorgeschichte*, 1912, p. 68) was, I believe, the first to suggest that *wuste* was formed after the analogy of the preterite of *müezen*. This would be acceptable for the Middle German dialects in which *uo* was monophthongised to *ū* and subsequently shortened before consonant combinations at an early date, so that *muste*

[1] In the present tense the mutated vowel of the plural was frequently levelled into the singular, resulting in such forms as *ich söl* (*sel*), *dörf* (*derf*), which are found in sixteenth century writers and some modern dialects. Behaghel (*Gesch. der deut. Sprache*, § 344, 2) and Sütterlin (*Nhd. Gram.*, pp. 128 and 484) regard these mutated singular forms as being due to mutation by enclitic pronouns.

[2] See Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, and Paul, *Deutsche Gram.*, II, pp. 262–8.

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could have served as a model for *wuste*. As *wuste*, however, occurs also in Alemanic, where *uo* remained unchanged, the explanation is unconvincing.

Paul (*Deutsche Gram.*, II, § 190) regards *wuste* as a new formation brought about by the *i* of the subjunctive *wiste* having been taken for a mutated *u* ('*i* als Umlaut von *u* gefasst'). Sütterlin (*Nhd. Gram.*, p. 485) is inclined to agree.

From this there is only a short step to what I believe to be the right explanation. As the objections to deriving indicative forms from subjunctive forms (see p. 189) apply here too, I prefer to assume that it was the *wi* of the infinitive and plur. pres. indicative which, being taken for *wü*, led to the formation of the preterite *wuste*. Such verbs as *küssen* : *kuste*, *füllen* : *fulte*, could have served as models. *Wuste* having been established, the subjunctive *wüste* would have followed as a matter of course.

If this is what actually happened, it would appear that both the mutation in the root vowel of *kõnnen*, *dürfen*, *mõgen*, *müssen* and the vowel change in *wissen* : *wusste* were due to the same subconscious endeavour on the part of the speakers or writers to bring these verbs into a system prevailing at the time, either by forming a new infinitive suitable to the preterite or vice versa. The history of these verbs would then represent not, as is often thought, a long process of decay and disintegration[1] but a succession of attempts at reconstruction.

In M.H.G. *wischen* : *wuschte* we have an exact parallel to *wissen* : *wuste*.

The E.N.H.G. changes of *fürchten* : *forchte* to *fürchten* : *furchte*, *förchten* : *forchte*, *förchten* : *förchte* correspond to those of *günnen* : *gonde* to *günnen* : *gunde*, *gönnen* : *gonte*, *gönnen* : *gönte*.

The method of normalising the conjugation of verbs by forming a new plur. pres. indicative and infinitive from the preterite was already employed in O.H.G. by Otfrid and other Franconian writers who in order to normalise *furhten* : *forhta* and *wellen* : *wolta* made the new plur. pres. indic. forms *wir for(a)hten*, *wir wollen* and the new infinitives *for(a)hten* and *wollen*.

The later history of M.H.G. *dünken* : *dûhte*, E.N.H.G. *dünken* : *dauchte* shows all the analogy formations which have been discussed in this article. The N.H.G. forms *deucht*, *deuchte* have a special interest.

[1] Cf., among others, Virgil Moser, *Einführung in die frühneuhochdeutschen Schriftdialekte* (1909), § 188: 'Die "unregelmässigen verba" gehen in der frnhd.zeit allmählich dem verfall entgegen.'

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Whereas it is generally held[1] that the pret. indic. *deuchte* is properly the old subjunctive *diuhte*, I believe it to be a new formation arrived at in the following way. To bring this verb into line with the regular weak verbs forming their preterites with rückumlaut, a new 3rd pers. pres. indicative *däucht* (*deucht*) and a new infinitive *däuchen* (*deuchen*) were derived from the pret. indicative *dauchte*[2]. Later, when rückumlaut was generally levelled out, two new forms arose: an unmutated pres. indicative *daucht*, which did not take root, and a mutated pret. indicative *däuchte* (*deuchte*), which became a standard form.

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[1] Weinhold, *Mhd. Gram.*, § 386: 'Seit Anfang des 14. Jh. wird conjunctiv. Umlaut für den Indic. versucht.' Wilmanns, *Deutsche Gram.*, § 44: 'Der Umlaut in *däuchte* stammt aus dem Optativ.' Paul, *Deutsche Gram.*, § 187: 'Besser erhalten hat sich die konj. Form *deuchte*, die dann auch in den Ind. übertragen ist.' Sütterlin, *Deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart*, (⁵1923), p. 256: 'von *dünken* hat sich gerade allein diese Möglichkeitsform als *deuchte* bis heute fortgesetzt, wenn sie in ihrer Bedeutung auch als Wirklichkeitsform gefühlt wird.' Cp. also Weigand, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (⁵1909), pp. 334 and 393.

[2] The infinitive *däuchen* (*deuchen*), properly formed from the 3rd pers. sing. pres. indic. *däucht* (*deucht*), is found in sixteenth-century works. Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* quotes 'ich liess mich wol bedeuchen' from *Drei newe comoedien* (1582) by Martin Hayneccius. In the seventeenth, eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries the infinitive *däuchten* (*deuchten*), with wrong *t*, was frequently used, among others by Fleming, Goethe, Schiller and Rückert, and the pres. indicative *däuchtet* (*deuchtet*), made from this infinitive, is also often found.

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FERDINAND FREILIGRATH'S DEBT TO ENGLISH POETS

I.

THE indebtedness of Ferdinand Freiligrath, 'the German Victor Hugo,' to the author of *Les Orientales* has long ago become one of the commonplaces of literary history and, thanks to the detailed investigation of Richter[1], may now be taken to require no further proof, notwithstanding the poet's own significant assertion that he himself was unable to say why Oriental scenes play so prominent a part in his work: 'Spiritus flat ubi vult[2].' It is admitted, on the other hand, that the influence of Hugo is by no means to be regarded as the only factor which turned young Freiligrath's mind in the direction of the 'camels and lions' which at a later stage of his development he longed to consign 'to the Devil.' We know that even as a very young child his imagination was excited by an illustrated Bible which he was made to explain to his mother[3], and by a visit to a travelling menagerie[4]; we know that during his school-days, and even later, natural history, geography, and books of travel formed his favourite reading[5]; we also know that all through life he remained an assiduous and enthusiastic student of French and English poetry, factors to the importance of which both his letters and his translations bear ample witness. It was chiefly his longing to see the regions described in the *Waverley Novels* that accounted for his eagerness to join his rich uncle at Edinburgh[6]; he himself writes, in October 1833: 'Ich wüsste, unsere eigene ausgenommen, keine neuere Sprache, deren Literatur mich so mannigfach angesprochen und angeregt hätte, als gerade die englische[7].' Several years later he informs another correspondent: '...dass mir gerade die neueren Engländer, Byron, Moore, Scott, Coleridge, Wilson, Wordsworth (Southey weniger...) den ersten bedeutenden Anstoss gegeben haben. Das Naturgefühl, das namentlich in Wordsworths Dichtungen weht, ist ganz unübertrefflich, und ich denke noch immer mit stiller Freude an die Zeit zurück, wo ich ihn zuerst

[1] K. Richter, *F. Freiligrath als Übersetzer*, Berlin, 1899.

[2] In a letter dated Nov. 27, 1835, quoted in W. Buchner, *F. Freiligrath*, Lahr, 1882, I, p. 130; cp. also his remark in another letter (*ibid.*, I, p. 153): 'Gott mag wissen, wie ich friedfertiger Mensch dazu komme, soviel Blut zu vergiessen! Nicht Wahl—eher Wahlverwandtschaft ist es, was mich...das Düstere und Grässliche ergreifen lässt.'

[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 14. [4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 13. [5] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 21, 23, 239.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, p. 148. [7] *Ibid.*, I, p. 113.

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kennen lernte und mit ihm und Coleridge einsam Wald und Feld durchschweifte[1].'

Freiligrath's first translations from English literature and the degree to which his own early work was influenced by the authors whom he translated have been made the subject of a special study by Erbach[2]. Richter[3] and Spink[4] have also, although in a somewhat unsystematic and tentative manner[5], pointed out a number of passages in contemporary English poetry which appear to have suggested thoughts and images to him. The purpose of this study is to add to the evidence collected by the three investigators just named, with special reference to Freiligrath's early work, i.e., the 'exotic' poems published in and before 1838, by considering the German poet's indebtedness to several representatives and forerunners of the English Romantic School, in particular to James Thomson, William Lisle Bowles, James Montgomery, and Felicia Hemans.

Was the youthful Freiligrath acquainted with the works of the authors with whom we are here concerned? This question, presenting itself at the outset of our investigation, we are clearly entitled to answer in the affirmative. James Thomson's work was known to him at least as early as 1829, when he translated the first 220 lines of his 'Spring'[6]; it is worth adding, moreover, that the catalogue of Freiligrath's library, which was published after his death, includes five separate editions of works by Thomson, four of which may have come into his possession in or before the year 1827[7]. The same catalogue also includes an anthology of nineteenth-century English poetry[8] mentioned by Freiligrath himself in a letter[9] as having been used by him in connexion with his translation of 'The

[1] Buchner, I, p. 289. For lists of English authors studied and translated by him, cp. also I, pp. 38, 149, 160, 229, 301; also his statement quoted on p. 388 (date: Jan. 1841): 'Ich habe mich seit Jahren ununterbrochen und mit Liebe mit englischer Literatur beschäftigt und eine Menge darauf bezüglicher Notizen aufgespeichert.'

[2] W. Erbach, *F. Freiligraths Übersetzungen aus dem englischen im ersten Jahrzehnt seines Schaffens*, Bonn, 1908. [3] *Op. cit.*

[4] G. W. Spink, *Freiligrath als Verdeutscher der englischen Poesie*, Berlin, 1925.

[5] Thus Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 60: 'Dennoch dürfte es schwer und wohl nur in einigen Fällen möglich sein, unmittelbare Beziehungen zwischen [Freiligraths] frühesten Übersetzungen aus dem Englischen und irgend welchem Freiligrathschen Gedichte festzustellen'; Spink, *op. cit.*, p. 33: 'Seine Werke sind mit morgenländischen Stücken gefüllt; dafür sind aber die Dichtungen von V. Hugo weit verantwortlicher als irgend ein englisches Gedicht. Der Orientalismus in Freiligraths Werken ist ausserordentlich wichtig..., doch lässt er sich hier nicht betrachten, denn Hugo allein hat Freiligrath begeistert, originelle orientalische Dichtungen zu schreiben.'

[6] Inscribed in his note-book under the title '"Der Frühling" nach J. Thomson, vom 9.–29. April' [1829]. Cp. Erbach, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[7] *The Seasons*, London, 1847; *Spring*, a Poem, London, 1827; *Horatii Epistola*, 1751; *Proofs of the Enquiry into Homer's Life*, 1748; *Letters concerning Poetical Translations*, etc., London, 1739. Cp. *Verzeichniss der von F. Freiligrath nachgelassenen Bibliothek, versteigert durch Oskar Gerschel, den* 18. *Juni*, 1878, *zu Cannstatt.*

[8] *The British Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, Francfort-on-Main, printed by...H. L. Broenner, 1828. [9] Buchner, I, p. 289.

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Ancient Mariner' in 1830, which contains several lengthy extracts from the works of Montgomery[1]. Bowles is listed as being in his possession in a letter dated February 21, 1839[2]; of the existence of Mrs Hemans, too, he must have been aware at an early date, seeing that his translation of her poem 'The Better Land' appeared in August 1835[3]. There is, unfortunately, no direct evidence to indicate at what period in his life he commenced that intimate study of her works of which the translations published in 1846[4] were the visible outcome and which, to judge from a letter written by him not long before his death, was so emphatically a labour of love[5]; that 'die tränenreichen Dichtungen der Hemans' were read by him at Amsterdam, however, has already been suggested by Spink[6]. Other English poets to be mentioned in the following pages, such as Byron, Thomas Moore, Thomas Campbell, and Henry Kirke White, are repeatedly alluded to in Freiligrath's correspondence as having been among the favourites of his youth[7]. We feel justified, therefore, in asserting, that the works of all the authors mentioned must have been within Freiligrath's reach, if not in his head.

Grouping the early or 'exotic' poems of our poet according to their subject matter, we find that most of them imply one of three favourite backgrounds, viz. the desert, the sea, or the prairie. The desert in particular, with its burning sands swept by the deadly simoom, its age-old pyramids and sphinxes, its green oases (real or mirage-born), its picturesque fauna and semi-savage nomad tribes, occupied a prominent place in the poet's imagination; several of his best known pieces, such as 'Löwenritt,' 'Gesicht des Reisenden,' 'Mirage,' 'Der Scheik am Sinai,' 'Der Schwertfeger von Damascus,' and others breathe this atmosphere; even his sketches of the North Sea coast ('Sandlieder') begin with a reference to it:

Ich meine nicht den Wüstensand,
Den Tummelplatz des wilden Hirschen;
Die Körner mein' ich, die am Strand
Des Meeres unter mir erknirschen.

Denn jener ist ein weh'nder Fluch,
Der Wüste rastlos irrende Seele.
Er legt, ein brennend Leichentuch,
Sich über Reiter und Kameele.

[1] A poem by Montgomery, 'The Poet's Lot,' is referred to by Freiligrath in a letter dated Feb. 29, 1839 (Buchner, I, p. 300). Cp. also his question to Isaak Molinar, in a letter dated Sept. 10, 1836 (Buchner, I, p. 229): 'Ist das Grab Montgomerys fertig?' (One of the shorter poems of Montgomery is entitled 'The Grave.')

[2] Buchner, I, p. 299. [3] Cp. Erbach, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[4] *Gedichte aus dem Englischen*, Stuttgart, 1846 (cp. Buchner, II, p. 261), including 'Das Waldheiligtum' and 33 other poems by Mrs Hemans.

[5] Buchner, II, p. 427: '...Meine Übersetzung [of "The Forest Sanctuary," by Mrs Hemans] datiert aus den ersten vierziger Jahren....Dazumal hab' ich ihre Verse gern verdollmetscht.' [6] *Op. cit.*, p. 24. [7] See above, p. 198, note 1.

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Similarly an early poem[1] not included in his published works shows the Devil offering to carry the poet to the south:

> Wo dürr und heiss die Wüste sich ausdehnt, hügelumsäumt,...
> Wo im giftigen Samum ich fahre, den Reisenden zum Fluch,
> Sand ist der Erstickten Bahre und Sand auch ihr Leichentuch.

The image of the wind-borne desert sand (sometimes pictured as 'the spirit of the desert') which becomes the traveller's grave seems to have established itself with especial definiteness in Freiligrath's mind; it is the basic idea of the magnificent 'Gesicht des Reisenden'[2] which describes 'die Nacht, wo alle, die das Sandmeer verschlungen,...Sich erheben...in der heil'gen Stadt zu beten,' and occurs again in the poems 'Mirage[3],' 'Löwenritt[4],' 'Wär' ich im Bann von Mekka's Thoren[5],' and 'Die Magier[6].' Long before him, however, the same picture had been visualised and elaborated by English poets; thus Thomson in the 'Seasons' describes how:

> Commission'd demons oft, angels of wrath,
> Let loose the raging elements....
> Or from the black-red ether...
> Sallies the sudden whirlwind....the sands
> Commov'd around, in gathering eddies play:
> ...and...the caravan
> Is buried deep....[7]

and Samuel Rogers[8], in his poem 'Human Life,' pictures:

> ...some great caravan, from well to well,
> Winding, as darkness on the desert fell,
> In their long march, such as the prophet bids,
> To Mecca, from the Land of Pyramids,
> And in an instant lost—a hollow wave
> Of burning sand their everlasting grave![9]

Bowles tells of:

> the wild Simoom,
> Riding on whirling spires of burning sand,
> That bury deep the silent caravan[10];

Thomas Moore (in *Evenings in Greece*[11]) describes an Eastern caravan encamped at dead of night:

> Hearing but the watchman's tone
> Faintly chaunting: God is one...[12]

[1] Here to be referred to as 'the Hell-horse fragment.' Printed by Buchner, I, p. 69.
[2] *Gesammelte Dichtungen*, Leipzig, 1898, I, p. 153.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 162.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 151.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, p. 25.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, p. 120.
[7] *The Seasons*, 1817, p. 83.
[8] His works are listed as being in Freiligrath's possession, Feb. 21, 1839. Cp. Buchner I, p. 299.
[9] *Poetical Works*, 1848, p. 52.
[10] *Poetical Works*, Edinburgh, 1855, I, p. 188.
[11] *Poetical Works*, 1865, p. 272.
[12] Cp. 'Rufet Allah!—und vorüber ziehn sie' ('Gesicht des Reisenden').

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and (in a note to *Lallah Rookh*[1]) quotes a traveller's prose description of an eastern sandstorm which as a possible definite source is worth citing in full:

> Savary says of the South wind which blows in Egypt from February till May: 'Sometimes it appears only in the shape of an impetuous whirlwind, which passes rapidly and is fatal to the traveller, surprised in the middle of the deserts. Torrents of burning sand roll before it, the firmament is enveloped in a thick veil, the sun appears of the colour of blood. Sometimes whole caravans are buried in it.'

Byron also, whose works Freiligrath knew well, alludes to desert scenes in a passage which may possibly have suggested 'Die Fezzanerin' of the poem 'Mirage':

> Her mother was a Moorish maid from Fez
> Where all is Eden, or a wilderness...
> And long long deserts scorch the camel's foot,
> Or heaving whelm the helpless caravan[2].

Even more elaborate than the examples quoted above is the description of the desert wanderers and their death journey given by Mrs Hemans in 'The Caravan in the Desert[3],' a poem of 196 lines in which all the details already mentioned (wild animals asleep in their lairs during the noontide glare, dark red seas of sand, 'which as a furnace glow,' the patient camel, the mirage, the approach of the simoom, the oasis, the whirlwind burying its victims 'in the unfathomed sandy deep') are combined to form a connected whole. The following lines in particular are worth quoting:

> 'tis the dread Simoom!
> Bow down your faces—till the blast
> On its red wing of flame hath passed,
> Far bearing o'er the sandy wave
> The viewless Angel of the Grave....
> Far be the awful shades of those
> Who deep beneath the sand repose—
> The hosts, to whom the desert's breath
> Bore swift and stern the call of death....
> Lo! darkening o'er the fiery skies,
> The pillars of the desert rise!...
> They move like mighty genii-forms
> Towering immense 'midst clouds and storms.
> Who shall escape? with awful force
> The whirlwind bears them on their course;
> They join, they rush resistless on—
> The landmarks of the plain are gone;
> The steps, the forms, from each effaced,
> Of those who trod the burning waste
> All whelmed, all hushed! none left to bear
> Sad record how they perished there!...
> And o'er the unfathomed sandy deep,
> Where now their nameless relics sleep,
> Oft shall the future pilgrim tread,
> Nor know his steps are on the dead.

[1] *Poetical Works*, 1865, p. 340, note.
[2] *Don Juan*, Canto IV, 54, 55.
[3] *Poetical Works*, 1890, p. 208.

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No doubt a diligent student of geographical works and books of travel, such as we know young Freiligrath to have been, would be familiar with details of eastern scenery like deserts and sandstorms; the influence of Hugo's *Orientales* also must not be forgotten[1]. The repeated occurrence of a definite Freiligrath image like that of the 'spirit of the desert' in several of our poet's favourite English authors, however, offers too striking a parallel to be attributed altogether to coincidence, especially in view of the cumulative evidence to be adduced in connexion with the second section of his work here to be considered, viz., the sea pieces.

English influence, too, may be surmised in the case of another favourite theme of young Freiligrath's, the African slave who was once a prince. 'Der Mohrenfürst' is its most elaborate presentation; traces of the same image, however, are to be clearly recognised in the description of the old negro in 'Leben des Negers' (I, p. 27) and to some extent in 'Der Schlittschuh-laufende Neger' (I, p. 13):

> von Gestalt athletisch,
> Der oft am Gambia
> Den wunderlichen Fetisch
> Von Golde blitzen sah;
>
> Oft unter dem Aequator
> Des Panthers Blut vergoss,
> Und nach dem Alligator
> Mit gift'gem Pfeile schoss.

The dying negro in 'Das Hospitalschiff,' too, may claim to be considered in this connexion, for like the other three he has hunted the lion in his youth:

> Aufrichtet sich der Mohr;
> Die sehnigen Arme reckt er empor....
> 'In den Sattel! fort, zur Löwenjagd!'

The 'Moorish prince' has led his black warriors in battle 'im Palmenthal' until the sun sets and a fugitive informs his consort that her husband has been defeated and carried far away to the west: 'An's Meer! den blanken Menschen verkauft!' (I, p. 37). She sinks to the ground in despair and in the next verse we see the former prince beating a drum in a European circus, sadly remembering his African home, where 'er gejagt den Löwen, den Tiger,' his battles and his lost love.

[1] Cp., e.g., the description of the Egyptian desert given in the very first poem of *Les Orientales* ('Le Feu du Ciel'): 'Adieux de l'hôtesse Arabe' (cp. Freiligrath, 'Ammonium,' I, p. 148); 'Bounaberdi' (cf. 'Der Scheik am Sinai,' I, p. 93). It is an unwarrantable exaggeration, however, to say, as does R. M. Meyer (*Die deutsche Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1912, p. 205): 'Als Ganzes sind...[Freiligraths Jugend-]Gedichte kaum etwas anderes als eine Übersetzung von Victor Hugos "Orientales".'

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Similarly Campbell[1] tells us how:

> once in triumph on his boundless plain,
> The quivered chief of Congo loved to reign;
> With fires proportioned to his native sky,
> Strength in his arm, and lightning in his eye;
> Scoured with wild feet his sun-illumined zone,
> The spear, the lion, and the woods his own;
> Or led the combat, bold without a plan,
> An artless savage, but a fearless man!

His African warrior, too, is captured and carried overseas as a slave by the whites:

> The plunderer came!—alas! no glory smiles
> For Congo's chief on yonder Indian isles;
> For ever fallen! no son of Nature now,
> With Freedom chartered on his manly brow!
> Faint, bleeding, bound, he weeps the night away,
> And when the sea-wind wafts the dewless day,
> Starts, with a bursting heart, for evermore,
> To curse the sun that lights their guilty shore!

The situation differs in some details from that imagined by Freiligrath; the general resemblance between the two poems, however, is unmistakable. Campbell's next stanza, too, although not intended to refer to the slave's lost consort, may have given the German poet a hint:

> The widowed Indian, when her lord expires,
> Mounts the dread pile, and braves the funeral fires!
> So falls the heart at Thraldom's bitter sigh!
> So Virtue dies, the spouse of Liberty!

The poem from which the foregoing lines are taken, 'The Pleasures of Hope,' is to be found in Broenner's anthology, *The British Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, from which Freiligrath, as he tells us himself, translated 'The Ancient Mariner' in 1830[2]. 'Der Mohrenfürst' was published on March 4, 1832[3].

There seems little need, at first sight, to question the opinion of those,[4] to whom Freiligrath's sea poems are the direct outcome of his residence at Amsterdam and of the many new impressions that must have crowded in upon the young Westphalian as he paced the quays,

> wo die grossen Schiffe liegen,
> die nach fremden Küsten handeln,

conversed with the merchants and seafarers with whom his work must

[1] *Poetical Works*, Oxford, 1907, p. 17.

[2] See above, p. 198, note 9. An early edition (*The Pleasures of Hope, with other Poems*, 7th ed., Edinburgh, 1804) is listed in Gerschel's catalogue of Freiligrath's library, together with a copy of Campbell's *Poetical Works* (London, 1837) and the third edition of the same author's *Gertrude of Wyoming, and other Poems* (London, 1810). Unfortunately we have no evidence with regard to the date at which these works came into Freiligrath's possession.

[3] Cp. Buchner, I, p. 64.

[4] E.g., R. v. Gottschall, *Literarische Totenklänge*, Berlin, 1885, p. 148; A. Stern, *Geschichte der neuern Literatur*, VI, p. 316.

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have brought him in contact or took his solitary walks along the North Sea coast where poems like 'Sandlieder,' 'Nebel,' 'Meerfahrt' and 'Leviathan' were written. On his own showing, indeed, he frequently worked from a concrete model or even copied direct from reality; striking examples of this are furnished by the poems 'Florida of Boston,' 'Der Schlittschuh-laufende Neger,' 'Die Griechin auf der Messe,' 'Odysseus,' and 'Leviathan[1].' It must be noted, however, that local colour for its own sake, photographic realism in the manner, e.g., of Liliencron's descriptions of the North Sea coast in *Poggfred*, is not a prominent feature in the poems alluded to above. The poet sees the deck of the good ship 'Florida' and describes it for us almost to the smallest detail, from masts and ropes down to the captain's Newfoundland dog and the yellow hats of the crew, but he also sees the scarlet flamingoes, their heads surrounded by a crown of feathers 'like those of Indians,' which the vessel must have passed on her way along the American coast; he mentally pictures Canada's wild swans floating on the Ontario 'wo der Huronen Kähne am Ufer liegen,' Lake Erie with its beavers and industrious colonists, the grim, silent northern wilderness—in short, the actual scene beheld in Amsterdam harbour is made the starting point of a reverie embodying a picture of America already in the poet's mind; a picture, we may add, the ultimate origin of which no reader of Fenimore Cooper's novels[2] has to go far to discover. The African wilderness again is the real subject of the poems on 'The Skating Negro' and 'Leben des Negers'; the Greek girl at the fair and the ship 'Odysseus' are but pegs on which to hang descriptions of Hellas and the Near East (as visualised by a young German fresh from the Gymnasium); the 'Amphitrite' transports him to the East. The contents of other sea poems, such as 'Vor einem Gemälde,' 'Der Tod des Führers,' 'Schiffbruch,' 'Die Tanne,' 'Die Todten im Meere,' 'Heinrich der Seefahrer,' 'Die Schiffe,' are frankly imaginary. Amsterdam impressions notwith-

[1] The landing of the dead whale which forms the basis of this poem is described as a scene actually witnessed by the poet. It is more probable, however, that the subject was suggested to Freiligrath by the enormous head of a whale which he saw at the Leyden Museum on April 3, 1836 (Buchner, I, p. 139). The poem first appeared in 1837. Richter (*op. cit.*, p. 35) lists V. Hugo as a possible source: 'Als nicht unmöglich könnte man hinstellen, dass Freiligrath die Grundidee zu..."Leviathan"...aus Victor Hugo geschöpft hat, da sich Anspielungen auf [dieses] mythologische Wesen in den Übersetzungen..."Navarin" und "Napoleon II"...finden.' Under the circumstances, however, it seems unnecessary to fall back upon this hypothesis.

[2] That Freiligrath was acquainted with the works of Cooper may be deduced with practical certainty from his letter dated August 26, 1833 (quoted in Gisberte Freiligrath, *Beiträge zur Biographie Freiligraths*, Minden, 1889): 'Was macht Lenchen mit dem Letzten der Mohicans?...du musst ihr Cooper's Ansiedler an den Quellen des Susquehannah und...Die Steppe von Cooper geben.' Cooper is again mentioned by him in a letter dated March 20, 1838 (Buchner, I, p. 266).

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standing, then, we have a right to look for literary sources here also, and again we find them in the works of English poets whom he knew.

The tropical and southern seas, for instance, whose splendours are conjured up in the poems 'Amphitrite,' 'Vor einem Gemälde,' and 'Schiffbruch,' play a prominent part in the works of Thomson, Wilson, Byron, and above all in those of Mrs Hemans, the authoress whose desert poem 'The Caravan' has already been shown to bear a particularly striking likeness to certain of Freiligrath's African sketches, and who resembles him also in her choice of subjects and general mode of treatment[1]. The enthusiasm with which Thomson allows his imagination to revel in the strange sights and wonders of the gorgeous East, from 'Pomona's citron groves' to the 'plains immense, interminable meads and vast savannahs where the wandering eye, unfixt, is in a verdant ocean lost,' 'beneath primeval trees, that cast their shade o'er Niger's yellow stream, and where the Ganges rolls his sacred wave,' to 'the hot equator' and 'the tract of woody mountains stretch'd through gorgeous Ind... on Cormandel's coast, or Malabar[2],' is substantially the same that inspired the dreams of Freiligrath and it is worth noting that the unpublished early fragment quoted by Buchner (I, p. 69) in which the poet imagines himself galloping through the world on a 'horse from Hell,' contains a number of motives which find their parallels in *The Seasons*. The following passages, for instance, are decidedly suggestive when placed side by side:

(Afrika) wo der Elephant den Rüssel um Palmbäume schlingt	Peaceful among primeval trees... leans the huge elephant. (74)
wo im ellenhohen Grase der Leu zum Sprunge kauert;	Lo! the green serpent... gathers up his train
wo die Schlange... auf Lebensbäumen lauert;	In orbs immense,...
wo Tiger mit blutigen Zähnen, wo Panther den Forst durcheilen;	The tiger darting fierce
wo gierige Hyänen bei Nacht auf Gräbern heulen.	Impetuous on the prey...
	The... leopard... and...
	The keen hyena, fellest of the fell.
(Buchner, I, p. 70.)	These... glare around their shaggy king, Majestic. (82)

The same combination of beasts of prey also occurs in 'Löwenritt' and 'Unter den Palmen,' where the description of the python is again reminiscent of Thomson's 'green serpent':

Da—o sieh', was über ihnen sich herablässt aus dem Baum,	...the green serpent... gathers up his train
Grünlich schillernd, offnen Rachens, an den Zähnen gift'gen Schaum!—	In orbs immense... with threat'ning tongue
Riesenschlange.... (*Ibid.*, I, p. 155.)	And deathful jaws erect, the monster curls His flaming crest... (81)

[1] See p. 201.

[2] *The Seasons*, 1817, pp. 72 ff.

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Indebtedness to John Wilson and to Byron may be suggested, but cannot be established by word for word parallels as far as tropical scenery is concerned, although both deserve to be listed here; the former on account of his narrative poem 'The Isle of Palms[1]' with its glowing description of the life and environment of the two castaways shipwrecked in the Eastern seas, the latter as the author of the South Sea epic, *The Island*. It is tempting to compare Byron's pirate (in *The Giaour*) waiting 'till the gay mariner's guitar is heard' with Freiligrath's picture of the doomed Castilian captain unaware of the approach of the Moorish privateer:

> O, wohl mochte die Cigarre,
> Castilianer, dir verglimmen,
> Da du hörtest zur Guitarre
> Die holdseligste der Stimmen...
> ('Piratenromanze,' I, p. 52.)

and to suggest at least the possibility of unconscious borrowing from Moore's poem 'The East Indian[2]' (describing the approach of his love 'from eastern isles' to European shores,

> winging through wat'ry wilds her way....
> And on her cheek bringing the bright sun's orient ray

in connexion with Freiligrath's 'Amphitrite' (singing the arrival of Spring from the East); in both these cases, however, the evidence is too slight to warrant anything like a definite conclusion.

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(*To be continued.*)

[1] Reproduced in the anthology printed by H. L. Broenner, which was known to Freiligrath (see above, p. 198, note 8). For references to this poet in Freiligrath's letters, cp. Buchner, I, pp. 114, 289.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Grendel's Descent from Cain.

In Cāines cynne þone cwealm ȝewræc
ēce Drihten, þæs þe hē Ābel slōȝ,
Ne ȝefeah hē þǣre fæhðe, ac hē hine feor forwræc,
Metod for þȳ māne, man-cynne fram.
þanon untȳdras ealle onwōcon,
eotenas ond ylfe ond orcnēas,
swylce ȝīȝantas, þā wið ȝode wunnon
lange þrāge: hē him ðæs lēan forȝeald. *Beowulf*, 107–14.

ȝrendles mōdor,
ides, āglǣcwīf, yrmþe gemunde,
sēþe wæteregesan wunian scolde,
cealde strēamas, siþðan Cāīn wearð
tō ecȝbanan ānȝan brēþer,
fæderen-mǣȝe: hē þā fāȝ ȝewāt,
morþre ȝemearcod, mandrēam flēon,
wēsten warode. þanon wōc fela
ȝēosceaftȝāsta; wæs þǣra ȝrendel sum
heorowearh hetelīc. *Beowulf*, 1258–67.

syðþan flōd ofslōh,
ȝifen ȝēotende, ȝīȝanta cyn;
frēcne ȝefērdon; þæt wæs fremde þēod
ēcean Dryhtne; him þæs ende-lēan
þurh wæteres wylm Waldend sealde. *Beowulf*, 1689–93.

The reference in these passages to the descent of sea-monsters and evil spirits from Cain has already received a good deal of attention from scholars, in particular from the late lamented Professor O. F. Emerson in his *Legends of Cain* (*Publ. M. L. Ass. America*, 1906). But, to quote Professor Klaeber's words (*Beowulf*, 106, note): 'The direct source of the conception has not been discovered in this case, though Hebrew tradition (like that contained in the *Book of Enoch*) and Christian interpretation of scripture have been adduced.' Curiously enough, however, one verse, which to me at least seems to provide sufficient basis for the legend, has apparently been overlooked by students. I refer to: 'Ecce gigantes gemunt sub aquis, et qui habitant cum eis.' (*Job* xxvi, 5.) Nothing was more natural for the mediaeval theologians, who were acquainted with the *Book of Enoch*: cf. Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, I, pp. 179 ff., and the *Parva Genesis* (*ibid.*, pp. 142–3), than to connect this verse in *Job* with *Gen.* IV, vi, 2–4, 5–7, and vii, and to see in the word 'gemunt' scriptural authority for the continuous survival of Cain's descendants, overwhelmed by the Flood, as sea-monsters.

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The connexion between devilish monsters and the sea may very possibly have received further confirmation in their minds from the *Apocalypse* (e.g., 'Et uidi de mare bestiam ascendentem,' etc., xiii, 1). Indeed I am somewhat surprised that we have not already had an article with the title 'Beowulf and the Apocalypse.'

The translation of 'frecne ȝeferdon' (*Beowulf*, 1691) as 'they suffered direly' (and *not* 'they bore themselves overweeningly') is confirmed by: 'ȝeþencean þa ealderas hu frecedlice an þære ealdan æ Heli se sacerd ȝeferde þurh þæt he nolde steoran 7 ȝerihtan his ȝymeleasan suna' (*Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. Napier, p. 18, ll. 11–13), where the Latin text runs: 'memores periculi Heli sacerdotis de filiis suis.'

S. J. Crawford.

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A Note on 'The Knightes Tale.'

Unhorsed hath ech other of hem tweye. A. 2625.

In vol. xxii of this *Review*, pp. 339–41, Mr Dustoor translates 'tweye' as 'twice.' But Chaucer does not appear to use this form except for the cardinal; indeed, the only examples of it as an adverb in *N.E.D.* are from Robert of Gloucester, and in each case are variants of 'twie' and rime with '-ïe.' The line, I think, is based on the *Teseide*, Bk viii, stanza 12, to which the six-text edition refers the two preceding lines. This describes a single combat of Palemon with Arcite, in which each unhorsed the other, 'e caddero amendue sanza riparo.' By the help of their friends, both were remounted in stanza 16, a detail which Chaucer in his rapid summary omits.

Mabel Day.

London.

Textual Notes on Three Non-Cycle Mystery Plays.

The following notes on three of the plays edited by Waterhouse in *The Non-Cycle Mystery Plays* (E.E.T.S., Extra Series, civ) are offered in the hope that they may be of use and interest to students of these plays. The plays dealt with are the Norwich *Creation of Eve and the Fall* ('A' and 'B'), the Dublin MS. *Abraham and Isaac* and the Brome MS. *Abraham and Isaac*. As these plays had all been edited before Waterhouse's volume appeared, one object of these notes is to record the more important readings in which Waterhouse's text differs from that of earlier editions. In a paper to be published shortly in *Mod. Lang.*

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Notes, I have noted the many shortcomings of Waterhouse's edition of the Newcastle *Noah's Ark*, and, judging by the editor's careless work in that play, I am inclined to believe that not seldom where Waterhouse's reading differs from that of earlier editors—of course the differences are mostly in minor points—the earlier editors offer the correct reading. The differences between Waterhouse's and Fitch's texts of the Norwich play may be left out of count, but a collation of Waterhouse's and Brotanek's or Miss Smith's texts of the two *Abraham* plays discovers numerous instances in which Brotanek or Miss Smith may be safely regarded as reproducing the MS. more faithfully than Waterhouse. Take, for example, the following readings from the Dublin MS. *Abraham* as presented by Waterhouse and Brotanek:

L. 4, W. 'have,' Bk. 'haue.' L. 11, W. 'ever...servaunt...manere,' Bk. 'euer... seruaunt...manere.' L. 34, W. 'encrease,' Bk. 'encrese.' L. 37, W. 'Wiþ,' Bk. 'with.' L. 51, W. 'þat,' Bk. 'þat.' L. 99, W. 'such,' Bk. 'soche.' L. 102, W. 'and euer,' Bk. '*and* euer.' L. 119, W. 'myn...i-esid.' Bk. 'myne...I esid.' L. 159, W. 'And ...were,' Bk. '*and*...were.' L. 169, W. 'delyver,' Bk. 'delyuer.' L. 313, W. 'moder,' Bk. 'modre.'

Instances of such differences in spelling and italicising may be multiplied. Then again, if we may judge from the editions before us, Waterhouse almost invariably prints—and without comment—'withouten,' 'above,' 'abide,' 'onto,' 'therefore,' etc. where the MS. has 'with outen,' 'a bove,' 'a bide,' 'on to,' 'there fore,' etc. But in the following notes such minor differences in readings will not be recorded; only those differences will be noted which affect the meaning or grammar of the text.

A second object of these notes is to criticise some of the emendations proposed by students of these plays and to submit for approval a few suggestions of my own. Incidental remarks on text-interpretation and the like are also offered.

The Norwich *Creation*.

[Editions: (i) Fitch, *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. v (1856). (ii) Fitch, *Norwich Pageants. The Grocers' Play* (1856) [= F.]. (iii) Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama*, vol. i (1897), a reprint of (ii) [= M.]. (iv) Waterhouse, *op. cit.* [= W.]. (v) Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* (1924), a reprint of version 'B' of (iv) [= Ad.].]

A 64. W. 'casuall,' F. 'carnall.'

I Pr. 13. Is it necessary to read 'angell[s],' as both M. and W. do? Cf. *Ludus Coventriae* (Block) 1/17, 15/486.

I Pr. 21. M.'s change of 'wytt' to 'wyll' must, I think, be accepted.

II Pr. 13. W. 'eat þat,' F. 'eate yt.'

II Pr. 15. W. 'diseaivinge,' F. 'discouvinge,' M. 'discouv[r]inge.' (See 'B' l. 78.)

B 8. W. 'eatest,' F. 'eaten' (which M. emends to 'eatest').

B 22. The missing words were probably 'to use thys place in vertuse occupacion,'. See 'A' ll. 45–7.

B 27. M.'s emendation of 'hast' to 'has' is uncalled for.

B 50. W. 'make,' F. 'made.'

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B 53, 54. MS. 'Gode,' W. 'God,' F. 'God*es*,' M. 'god*es*' (l. 53), 'God' (l. 54).
B 82. W. 'exile,' F. 'excite' (which M. corrects to 'exile').
B 86. W. 'þ*at*,' F. 'y^{t},' M. 'yt.'
B 93. There is no need to insert, with M. and W., 'whereof' after 'erth.'
B 103. W. 'even,' F. 'ever.'
B 107. W. 'shall,' F. 'thatt.' So also in l. 131.
B 124. W. 'that thou,' F. 'that then thou.'
B 126. W. 'shall,' F. 'shalt' (which M. corrects to 'shall').
B 127. The reading of 'away the,' instead of 'the away,' would improve the rhythm of the line.
B 146. W. 'Howe,' F. 'Nowe.'
B 148. Ad. explains 'wight' as 'weight,' but surely it means 'whit.'
B 158 f. Perhaps these lines should be read as under:

To se
Of this our god his maiestie,
Who (the) hath given over us
To raygne & to governe us.

The omission of 'the' is suggested by M.
B 160. M.'s emendation of 'harte' to 'harte[s]' must be accepted. Cf. 'hart*es*' in l. 152.

The Dublin MS. *Abraham and Isaac.*

[Editions: (i) Collier, *Five Miracle Plays* (1836) [= C.]. (ii) Brotanek, *Anglia*, XXI, pp. 21 ff. (1899) [= Bk.]. (iii) Waterhouse, *op. cit.* [= W.]. Textual Notes: Holthausen, *Anglia*, XXI, pp. 441 f. [= H.].]
8. W. 'ȝit be,' Bk. 'ȝit he,' C. 'yet e.'
24. Read '[or] ouþer mete or mele'? See Bk.'s note on the line.
31. Read 'I do [it] not...'?
32. Omit 'if'?
45. Read 'home to my wif, I say'? See, however, Bk.'s note on this.
72. The line runs more smoothly without 'good' (Bk. 'goode').
74. Neither the sense nor the metre requires 'For þer is Isaac,' which is, accordingly, best omitted.
99. Note that Bk. wrongly numbers this line '100' and so from here onwards Bk.'s numbering is one ahead of W.'s.
117. W. Bk. 'þ*er*,' C. 'this.'
121. W. 'so,' C. Bk. 'to.'
147. I cannot agree with Bk. when he says that it would be better to read: 'I[t] shal...'
149. The line runs better without 'wel.'
150. Did the line originally run: 'But whére is þat bést shal be sácrifíed?'?
160. Omit 'Isaac'?
162. Omit 'þerfore'?
170. Read 'Alas, why put...'?
250. I suspect that 'or oþer myschef' is a late addition to the line.
256. Did the original have '[fayre] hert rote' as in l. 236?
264. Read 'He seeþe þou art redy to fulfille'?
267. Are we to read '& bad Ísaac shuld nót be sácrified só'?
288. Omit 'Isaac'?
297. H. would read 'Beyond' for 'By' but this is not necessary. As Bk. has noted, 'By' here means 'beyond.' See *N.E.D.* s.v. By, 8.
306. Here at least 'Gawe' seems to mean 'Look, See' (see *Stratmann* s.v. Gawen). In ll. 148, 283 it perhaps means 'Go we' or 'Go' (see Halliwell's *Dict. of Archaic Words* s.v. Gow).
358. The name of the speaker of ll. 358–61—Sara—is missing in W. See Bk.

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The Brome MS. *Abraham and Isaac.*

[Editions: (i) Miss Toulmin Smith, *Anglia*, VII, pp. 316 ff. (1884) [= A.]. (ii) Miss Toulmin Smith, *A Commonplace Book of the Fifteenth Century* (1886) [= B.]. (iii) Rye, *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, vol. III (1887). (iv) Manly, *op. cit.* vol. I [= M.]. (v) Cook, *A Literary Middle English Reader* [= Ck.]. (vi) Waterhouse, *op. cit.* [= W.]. (vii) Adams, *op. cit.* [= Ad.]. Textual notes: Holthausen, *Anglia*, XIII, 361 ff. [= H.].]

35. For W.'s 'Abram's' read 'Abrams' as A. and others.
45. I suggest reading 'him be,' instead of 'be him,' in order to get the rime with 'be : me.' Cf. the rime-scheme of ll. 116–121, 383–388, 460–465.
67–71. I do not see how, in Miss Fort's words (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XLI, p. 835), 'it would be an easy matter to reconstruct this stanza by revising the rimes in the first two lines, thus converting the rime-scheme to *a b a a b*—*B*'s [= *Brome's*] usual 5-line stanza.'
81. Ck. inserts 'I love' after 'as.' I would read 'as my [owne] lyffe.'
83. W. 'wake,' A. B. (followed by M. Ck.) 'make.' Note that Ad., whose text is based on W.'s, also prints 'make' but without comment.
95. W. 'plesse' without comment, but according to A. B. the MS. has 'pelsse.' Also, W. 'with,' A. B. (followed by M. Ck.) 'to,' and Ad. (who should have W.'s 'with') also 'to' without comment.
103. B. W. 'fader,' A. (followed by M. Ck.) 'fayer.' The word evidently reads like 'fader' in the MS., but I have no doubt the original word was 'fayer.' Cf. ll. 18, 218, 254.
112. Perhaps a word like 'rygth' has to be supplied before 'glad.'
122. The MS. has 'Ysaac, on' as in B. W. The reading 'son' for 'on' is not (as W. and, after him, Ad. wrongly state) a correction of M.'s; M. has taken it from A. That the correction is a proper one is borne out by the parallel line (249) in *Chester*, IV [= *Ch.*].
124. B. W. 'Gowe'; A. (followed by M. Ck.) 'Go we'; Ad. 'Gowe we' without comment. There is no need to improve on the MS. reading which, I take it, is 'Gowe.' I think the word means, not 'go we' or 'go,' but 'look, see,' as in *Dublin*, l. 306, and I agree with the MS. in taking 'as fast as I may' with what follows rather than—as do M. Ck. Ad., who place a (;) after 'may'—with what precedes. Cf. *Ch.* 251–2.
131. Insert 'me' before 'redy'?
133. Should 'wer' be 'her'? Cf. *Ch.* 258.
143. Ck. emends 'nowgth' (A. 'nowyth') to 'nowyht' = 'not at all,' but see *Ch.* 269.
165. Ck. omits 'ȝow,' but see *Ch.* 283. (Note that in W.'s *Ch.* 283 'leaue' is a misprint for 'leane.')
170. Ck. places 'With a ȝard' after 'me,' but see *Ch.* 290.
173. Ck. omits 'son,' but see *Ch.* 293. I would drop 'full.'
175. Ck. drops 'to God' but, considering *Ch.* 297, I would rather read: 'Wold God my moder....'
184. Insert 'here' before 'do'?
188. W., in his footnote, says 'Miss Smith: Za.' This is the reading only of B.; A. has 'ȝa.'
190–3. M. suggests reading 'decre' for 'wyll' in l. 190, and 'wyll' for 'plecer' in l. 193. I propose reading l. 192 as 'A bétter destený he mygth a sént me týll' and changing 'plecer' in l. 193 to 'plesing.' M.'s emendation leaves 'wryng' (l. 189) without a rime; the changes I have proposed would not only provide a rime to 'wryng,' but also reconstruct ll. 185–93 into the 9-line stanza, *a b a b c d d d c*, of ll. 219–27; 255–63 (with H.'s transposition in l. 259); 297–305.
207. Ck. omits one 'Isaac,' but see the readings of MSS. H. B. W. D. in *Ch.* 325.
208. According to W., M. reads 'begynneth,' but M. really has 'be-gynnyth.'
243. I suggest that 'and thy feet' has been lost after 'hands' (A. 'handes'). Cf. *Ch.* 358 and *Dublin*, 224.
272. Ck. omits the line altogether. I would, however, add 'so fre!' after 'born' to r.w. the rimeless 'me' of l. 268 and thus get another 9-line stanza, *a b a b c d d d c*. See my note on ll. 190–3.

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277. Ck. omits 'dere' but see *Ch.* 381.
283. Ad. is wrong when he observes that the MS. has 'makes'; it has 'make.'
301. Read 'now [assent] thertoo'?
310. W. 'loke after'; A. B. (followed by M. Ck.) 'loke thus after'; Ad. 'loke [thus] after.'
332. I submit that this line is out of place here; its proper place seems to be after l. 327. If this be agreed to, there should be no difficulty in reconstructing ll. 324–32 into the 9-line stanza, *a b a b c d d d c*, met with elsewhere in the play; all that would be needed would be the addition of a phrase like 'I see' after the very short line 'The way ys full gayn' (l. 331) [H. suggests 'gay to pace'; Ck. reads 'gayn [to pace]']. Indeed, with these changes ll. 324–36 could be regarded as forming one big stanza riming *a b a b c d d d c e e e e c*, for I imagine that 'grace' (l. 333) was meant to form a rime, however imperfect, with 'wysse: arysse.'
334. Miss Smith explains 'yeyed' as 'joyed, rejoiced'; Ck. changes it to 'teyed' meaning 'bound (to God)'; but there can be no doubt that the word should be 'yeþed,' i.e. 'eþed' = eased. See M. and cf. 'ȝevyn' (= even, l. 110); 'ȝynd' (= end, l. 400), etc.
339. I would follow M. in reading 'son,' for 'sir,' but not H. in changing 'thowt' to 'dowt.'
345. Read 'Yf [but] thys tale wer trew'?
350 ff. The emendation cited by W. in his footnote, is by M. What H. proposes is merely the reading of l. 351 as: 'For he hath vs sent ȝyn same Rame.'
368. In A. B. this line is written as two lines, the first ending with 'scheppe.' Is W.'s or A. B.'s the reading of the MS?
371. Read 'And kys onys [more] my dere moder.'?
428. Ck.'s 'avo[w to th]ee,' for 'avoee,' cannot be accepted. See 'awoee' in l. 452.
443 f. Ck. places 'to ȝow' after 'angell' (l. 443); H. substitutes 'ȝowr chyld to slayn' for 'to smygth of ȝowr chylde*s* hed.' I would add 'now' after 'angell' and read l. 444 as: 'And commáwnd(yd) ȝow to smýgth of ȝowr chýlde*s* hed, certéyn,'. The rime 'certeyn: ageyn' occurs also in ll. 48 : 50; 297 : 99.
454. I believe there is something wrong with the line. Should it run 'For ȝé schall neuer [b]é hym [be] mýschevyd, (wyll) I knówe,'?

P. E. DUSTOOR.

ALLAHABAD.

THE CAMBRIDGE PLAY 'LÆLIA.'

In a note with the above heading, vol. VI, p. 382, I discussed the meaning of a statement made in a Baker MS. under 'An. 1598.' 'Comes Essex. Cancellar. invisebat Acad. publicis Comitiis.' I have now come across an extract which I was permitted to make years ago from the accounts of King's College for 1597–8 'Term. Bap:' 'It. solut*um* pro cæna parat*a* honoratiss*imo* Comiti Essexie in mansione N*os*tri Preposi*ti* ...in Vesperijs Comitio*rum* viij^{l} vij^{s}.' The Comitia were held doubtless at the usual date, early in July, while Essex was only elected Chancellor on August 10th, Lord Burleigh having died on August 4th. It is to be remarked that the King's College entry does not give him the title of Chancellor.

My old arguments that the play *Lælia* was acted before him, not at this time, but on 1 March, 1595 are unaffected.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

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The Plague in 'Romeo and Juliet.'

The plague in *Romeo and Juliet*, which causes the detention of Friar John and is thus the decisive factor in the final tragic turn, is a purely 'external' event, not elsewhere used or even mentioned in the play. The purely formal anomalies caused by the exact mention of 'two and forty hours' are well known. These two things have often been commented on; what does not appear to have been observed so frequently is that they are but different aspects of a structural weakness. The use of the plague is certainly a flaw; it was taken over from Brooke with uncritical acceptance at an early stage of dramatic craftsmanship. Its purpose, of course, in both poem and play, is to ensure Romeo's fatal ignorance of the potion scheme, this being the crux of the catastrophe. We naturally expect finer coherence and economy of material in drama than in narrative poetry, and we have them in some of Shakespeare's later plays. It is worth asking whether this ignorance of Romeo could not have been contrived to arise more naturally from causes within the play; and it could have been so managed. The simple omission of the plague, in fact, would have given a play dramatically sound.

The dramatic 'problem,' so to speak, was to bring Balthazar to Romeo with the news of Juliet's 'death' before Friar John arrived with the real explanation. Let us work from the time-schemes. Two have been suggested; in the more usual one the graveyard scene takes place at dawn on Friday; in the other at dawn on Thursday. Those commentators (as for instance Prof. Dowden, in the Oxford introduction) who suggest the possibility of the Thursday finale, either overlook or boldly ignore one of the most direct indications in the play, the words of the First Watch at the Tomb[1]. The time difficulty has further bred such critical monsters as the suggestion that Juliet's bedroom soliloquy should be taken as summarising a whole night of hopes and fears. The important point, however, is that the time-scheme up to Wednesday morning is not at all dubious. It is as follows:

Tuesday, dawn—parting of Romeo and Juliet—Juliet told she must marry Paris;

[1] v, iii, 176 ('these two days buried'). It is admittedly impossible and needless to reconcile all the time-indications, and hence to make a satisfactory scheme for the period between the funeral and the graveyard scene, or to fix the real time of Romeo's learning of the news (v, i) and therefore of his departure from Mantua. A list of the remaining pertinent indications is given here for those who may suspect that some of them have been conveniently ignored (references to Globe edition). III, iv, 18 ('Monday, my lord'), 20 ('O' Thursday let it be'); IV, i, 90 ('Wednesday is to-morrow'), 114 ('my letters'), 123 ('with speed'); IV, ii, 24, etc. ('to-morrow morning'); V, i, 21 ('presently took post'), 34 ('lie with thee to-night'). Cf. also II, v, 1, 10, 70; III, i, 117–18; III, ii, 99; etc.

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Later—Juliet with Friar Lawrence—potion scheme arranged;
Later—Juliet returns home—*marriage with Paris put forward to Wednesday*;
Evening—Juliet alone in her room—takes potion some time during night;
Wednesday, day of intended wedding—Juliet found 'dead'—(funeral —*Balthazar leaves at once for Mantua*[1]).

Now there is quite an element of vagueness about Friar John's mission, even as far as it gets, and we hear nothing more about him till we see him again with Friar Lawrence in Act v. Romeo, in exile at Mantua, learns the fatal news from Balthazar[2]. Supposing the plague non-existent and Friar John performing his errand, the haste of Balthazar —most likely on horseback as compared with the friar's pedestrian mode of travel—would be ample dramatic warrant for his reaching Romeo first on Wednesday[3]. This is the only essential, and surely it comes about as plausibly this way as it does actually. Any slight dubiousness about the probability of the sequence of events, which might arise on critical examination, would be nothing like so serious a flaw as the use of the plague. Balthazar would actually reach Romeo first, and that would be enough for verisimilitude. For the crux of this matter is that the fixing on Wednesday for the wedding takes place *after* the arranging of the potion scheme. Hence, while causing Balthazar's errand, it does not affect Friar John's, which goes on at its original, uncertain speed in the indistinct background. It is obvious, then, that the plague was not strictly necessary to solve the 'problem' as stated.

An infinitely more important matter than the merely technical point, and one which the present writer at least has never seen mentioned by any commentator, is that this careless use of the plague robs us of a magnificent tragic situation. If the plague is omitted, the final tragedy (given the existing tragic elements, of course) becomes *solely* due to the hastening of the wedding. Who can doubt the tragic effectiveness of this? The head of the Capulet household, whose plans are already doomed to frustration, makes a typically autocratic decision which entails nothing less than the final immolation of all three youthful lovers, a consummation more terribly perfect than any other possible. That this

[1] v, i, 21.
[2] Who, by the way, is left hanging about rather loosely in the play. At a critical moment Friar Lawrence and Juliet conveniently forget both him and the possibility of his conveying the news of her 'death' to Romeo.
[3] On Wednesday, notice, which is much the more congruent with all that has gone before (though *not* with Romeo's 'to-night' plus a Friday graveyard scene) and *must* be the day in the case we are supposing. Cf. note 1 above.

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contention is true is clear from what has been said above. The putting forward of the marriage incurs the putting forward of Balthazar's witnessing the funeral, which in its turn incurs the conveying of the tidings to Romeo twenty-four hours earlier. This, with that convenient vagueness that hangs about Friar John's mission, acts with Romeo's consequent ignorance of the scheme to produce the final situation.

We are well aware that many will object to such formal analysis of *Romeo and Juliet*, but they will be wrong. Poetic creation cannot dispense with perfection of form for all its genesis in inspiration. The play as it stands may well be called a perfect lyrical tragedy, but it can hardly be denied that it would have been more perfect if better constructed, and especially with the gain in consistency resulting from the particular tragic situation defined above. A great dramatic opportunity was there wasted. As it is, the decision of Capulet has no such vital dramatic significance; the real *primum mobile* of the perfect tragedy of the last scene is that intrusive, extra-dramatic element, the plague!

V. WALPOLE.

STELLENBOSCH, SOUTH AFRICA.

THE EARLIEST EXPRESSION OF DELIGHT IN MOUNTAINS IN THE POETRY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Miss Myra Reynolds[1], after quoting the following lines from John Philips' *Cyder* (1706) as an illustration of the poet's 'enjoyment of Nature,' points out that they 'were perhaps the earliest expression in the eighteenth century of that pleasure in high hills and wide prospects that was so marked a characteristic of later poetry.'

> Nor are the high hills unamiable, whose tops
> To heaven aspire, affording prospect sweet
> To human ken.... *Cyder*, Bk. I.

But Addison, in the year 1700, 'proceeded in his journey to Italy, which,' says Dr Johnson, 'he surveyed with the eyes of a poet'; and from Geneva he addressed his poetical *Letter from Italy* (1701) to Lord Halifax, in which, among other subjects then new to English poetry, we find the mention of hills and mountains, the scenery of which, evidently from his own words, he seems to have enjoyed. Cf.: 'How am I *pleased* to search the *hills* and woods' (l. 17); and it is here in this poem, probably for the first time in the century, that a poet of the age of Pope

[1] *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry*, ch. II, pp. 59–60.

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is found to speak of hills and mountains in terms of approbation. Besides the line just quoted, also compare:

> Still to new scenes my wandering muse retires,
> And the dumb show of breathing *rocks admires*;

further:

> But what avail her unexhausted stores,
> Her *blooming mountains*, and her sunny shores.

The delight in hills and mountains which Addison expresses in the lines quoted above does not appear to be in any way fainter than what we find in the lines of Philips; besides, it should be noted that Addison's description of the hills is the result of his firsthand observation of the scenes visited by him[1], whereas in Philips' lines we find a merely generalised statement showing no evidence of real acquaintance with hill scenery. The credit given to John Philips by Miss Reynolds should therefore, in all fairness, go to Addison.

P. K. Das.

Krishnagar, India.

The Legend of Buridan and the Tour de Nesle.

> Semblablement, ou est la royne
> Qui commanda que Buridan
> Fust jeté en ung sac en Seine?

This is one of the many melancholy questions which François Villon asks, after the ancient style of the *ubi sunt* theme, a legacy of classical antiquity[2]. It clearly shows that the poet was familiar with a Parisian local legend, become famous since, thanks to the romantic drama of Alexandre Dumas *père*[3]. It is an old legend, going back to the latter part of the Middle Ages; but, strange enough, it was not taken down in writing, for the first time, by a French hand. A student at the University of Leipzig, Nicolas Jencz, as the name indicates, a German of Slavonic extraction, in 1470, gave the following account of it; it is the earliest that has come down to us.

A certain queen of France, called Navarre (*sic*), used to attract numbers of young men, all students of the Sorbonne, who then mysteriously disappeared. Finally, a certain Buridan, a Picard, made up his mind to put a stop to the vicious practice of drowning (as rumour had it) the wretched paramours of the queen. He made himself known to her, confident in his own powers, and did not fail to please. She had him

[1] E.g., during his passage over the Apennines, of which he has left a record in prose in his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705).

[2] *Testament*, vv. 341–43.

[3] His play is, however, not the only one on this subject which, with its melodramatic setting, could not but impress the generation of 1830. Cf. Jules Marsan in *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, XXIV (1917), pp. 227–34.

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come to her palace, where for a short period (during the husband's absence) the two led a life such as is granted to humans only at rare intervals. However, after three days of uninterrupted bliss, the queen calmly announced to him that his last hour had struck. She bade him console himself with the fact that ninety-nine other youths had preceded him on the fatal path. Yet Buridan had in reality expected nothing better and had taken his precautions. A ship filled with hay was waiting for him at the foot of the tower, and so he did not find it difficult to assure the queen that even death for her sake was sweet. As a last favour he asked of her a decent burial, should his corpse be washed ashore, a sack of gold and the queen's necklace. He was granted all that and then hurled into the river. Naturally, he fell upon the hay, while his companions threw a heavy stone into the water, lest the queen conceive a suspicion. Buridan thereupon made public her shame. He bought a number of small birds, for sale everywhere in the city, and let them fly with a little scroll attached to them, on which were written the words: Reginam Navarram interficere nolite timere quia bonum; si quis consenserit, ego non contradico[1].

Nicolas Jencz states that he was told this story in Paris, about 1460, by a very old man, who claimed to have known Buridan when he himself had been a child and his hero an old man. There are a number of inconsistencies in this statement. The queen who is the heroine of this legend seems to be Jeanne de Navarre, wife of Philip the Fair. She died in 1305 and, though she cannot possibly be called a model of virtue, yet her faults[2] were not of the kind to make her the chief protagonist of a legend of this character. Oral tradition had evidently garbled two different personages, Jeanne de Navarre, queen of Philip IV (the Fair), and Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Philip V (the Long), who in 1314 was arrested on a charge of adultery, with her two sisters-in-law, Marguerite de Bourgogne and Blanche. Such confusions are common in popular tradition, as was recognised long ago, although in this, as in all other attempts to explain the growth of legends, one must beware of going to extremes. What is certain is that in Villon's time this confusion of Jeanne de Navarre, the founder of the Collège de Navarre, with which the poet had been connected in a more than casual way, with the other Jeanne had already taken place.

Buridan, too, is an historical personage. He was a strong Aristotelian and rector of the Sorbonne from 1327 to 1340. In his youth he had had a quarrel with a certain Benedictine monk, over a fair one, be it noted, and had given his rival a sound beating. This monk later happened to be elected pope and is known in history under the name of Clement VI. Yet nothing is known about Buridan's adventures in the Tour de Nesle[3].

Nor does there appear to be a grain of truth in the crimes attributed to Jeanne de Bourgogne. She may have been guilty of adultery, though

[1] The story was published from a MS. of the University of Leipzig by Hermann Leyser in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, II (1842), pp. 362–70. Cf. also Pierre Champion, *François Villon, sa vie et son temps*, Paris, 1913, I, pp. 218 f.

[2] She was rather of the ambitious and vindictive type.

[3] Champion, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 219 f.

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even this is doubtful. Her sisters-in-law were considered guilty, and their two paramours were tried and atrociously punished; but nothing is known about any of the princesses having put her lovers to death after a night given over to love.

It is to be noted that the tale was attached to a tower[1] connected with the Hôtel de Nesle, property of the royal house. It was one of the many that are commonly told about old buildings which have remained uninhabited for long periods and of which the original purpose had fallen into oblivion[2]. As a local legend the story lived down to the time of Brantôme, who mentions it in his *Recueil des Dames*[3]:

...ceste royne qui se tenoit à l'hostel de Nesle à Paris, laquelle, faisant le gué aux passans, et ceux qui lui revenoient et agreoient le plus, de quelques sortes de gens que ce fussent, les faisoit appeler et venir a soy; et, après en avoir tiré ce qu'elle en vouloit, les faisoit precipiter du haut de la tour, qui paroist encor, en bas en l'eau, et les faisoit noyer. Je ne peux dire que cela soit vray; mais le vulgaire, au moins la pluspart de Paris, l'affirme; et n'y a si commun, qu'en lui monstrant la tour seulement, et en l'interrogeant, que de luy mesme ne le dye.

Through Brantôme the legend became known to the romanticists.

What was the origin of this strange story? I shall endeavour to answer this question in the course of this study. Let us note, first, that the legend is by no means peculiar to Paris, but is found in the provinces as well. I begin by quoting a variant from Normandy[4]:

In the castle of Hogues, near Fécamp, in Upper Normandy, there lived once a beautiful but bloodthirsty *châtelaine*, who would allure handsome young squires to her abode and grant them her love. Growing tired of them, she would have them murdered and their corpses thrown into the sea. One day she conceived an evil passion for an abbot of Fécamp and succeeded in seducing him. Out of pity or, perhaps, fearing the consequences, she spared his life. On his death-bed he confessed his sin, and the monks informed the king, Henry II, of the crimes of the *châtelaine*. She was tried and burned at the stake. Her lands were given to the abbey of Fécamp.

Another variant, from Brittany, was published by Émile Souvestre in 1845[5]:

In Cornouailles (Brittany) there lived once a good old king, called Grallon, who had a wicked daughter, Dahut by name. Her residence was at Kernis, near Quimper. She was a witch and lived in a tower near the dykes. The city of Kernis, or Keris, however, was then a flourishing sea-port, and its inhabitants were as godless as they were rich. Many foreign kings and princes flocked to the city, where they were well received by the monarch and his daughter. The latter used to give the good-looking

[1] Brantôme is the first to mention the *tower*; the older documents merely indicate the palace.

[2] A fairly gruesome legend, for example, is told about a tower of the former imperial castle of Berlin, called 'der grüne Hut,' from which the corpses of the victims of princely tyranny were fabled to have been hurled into the river.

[3] *Œuvres complètes de Brantôme*, Paris, 1858–95, XI, 269; cf. also X, 222. For other sixteenth-century references to the legend, see Leyser, *op. cit.*, pp. 367 ff.

[4] A. Bosquet, *La Normandie romanesque et merveilleuse, traditions, légendes et superstitions populaires*, Paris-Rouen, 1845, p. 476.

[5] É. Souvestre, *Le Foyer breton*, Paris, s.d., I, p. 232.

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ones among them a magic mask, thanks to which they were able to join her at the tower without being seen by anyone. They would stay with her until the early dawn, when she would again give them the mask, which this time would throttle them. A negro, hired for that purpose, would take up the corpse and hurl it into the sea. Their ghosts are still believed to haunt that spot, in the neighbourhood of Corhaix. Meanwhile the old king suspected nothing, and the evil deeds of the princess went merrily on. At last a just retribution overtook her and the wicked city. One day the devil appeared in person, with the bearing of a handsome prince. Dahut fell in love with him and took him to her tower. There he snatched from her the keys of the dykes and opened the sluices. The city was swallowed up together with the witch. The old king alone was saved by a pious hermit, whom he had made bishop some time previously.

Nor can the story be considered a typically French legend. It is also found in Central Italy, where it is localised in the Casentino. I shall here quote the text in the form in which it was recorded[1]:

Esistono nel Casentino gli avanzi del palazzo dei Guidi in Poppi. Or si racconta che certa Telda, vedova di un conte Guidi, signora un tempo di Poppi, donna di straordinaria bellezza e d' altrettanti corrotti costumi, voleva attirare entro il proprio palazzo, colla seduzione delle arti sue amorose, quanti più bei giovani le capitavano, i quali dopo che avevano serviti a sfogare le sue voglie e libidini, faceva cadere per mezzo di un trabocchetto nel sotterraneo annesso alla cisterna, ove faceali uccidere. Ma sollevata la gente di Poppi dai parenti di una delle vittime, di cui potè scoprirsi la tragica fine, l' assediò nel suo palazzo, la vinse, e lei prigioniera fece morire di fame in una stanza della stessa torre dalla quale si era difesa. Nei tempi andati nessuno s' accostava senza orrore a quel luogo, che la paurosa fantasia del volgo avea popolato di ombre e di spettri a segno d' essere quella torre chiamata come si chiama anche oggi: la torre de' diavoli....

From Italy to the Romance part of the Tyrol it is not a far cry, and there we find the same legend, attached to the old castle of Meran and connected with an historical personage, the princess Margaret Maultasch, daughter-in-law of the Emperor Louis the Bavarian. I shall give here a brief account of the story, taken from the standard collection of Tyrolese local legends[2].

Die junge Fürstin...suchte...anderswo jene Genüsse, nach denen sie sich sehnte. Namentlich war sie den schönen Passeirerburschen hold, die sie als Wächter an ihren Hof zog. War sie aber eines derselben überdrüssig, liess sie nicht selten das Opfer ihrer Lust in den Fällturm zu Tirol werfen. Um nächtlichen Verkehr zu erleichtern, war der Eisenkorb am Erkerfenster der Burg in Meran so eingerichtet, dass er in den Hofraum niedergelassen und der Besucher in demselben emporgewunden werden konnte.

That our legend was current also in mediæval Germany is proved by a *Meistergesang* of Martin Schleich, which relates the following tale[3]:

A queen invites a youth from her window; but the following morning, when she is tired of him, she entices him into a trap which hurls him into some water underneath. Nine young men are killed in this way. The tenth happens to be a very

[1] *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari*, XXIII (1906), p. 246.
[2] I. V. Zingerle, *Sagen aus Tirol*, Innsbruck, 1891, p. 690.
[3] Cf. Karl Bode, *Die Bearbeitung der Vorlagen in Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, Berlin, 1909 (*Palæstra*, LXXVI), p. 695, for a bibliography.

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learned student, familiar with the occult arts, who foresees the impending danger. Refusing to go into the trap, he is bound and thrown into the water. He keeps afloat, thanks to his knowledge, and even turns away the arrows which are shot at him. He charms the birds and ties letters to their beaks, disclosing the queen's secret crimes. Her shame is thus made public: he then makes himself known as Albertus Magnus and openly accuses her. She enters a convent, doing penance until the end of her life.

The episode of the birds revealing the queen's guilt leaves no doubt that there is some connexion between the *Meistergesang* and the French legend of Buridan. We might add also that in both the heroine is a queen and that even Buridan and Albertus Magnus can be considered related characters. There is, of course, no reason whatever for assuming a dependency of Martin Schleich on the earlier account of the Leipzig student.

The *Meistergesang* was reproduced, with slight modifications, by Arnim and Brentano in their *Wunderhorn*[1], and this version appears to have suggested to Heinrich Heine the subject of his poem *Pfalzgräfin Jutta*:

Pfalzgräfin Jutta fuhr über den Rhein,
Im leichten Kahn, bei Mondenschein.
Die Zofe rudert, die Gräfin spricht:
'Siehst du die sieben Leichen nicht,
Die hinter uns kommen
Einhergeschwommen—
So traurig schwimmen die Toten!

Das waren Ritter voll Jugendlust—
Sie sanken zärtlich an meine Brust
Und schwuren mir Treue—Zur Sicherheit,
Dass sie nicht brächen ihren Eid,
Liess ich sie ergreifen
Sogleich und ersäufen—
So traurig schwimmen die Toten!'

Die Zofe rudert, die Gräfin lacht.
Das hallt so höhnisch durch die Nacht!
Bis an die Hüfte tauchen hervor
Die Leichen und strecken die Finger empor,
Wie schwörend—Sie nicken
Mit gläsernen Blicken—
So traurig schwimmen die Toten!

Although several of the versions quoted are thus unquestionably related, yet it would be extremely hazardous to trace all of them to a single fountain head. Suffice it to say that in the Middle Ages the legend is found in various parts of Europe, from Southern Italy to Northern France and also on Teutonic soil. A solution of the problem of their origin cannot be expected without some enquiry into the shape of the legend assumed in classical antiquity.

[1] Arnim-Brentano, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, Berlin, 1876, II, p. 65; cf. Bode, *loc. cit.*

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By far the closest parallel that can be found in ancient literature is the legend of Semiramis as handed down by the compilers Diodorus Siculus[1] (who drew on Ctesias) and Aelianus[2]. Semiramis, a beautiful courtesan, though of ignoble origin, won the heart of the ruler of Assyria and came to share his power, finally ridding herself of him altogether and ruling herself. Once free, so the story runs, she admitted to her couch the fairest of her soldiers, without consideration of their rank and station, only to put them to death when she was tired of them. Now this queen is known to be an historical personage who held sway over Assyria and Babylon in the eighth century before our era and who, largely under non-Assyrian influences[3], took unto herself many of the most characteristic traits of Ishtar, the great Semitic mother-goddess. All over the Near East the graves of her numerous lovers were shown by the local *ciceroni*[4] and called 'mounds of Semiramis.' Most significant of all is the fact that, in the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh, the hero reproaches the goddess Ishtar in person for the very crimes of Semiramis[5].

The origin of the Ishtar myth is known with a fair degree of certainty. As early as 1841, F. C. Movers[6] pointed out the existence of an annual ritual in which a couple of slaves were dressed up as king and queen or, what in ancient religious thought amounted to the same thing, as god and goddess. The woman personified the immortal Ishtar-Astarte, the Semitic mother-goddess, the man the mortal vegetation demon, who had to be killed at the end of a term of temporary kingship to preserve intact the powers of vegetation, his place being taken by his successor, another temporary king[7]. Being loved by Ishtar, then, meant death, and the outcome was the myth of the cruel goddess-queen, who kills her lovers after a short time of connubial bliss, the duration of the festival of the Sakkaia, at the end of which the temporary king was put to death.

Neither can this myth be regarded as in any way exclusively Mesopotamian. It is also found in Asia Minor, exposed, no doubt, to strong Semitic influences. Clearchus of Soloi relates of Omphale, the Lydian pendant to Semiramis, that she prostituted herself to strangers, whom she afterwards put to death[8]. A similar legend was current at Iconium, where a woman enticed all strangers to her embraces and afterwards

[1] *Bibl.* II, 13.
[2] *Var. Hist.* VII, 1.
[3] Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher's *Lexikon*, IV, col. 690.
[4] Herod., I, 184; Strabo, XVI, 1, 2; Diod., II, 14.
[5] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, p. 371.
[6] *Die Phoenizier*, I, Bonn, 1841, p. 490.
[7] Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 275 ff.
[8] Athenæus, XII, p. 515*e*; J. Sieveking in Roscher, III, 1, c. 881.

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slew them, but received the punishment due to her by being turned into stone by Perseus. The stone image gave the name to the State[1]. Similar stories were related of the Amazons[2] and of Lamia, queen of Libya[3].

The essential identity of the two groups of variants, the mediæval and the ancient, will be clear enough. Nor can there be much doubt about the Near Eastern and Mediterranean provenance of the legend. Exactly how and when it crossed the Alps into Gaul and Germany, it is difficult to know; essentially a migratory legend (Wandersage), to use the technical term, the number of known variants is far too small to allow of a detailed examination with a view to determining the area of their distribution and thereby arriving at what might be considered a more circumstantial history of the tale. It may be well, though, to caution the reader by throwing some doubt on its popular character. On the contrary, many features of the mediæval variants rather point to *traditions demi-savantes*, to adopt a term of current usage in the science of etymology and no doubt equally useful in an enquiry into the origin and transmission of tales.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. U.S.A.

[1] *Et. Mag.*, s.v. Ἰκόνιον. Cf. L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 273.
[2] Cf. R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, München, 1910, p. 151.
[3] Philostr., *Vita Apoll.*, IV, 25.

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REVIEWS

An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students. By RONALD B. MCKERROW. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927. xv + 359 pp. 18*s*.

The appearance of this volume is a significant indication that the importance of bibliography as a definite branch of literary research is at last fully recognised. For, as the author explains in his preface, the work is published in response to numerous requests for the re-issue of certain *Notes on Bibliographical Evidence for Literary Students and Editors of English Works of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, which he published in 1913 as part of the twelfth volume of the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*.

After fourteen years, students of bibliography have so increased in number that he feels that the time is ripe for the publication of a much more comprehensive work, embodying the earlier *Notes* and providing the young student in particular with a body of essential technical knowledge. This book undoubtedly supplies a real need. Although the Bibliographical Society began to publish as long ago as 1893, and although such scholars as Professor A. W. Pollard, Professor Dover Wilson, Dr W. W. Greg, Mr R. W. Chapman, Mr E. Gordon Duff and Dr McKerrow himself by their patient researches and acute judgment have shown what a startling light can often be shed on literary researches by bibliographical evidence, their young disciples have nevertheless felt themselves to be sailing on uncharted seas because they had not available such a book as this. The editor of a Caxton, or other early printed book, is constantly faced with minor problems such as the description in bibliographical terms of an early print, the indication and correction of misprints, or the expansion of contracted forms. In dealing with these, he must be guided by his own judgment and the practice of other editors, but it would be most convenient if there were an authoritative ruling on many points of bibliographical technique. Dr McKerrow is careful to state that 'nowhere have I attempted to lay down any rules for bibliographical investigation, for none are possible,' but some of his suggestions, especially those contained in Part II, chapter I ('The Description of a Book'), might well be universally adopted for the sake of uniformity. Dr Greg and Mr Madan have already adopted his plan of denoting unsigned preliminary leaves by the conventional 'signature' π, and the use of the symbol $ to denote 'any signature' in generalisations, would be very helpful.

Bibliography is the indispensable companion to literary criticism. Before the aesthetic critic can begin his work, he must be assured that he has before him the actual words of his author, so far as they can be ascertained. It is the business of the bibliographer to give him this assurance. The determination of the correct text even of a modern writer such as Browning demands the greatest care, but with older authors such

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as Shakespeare the problem is immensely complicated by the arbitrary methods of early printers and the almost complete absence of original MSS. The bibliographer has to endeavour to reconstruct the non-extant MS of the author from the evidence afforded by the printing and make-up of the early editions before him. It is here that Dr McKerrow offers his assistance; 'I have kept before me throughout the problem of the relation of the printed book to the written word of the author.' Although such research is sometimes tedious, the student finds consolation in the absolute definiteness of many bibliographical discoveries, contrasting with the very conjectural nature of much 'literary' investigation.

The kernel of the *Introduction to Bibliography* is contained in the third (and shortest) part, comprising two chapters mainly on the errors of the compositor in setting up his copy. The proper understanding of this part, however, demands a knowledge of the processes by which a book is made and of the structure of a completed book.

Part I describes the manner in which a book was printed about the year 1600. The date is well chosen not only on account of the great literary interest of the period but because the processes of printing then 'were at the same time sufficiently primitive for an understanding of them to throw light on the earlier period and sufficiently settled for it to throw light on the period which followed.' It is rather curious that, whereas newspaper presses have now reached a complexity that would astound Caxton if he could see them, the father of English printing would have little difficulty in understanding the processes of a small jobbing printer's office, for they have altered little in principle since his day. The reader who wishes to understand thoroughly the first six chapters of this book should visit a provincial printing office and compare the methods of composition, imposition and distribution used there with those described by Dr McKerrow. A hand-press for printing posters can be seen in any small printing office, and an examination of one helps greatly in the comprehension of Chapter v ('The Early Printing Press'). The modern press differs from the ancient in being made of metal instead of wood, and in using levers and balance weights instead of a screw to lower and raise the platen. Dr McKerrow reproduces several early illustrations of presses. He gives a detailed description of the mechanism of a press, which can be followed most satisfactorily in Fig. 14, as this cut (from Stephen Bateman's *Doom warning all men to the Judgment*, London, 1581) shows all the essential features very clearly, including the 'hose' and 'hose-hooks' for ensuring the level descent of the platen. It should be noted that the block has been reversed in cutting, so that the pressman is on the wrong side of the machine. A diagram, with the names of the different parts attached, would be a useful adjunct to the illustrations and would make the description clearer to readers who are not of a mechanical turn of mind.

The second part, besides the invaluable opening chapter on bibliographical technique, contains much information about formats, evidence of the order of editions, the relation between printer and author in Elizabethan times, and a large variety of topics, treated in such a way

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as to justify completely the author's claim that 'the material book, apart altogether from its literary content, can be a thing of surprising interest.' Dr McKerrow is wont to insert much valuable information in footnotes, which should on no account be 'skipped.' For example, the following admirable maxim on the choice of an edition for a reprint is contained in a footnote on p. 220: '[Editions] must in every case be judged on their merits, for too slavish following of a "last" edition is as bad as too slavish following of a "first." Indeed the gradual degeneration in minor details frequently renders it advisable to make an early edition the basis of a reprint, while incorporating in it the alterations of a later one.'

In Part III, after presenting some amusing evidence to show that sometimes the compositor, being possibly short-sighted, seems to have set up from dictation, the author passes on to the important topic of the extent to which the compositor attempted to follow the spelling of his copy. Dr McKerrow considers that variation in spelling was used to a great extent by early printers as a means of making their lines end evenly. This is probably more true of Elizabethan printers than of Caxton, who uses contractions very freely (e.g., *mē* for *men*), omits spaces (e.g., *thesame* for *the same*), and pays no regard to syllabic division in splitting words at the end of a line. Since he availed himself of these means of 'justification,' he had no need to tamper with the spelling of words.

As Professor Pollard points out in his paper 'Elizabethan Spellings as a Literary and Bibliographical Clue' (*The Library*, Fourth Series, vol. IV, p. 1), sixteenth-century printers, 'careless of many things, were usually careful about spacing,' and many variants have therefore a typographical explanation. In many cases, however, no such explanation is possible, and several attempts have been made recently to decide the relative responsibility of compositor and author in the matter of spelling. Miss St Clare Byrne in a paper on 'Anthony Munday's Spelling as a Literary Clue' (*ibid.*, p. 9) with which Dr McKerrow deals in some detail, holds that a comparison of Munday's MSS with the printed texts shows 'an ideal of literal following of the author's MS.' Dr W. W. Greg gives the results of a similar study in his paper, 'An Elizabethan Printer and his Copy' (*ibid.*, p. 102), in which he compares Harington's MS of his translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* with the edition printed from it by Richard Field in 1591. Dr Greg considers that printers had a standard of their own in spelling and punctuation, more uniform than that of most authors, and that they kept to this standard fairly consistently, only in peculiar and rare words observing the exact spelling of the author. With this view Dr McKerrow is in substantial agreement (cf. p. 249).

In the Appendix, the lists of abbreviations and contractions in early printed books and of Latin place-names are most useful for reference purposes, while the short sketches of the history of printing and of printing-types are written in the easy and interesting style that makes the whole book so readable. The aridity of a technical treatise is most

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successfully avoided throughout, and in view of the great variety of material that had to be marshalled there is remarkably little repetition, cross-reference, or ambiguity. The term 'incunable' (fifteenth-century printed book) is used more than once before it is explained on p. 145, and the process of preparing a proof is called 'proving' on p. 14 and 'proofing' on p. 63. The latter term, besides being more commonly used, is preferable since it avoids confusion with the non-technical use of the verb 'to prove.'

Of the printing and binding of this book it need only be said that the Clarendon Press has made it as pleasing to the eye and hand as a notable book about books deserves to be.

ALFRED T. P. BYLES.

EXETER.

Englische Metrik, in ihren Grundzügen an Hand ausgewählter Textproben dargestellt. Von ROBERT SPINDLER. München: Max Hueber. 1927. 229 pp. 5 M 60.

This interesting little book, the outcome of lectures given at the University of Munich, affords a sound guide to the study of English versification.

Both method and arrangement are excellent. Selected passages from typical works of great poets provide the text from which the teaching of each lecture or chapter is developed. A very full index makes the volume readily available also as a book of reference.

The ground covered includes the principles of metre and the history of metrical forms; and although modern English rightly occupies the predominant place, students of mediæval literature will find here valuable help and guidance.

A good point—of special value to English students, who are often encouraged to neglect it—is the insistence on the double stream of our metrical tradition. One might instance the reference to the survival of old Germanic rhythmic freedom in the Ballad Stanza (pp. 100, 115); the account of the struggle between end-rhyme and alliteration in Middle English (pp. 42–45), and of the conflict of native and foreign rhythm from the *Poema Morale* down to Wyatt and Surrey (pp. 98–105); the mention of alliteration in connexion with Milton, Browning, and Swinburne (pp. 43, 68). One may regret, however, that Dr Spindler has avoided discussion of the admittedly difficult problem of the relation between the Anglo-Saxon and the West-Midland alliterative verse.

The first three chapters deal with stress and pitch; with the verse pause; with the metrical forms of the line; with rhyme and its distribution within the line and the verse. Among the historical matters treated of here, the outline of the development of rhyme (pp. 37–42) may be specially mentioned.

Dr Spindler seems to me to have somewhat overstated Chaucer's avoidance of the Epic Cæsura. And one of his examples of inversion of rhythm is unfortunate, viz., l. 139 of *The Rape of the Lock* (p. 36). The stress of the particle immediately following its verb is certainly in

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modern times, and was presumably also in the eighteenth century, subordinate to the stress of the verb: e.g., 'he put on his hat,' 'he sent in his resignation.'

Chapters IV and V are devoted to the Couplet. They include not only further discussion of the metrical variations of the line but also interesting historical sketches. Such are the account of heroic verse from *La Vie de Saint Alexis* and *The Legend of Good Women* to *Tristram of Lyonesse*, and the outline of the development of the short couplet from its double source down to Tennyson and Longfellow. Here the references to Middle English examples are very full.

Chapters VI to XIII deal with the varieties of strophic form. Of especial interest are the account of the connexion of the ballad stanza with the *septenarius*, and the history of this metre in Middle Latin and in Middle and New English. Students of mediæval literature will be pleased with the historical sketch of the tail-rhyme stanza of *Sinners Beware* (pp. 126–129), and with the discourse on rhyme royal (pp. 135–139). The remaining types, in which wider circles of readers will be interested, are equally well treated, both as to origin and modern development.

Chapters XIV and XV are concerned with grouping of strophes, in the Pindaric Ode and the Sonnet. A brief sketch of the history of the ode in ancient Greece is prefixed (pp. 165–167) to an account of the employment of the Pindaric Ode by Ronsard, Martin Opitz, Ben Jonson, and Cowley. The Sonnet is very fully treated, and use has been made of Sir Sidney Lee's work, as well as of Fischer and Brunner's monograph. Attention is drawn (p. 192) to the fact that in rather more than half Shakespeare's Sonnets the thought-structure still follows the Italian type (cf. Watts-Dunton in the *Encycl. Brit.*).

Chapter XVI, the final chapter, treats of Blank Verse. Here reference is made to typical specimens from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. A useful summary of the metrical tests of Shakespearian chronology is based on the latest research, and is well illustrated by extracts from *The Comedy of Errors* and *The Tempest*.

A not unimportant feature of this book is that it embodies the results of linguistic study. Thus, in dealing with such rhymes in Milton (p. 69), Pope (p. 56), and Gray (p. 119) as are impure from the present-day standpoint, Dr Spindler shows, from Wyld, that the poets were not guilty of the 'licence' (or bad technique) which is still frequently imputed to them by critics who are not well acquainted with English philology. He does, however, impute one type of 'eye-rhyme' to Pope: e.g., *gown—own*. Yet, since the descendants of ME. long *u* and long slack *o* must both have passed through stages in which their first elements had 'mixed' position, and since there is no reason to suppose that the speed of development of either vowel was uniform in all classes and localities that have influenced the standard language, it is not unreasonable to assume that in Pope's time one of the several varieties of the one vowel did actually coincide with one of the several varieties of the other. There is, of course, need of further phonological investigation on this point, as Dr Spindler has himself noted.

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It should be mentioned that the technical vocabulary throughout the book is given in English as well as in German, a help which will be of service, one may hope, to a large number of English students.

J. H. G. GRATTAN.

LONDON.

Mittelenglische Sprach- und Literaturproben. Herausgegeben von A BRANDL und O. ZIPPEL. Zweite Auflage. Berlin: Weidmann. 1927. viii + 423 pp. 10 M.

This work, intended as a substitute for Mätzner's *Altenglische Sprachproben*, first appeared in 1917. It is now reprinted with very slight modifications in detail: but, as no review of the original edition appeared in this journal, it deserves a somewhat longer notice than is usually accorded to reprints. The book is admirably planned so as to be available for the English-speaking undergraduate who knows no German as well as for the German Seminar, and embodies some interesting features. As an example of the method employed one may take the section devoted to Layamon, which consists of (1) a brief bibliographical note, (2) the autobiographical preface to the *Brut*, (3) the episode of the Death of Arthur in both texts, (4) the relevant passages from Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace. Moreover, by printing later the corresponding sections of Robert of Gloucester, Piers Langtoft, Robert Mannyng, the *Alliterative* and the *Stanzaic Mort Arthur*, and Malory, the editors provide the material for a comparative study of the treatment of the episode on English soil during the Middle English period. Material for a similar study of the Nativity they provide by bringing together passages from the *Ormulum*, the *South English Legendary*, the *Cursor Mundi*, the *Northern Metrical Homilies* and William of Shoreham.

Care has been taken with the texts and the only suggestion the reviewer can offer is that in the next edition Orrm's flat-topped *g* (= the voiced guttural stop) might be distinguished by the addition of a macron, as, for example, in *ḡoddspell*, *enn̄glissh* and *triḡḡ*. There is one more serious ground for complaint. The bibliographical notes have not been adequately revised for the second edition. Under *Havelok* should have been added Sisam's revision of Skeat (1915) and Bell's *Le Lai d'Haveloc and Gaimar's Haveloc Episode* (1925), under *Pearl* Gollancz's edition of 1921, under the *Owl and the Nightingale* Atkins' edition of 1922. Nor is there any reference to Hall's *Selections from Early Middle English* (1920). This neglect of recent annotated editions of some of the most important Middle English poems is the more to be regretted in that an etymological glossary, which gives the meanings both in English and in German and conveniently incorporates the vocabulary of Chaucer, is the only help offered towards the interpretation of the texts.

BRUCE DICKINS.

EDINBURGH.

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Chaucer. By GEORGE H. COWLING. London: Methuen & Co. 1927. 8vo. 223 pp. 6*s*.

In the absence of any prefatory statement by the author we are left to assume that the aim of this volume is to supply an introductory handbook to the student of Chaucer. The publishers hint at an appeal to 'a wider public,' and in the book itself indications are not wanting to suggest that Mr Cowling felt some hesitancy of purpose. Thus, while we recognise the excellences of the volume, its sound knowledge and its careful method, we seem frequently to detect the author trying to ride two or three horses abreast and being unseated in the attempt. Sometimes he is addressing the general reader, and here he is least successful. More often he is true to his proper purpose, but in this he occasionally fails through not resisting the temptation to handle inviting problems of Chaucerian scholarship that are still *sub judice*, and cannot be discussed adequately in a volume such as this with very much benefit either to the advanced student or to the novice.

Nearly a fifth of the volume is occupied by a sketch of Chaucer's life and times. This is perhaps the best part of the book and is a skilful piece of condensed narrative. For the beginner, however, it would have been useful to indicate more clearly what is basic fact and what is conjectural superstructure. The ominous 'probably' qualifies every other sentence. Sometimes Mr Cowling himself conjectures disconcertingly, as when he writes, 'Perhaps he [Chaucer] tried his hand at romance. It may be that Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* ridicules one of his early efforts;' or when he explains Chaucer's long continuance in the service of the court by roundly asserting that 'he was a man of the world who could be all things to all men.' Urbanity and humour would seem to some a more charitable and perhaps a truer explanation. But it is a strange feature of Mr Cowling's book that he is apparently never willing to give Chaucer, either as man or as poet, the benefit of the doubt. Either for the young reader or for the general public this is rather a serious disadvantage. There are times when suppression of enthusiasm may become a critical blunder, and Chaucer has never been overpraised.

In his discussion of The Canon and Chronology of Chaucer's Writings Mr Cowling is seen to better advantage than in æsthetic criticism. His facts are skilfully marshalled, and not content with mere epitome he enters the arena himself. An example of his careful workmanship may be found in his analysis of the Chaucerian stanza. Taking the stanza with a pause after the fourth line as the normal form, he shows striking differences in the number of irregularities in certain groups of poems, and argues that irregularity indicates a later date. This criterion, which, it may be noted, divides Book v of *Troilus and Criseyde* from the rest of the poem, is deprived of much of its authority by the extent to which Chaucer in his early usage of the stanza departs from this hypothetical norm. Mr Cowling, we note, lays considerable stress on the 'Middleburgh' reference for the date of the *Prologue*, but Professor Knott has shown that wool was exported there long before 1384. Modifying the

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explanation of *The Complainte of Mars* given in Shirley's note. Mr Cowling identifies Mars with Sir John Holland and Venus with John of Gaunt's second daughter, Elizabeth. The suggestion is at least more plausible than many that have been offered, but most will continue to believe with Koch that all these fanciful identifications are alien to the spirit of the poem. In discussing the alleged influence of Deschamps on the prologue to *The Legend*, Mr Cowling makes a surprising descent from the pinnacles of art: 'As for calling Queen Anne a daisy, it was simply a courtly fashion..., and none has yet suggested literary influence for Mr Harry Lauder's charming little song, "She's ma daisy."' The omission of Sir Harry's name from the index is a sign of grace.

To attempt to lure the youthful or the general reader to an appreciation of the *Prologue* by means of a prose paraphrase seems a dubious expedient. Here, as with the *Tales* themselves, Mr Cowling has made too little use of well-chosen quotations, so that his critical remarks are left hanging in the air. It conveys nothing to tell us of *The Wife of Bath's Tale* that 'the dialogue in particular is most excellently done,' or that *Sir Thopas* provides 'a laugh in almost every line.' So the reader has to trust Mr Cowling when he assures us that *The Nun's Priest's Tale* is 'still the jolliest fable in the English language,' and the absence of quotation is not compensated for by the curious statement that 'it is a striking illustration of the amazing versatility of Chaucer that he could stoop to make such a masterpiece of this fable, worthy of the anthropomorphic view of the animal kingdom of Uncle Remus himself.' And nowhere is the defect of the method more obvious than in the wholly inadequate treatment of the links between the *Tales*, where Chaucer attains his highest reach of humour and of dramatic art. Quotation here is an absolute necessity both for doing justice to the poet and for testing the critic.

Mr Cowling's admiration for his author is constantly overshadowed by his anxiety to prove Chaucer's debt to Italian influence. In isolated phrases his criticism may seem generous enough, as when he tells us that Chaucer 'created the novel in England, as distinguished from the old order of romance.' But this is not the prevailing note or the abiding impression. Mr Cowling's chief aim seems to be to prove that 'there can be little doubt that Chaucer's variety, his love of trickery as a motive, his "tragedies," his realistic setting, and above all the excellence of his art of narrative, are due to Italian influence.' If Chaucer wrote *The Canterbury Tales*, knowing only such elementary endeavours as *The Seven Wise Masters* and the *Confessio Amantis*, he is the greatest novelist that England has ever produced. But this assumption of Chaucer's ignorance is incredible and impossible. Again and again this bias is seen at work, and is accountable for many curiously belittling criticisms, such as that 'Chaucer somehow realised the artistic value of contrast,' or that 'one is almost tempted to hail the fiction of the pilgrimage as a happy stroke of genius. This may be so; yet I think not.' And it is characteristic of Mr Cowling's attitude that the mere suggestion, in itself chronologically impossible, that Chaucer may have owed his

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framework to Sercambi, a third-rate imitator of Boccaccio whom an Italian historian unkindly but not unfairly describes as 'in generale insulso, goffo, grossolano,' should move him to the ecstatic exclamation, 'it is too good to be true.' Thus Mr Cowling, however unintentionally, leaves us with the impression that much of his praise of Chaucer is but a concession to established criticism and that if only all the *Tales* could be traced to Italian sources his cup of joy would run over.

Mr Cowling's list of errata is not complete. Two additions might be gleaned from his opening paragraph.

J. H. LOBBAN.

LONDON.

Problems in Shakespeare's Penmanship. By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM, M.D. New York: The Century Co. for the Modern Language Association of America. 1927. xvi + 241 pp. $ 4.

'The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore' (A Bibliotic Study). By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM. New York. Privately printed. 1927. 135 pp.

The publication in 1923 of *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More*, by a group of English scholars, aroused the interest and invited the criticism of students of Shakespeare throughout the world. The arguments of this book in support of the belief that the Three Pages were Shakespeare's autograph writing demanded serious consideration, and Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's position, based on palæographical considerations, was greatly strengthened by evidence from other sources. Notable Elizabethans on both sides of the Atlantic, including Professor Quincy Adams, and in Europe, have, on the whole, favoured the belief. Some, however, have definitely opposed it.

It is noteworthy that the one aspect of the massed arguments which lends itself most readily to varying impressions, the argument from handwriting, has been most generally seized upon by the sceptics. Professor Schücking, it is true, excluded this question from his valuable article in *Rev. of Engl. Studies*, January 1925. But it formed the basis of Sir Sidney Lee's vague scepticism, and of Sir George Greenwood's criticism in his *The Shakespere Signatures and Sir Thomas Moore*, and it was with similar weapons that Dr Tannenbaum entered the lists in *Studies in Philology* in April 1925 with an article on *Shakespeare's Unquestioned Autographs and the Addition to Sir Thomas Moore*. This article was followed up by a second in July 1925, *Reclaiming one of Shakespeare's Signatures*, and a third, on Shakespeare's will, in April 1926. These three articles form Chapters V, IX and X in the first of the two volumes which have now appeared and which embody the whole of Dr Tannenbaum's labours in this field up to the present.

Problems contains a lengthy discussion of the signatures and of the will, and concludes with a categorical statement that it is overwhelmingly evident that the writer of the signatures did not write the Three Pages of Addition D. *Moore* attempts to establish the genesis and date of the play, and to allot its various parts to their respective authors. Dr Tannenbaum

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decides that Munday was the principal author who, with the help of Heywood and Chettle, wrote the original play for either the Admiral's or Worcester's Men, and that the revision was carried out in collaboration by Kyd, Dekker, and an unknown poet of Strange's Company, for that Company, part of Dekker's contribution being transcribed by Kyd. In fact, Kyd was 'transcriber, editor, and stage-manager' (*Moore*, p. 89), as well as part author. This, according to Dr Tannenbaum, settles the date of the play as before Kyd's death in 1594, and before he was arrested in May 1593. It was therefore part of the anti-foreign agitation of the early part of 1593.

It is clear, from the sub-title of *Moore*, that Dr Tannenbaum lays principal stress upon modern 'bibliotic' considerations, and he explicitly claims a preparation for his study which involves such a scientific and technical mastery of the evidence of handwriting as lies beyond the powers of ordinary palæographers, whose judgment he disables, but may be found among modern handwriting experts who practise in courts of law. But Dr Tannenbaum underrates the attainments of palæographers, some of whom, for instance, are aware of, and have described, the variations in the scripts of Tudor England which, it is strangely asserted (*Problems*, p. 8), have never been pointed out. The most ordinary palæographer, indeed, would know too much to speak of any one script as being '*the* old English script' (*ib.*). It is unfortunate that 'graphiology as an exact science,' to quote Dr Tannenbaum (*Problems*, p. 7), leads him in one instance to identify Massinger's hand with that of a passage in *The Faithful Friends* (Dyce MS 10, facing p. 69), an identification which in my opinion is patently impossible on 'graphiological' grounds (*Moore*, p. 68). It also leads him to celebrate as genuine the signature in the British Museum copy of Montaigne's *Essays*, and to use it as part basis for his argument (*Problems*, Chapter IX). But it leaves him only 'fairly certain' (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. America*, Sept. 1927, p. 781) that the stage-adapter of *Believe as you List* (Egerton MS 2828) wrote the Prologue and Epilogue in that manuscript, an identity which the present writer has proved conclusively with the further help of the Dyce MS of *The Honest Man's Fortune* and the British Museum MS of *Bonduca*. And the whole argument concerning Kyd's hand is not likely to commend itself to the careful or competent reader.

While modern science in this form appears to be most uncertain in its application, Dr Tannenbaum's criticism is nevertheless welcome, for it should serve a useful purpose. Competent palæography has proved its value abundantly, but in the problem of *Sir Thomas More* the argument from handwriting has been unduly stressed, and indeed over-stated, both by the advocates of the Shakespearian hypothesis and by their opponents. It has recently been re-stated by Dr Greg more guardedly (*Times Lit. Suppl.*, Nov. 24 and Dec. 1, 1927), and it needs to be used only in this tone and in due proportion to other lines of argument which have been generally ignored, and which form a cumulative mass of evidence.

To meet the argument as a whole, the critic must produce an alternative author, capable of writing drama of the character of Addition D within

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a certain limit of date (excluding all those whose known handwriting, or other considerations, disqualify them), whose known plays permit arguments to be applied in his favour parallel to those adduced in Shakespeare's favour by Professor Chambers and Professor Dover Wilson. It has not been sufficiently grasped, indeed, how small the field of candidates really is. Dr Tannenbaum, at any rate, realises this limitation. It is, again, false logic to assert that the want of absolute and independent cogency in one argument out of a series of converging arguments invalidates the whole or deprives it of cumulative force. No handwriting expert could mislead a good jury on such a case as this. Now in the absence of such a candidate, the hypothesis offered must hold the field, unless an impossibility of acceptance be adduced. Dr Tannenbaum, I imagine, will stand alone in his belief that the evidence from handwriting offers such an impossibility. And we refuse to accept Sir George Greenwood's division of the argument into two separate propositions, the palæographical and the literary. Critics of the theory implicitly accept this general view when they seek to substitute alternative dramatists, and this is a sign of grace. Professor Schücking proposed Heywood, and was involved in the assumption that Addition D was a scribal copy, and in other difficulties. Dr Tannenbaum, with the range of authors contained in Dr Greg's *Literary Autographs* before him, is able confidently to identify the writer of Hand A with Chettle, a confidence which most students will justly share with him, and the writer of Hand B with Heywood. It is not the case that this latter identity 'has not heretofore even been guessed at' (*Moore*, p. v), for Dr Greg originally pointed out the similarity of Hand B to Heywood's hand in 1923 (*Shakespeare's Hand in Sir Thomas More*, p. 44, note 1), as Dr Tannenbaum tells us himself (*Moore*, p. 56). He then refused to 'venture on an identification,' but it is reasonably certain to my mind. Dr Tannenbaum's identification of Hand C with Kyd is untenable, however. As for Hand D, while he rejects Shakespeare, a note on *Moore*, p. 63, suggests that he was casting a wistful glance upon Peele, with an eye to the Three Pages, and that he was bent on filling all vacancies out of Dr Greg's collection. He is obliged, however, to leave this vacancy unfilled in the end and, in place of Shakespeare, we are presented with a distinguished Unknown belonging to Strange's Company.

It will be clear by now that these volumes contain much criticism of distinct value, much that will stimulate reconsideration of this important question, along with a great deal that is unfounded assumption, false deduction, and misstatement of fact. We are at a loss, for example, to understand in what sense Dr Greg's transcript of *Sir Thomas More* for the Malone Society is modernised and sophisticated (*Problems*, p. 90, note 31). Does Dr Tannenbaum really still hold that the Revels Accounts of 1604–5 and 1611–12 are forged (*ib.*)? His promise to substantiate this belief (*Problems*, p. 193, note 24) awaits fulfilment. Few will agree that Professor Schücking has disposed of Professor Chambers' arguments, or that Professor Dover Wilson's evidence may be ignored (*Moore*, pp. 74–5). Dr Tannenbaum's contention that the play must have been written before

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1597, because it was censored by Tilney (who by the way was never *Sir* Edmund), cannot be countenanced (*Moore*, p. 18). Tilney was writing perfectly 'firm' signatures in 1599, to the present writer's knowledge, in the Court of Chancery, and censored *Cupid's Whirligig* as late as 1607 (*S.R.* 1607, June 29). Finally, the belief that Kyd wrote Hand C underlies and influences the whole argument of *Moore*, and the structure built upon this belief is suspect throughout, this foundation being unacceptable.

Dr Tannenbaum's presentation of his views, the result of enthusiasm and persevering industry in a field of study which is more perilous than most, is accompanied by a wealth of reproductions of documents of handwriting (including a remarkable collection of spurious Shakespeare signatures) numbering 126 in all in the two volumes. While most are excellent plates, some are poor, notably that of Fol. 13 *b* of *Sir Thomas More* (*Moore*, p. 94). *Problems* gives us also a half-tone facsimile of the Will in three sheets. We are grateful for this generosity, which will make the volumes precious to the student. With this in mind, we regret that Dr Tannenbaum has made it more difficult to follow his arguments by using for his references Professor Tucker Brooke's version of the play in his *Shakespeare Apocrypha* instead of Dr Greg's Malone Society edition.

CHARLES SISSON.

LONDON.

Sir Charles Sedley, 1639–1701: *a Study in the Life and Literature of the Restoration*. By V. DE SOLA PINTO. London: Constable. 1927. xi + 400 pp. 21*s*.

We think this is not quite Dr Pinto's first appearance in the field of literary scholarship, but it may be said at once that this admirably thorough study might well be the work of a much more experienced hand. The patience and acumen of his wide-flung research is beyond praise; however much may be due to the excellent facilities afforded to the modern scholar by the minute information amassed in such a work as the *D.N.B.* Dr Pinto has done all that could be done to set the career of a man of considerable importance to his own time in a truer light, showing him not only as the youthful wit and debauchee for which he has generally and justly passed, but also in his later life as a serious and useful politician of independent judgment, and as a self-respecting and respected family-man. With steady skilful hand Dr Pinto disentangles his actual literary output from baser accretions which the carelessness of succeeding editors or the enterprise of contemporary publishers has permitted to gather round it; and presents to us one for whom literature, indeed, was much more of a grace than a passion, a scholar and thinker who, though he might turn his lyrics deftly, was really more concerned with the attainment of a certain standard of cultivation, and later with the social well-being of his countrymen, being little troubled with high literary ambitions and therefore unsoured by literary disappointments. Seen in this book, Sedley's earlier Restoration life, and that of his chief companions, sinks into its proper position as one not of mere wallowing,

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but largely of defiant pose that affects a love of wickedness for its own sake, while in reality it desires no more than the liberty of self-assertion and some freedom for the play of natural instinct. From a complete surrender to the devil in us the repentance of a Rochester, the well-poised later career of a Sedley and a Dorset, are hardly to be hoped.

Bristling as Dr Pinto's pages are with learned reference, they go with a swing, they are never cumbrous. And further the book excellently justifies its comprehensive title. Not Sedley alone is illustrated, but all the members of his family, and his companions and connexions: besides the central trio, we have Etherege, Chesterfield, Mulgrave, Shadwell, Dryden, Pepys, and many another, so far as they touch him, in friendship or enmity. Not but what we think the author a little errs on the side of lenience, a little strains his distinction (pp. 78–9) between 'the few real Wits,' animated by a genuine taste and a scholarly love of the Latin poets, and the crowd of satellites who aped their excesses without their redeeming grace or ability. There is something in this, but not much. It was in fact impossible for Dr Pinto to be quite impartial. Forced to make the best case he can for his disorderly clients, he holds before himself the merely literary supremacy of Falstaff, and claims the same indulgence for these actual sinners. With a purpose more benign than that of Comus he hurls into the air the 'dazzling spells,' the 'magic dust,' of Restoration wit and brilliance. However well meant, it will not do. A moment's comparative glance at the corresponding courtly figures before and after is enough. Raleigh, Leicester, Drake, to say nothing of gentle Spenser, if not stainless, were not of this coarse type: if Sir Richard Grenville chews his glass, and even Sidney is brutal on one occasion to his father's steward, there was an aura of chivalrous loyalty, of generous patriotism, of grand achievement, about these Elizabethans. And, later, think of artistic Wotton, of dignified Hampden and Falkland, of intellectuals like Kenelm Digby and Sir Thomas Browne: think of Addison's pure sunshine, and frail but honest Dick's loyalty to his friend and worship of his Prue! We quite admit that it is largely Charles' fault if his gentlemen can make no better show; and perhaps it is only this touch of partiality, or 'literary impartiality' as Dr Pinto would put it, that makes his book such tolerable and even pleasant reading, while his industry has made it one which no literary scholar can wisely neglect.

Not its least interesting feature are the letters, sayings and doings of four of the Sedley women, Lady Elizabeth Sedley, Sir Charles' mother, Lady Katherine Savage, his first wife, who developed a mild form of insanity and left him to live on an allowance in a convent at Ghent where she outlived him, dying in 1705, Katherine Sedley, their only child, and Ann Ayscough, a woman of beauty and sense who made prize of Sedley after his first wife's departure, and with whom he went through some form of marriage in April 1672. Of her no good stories are related—except the best, that she reclaimed her erring spouse, and probably nursed his wasted estate, too, into recovered health. To her influence ultimately we probably owe his highly useful political career as a Parliamentary free-lance

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in the time of William III. He had sat in Parliament before, both in 1668 and onwards, and in 1679, without putting in much attendance or giving more than silent votes for the Court party. Our book, which has deftly skirted politics before, treats this aspect in one collective Chapter VIII. We cannot here résumé its contents, but it appears to us to represent Sedley's most important contribution to the good of his fellow men, and we trust that Dr Pinto's forthcoming edition will include his speech on the pensions of April 1690, that on a standing army after the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, as well as the *Reflections* of 1689, whether certainly his or not.

Sedley's not very large literary output is discussed in 60 pp. as against 241 devoted to his life; while a following 84 pp. contain, in four Appendices, some original letters and other illustrative documents. The notes of Oldys and Joseph Haslewood are fully printed, and not the least interesting feature is a liberal excerpt from the Catalogue of Sedley's books sold on March 23, 1703—he had died near the end of August 1701. Unfortunately the evidence of this catalogue is impaired by the 'Addition of part of a Library of a late Eminent Divine'; and our editor's selection is merely hypothetical, though an accompanying analysis of his list goes far to justify his belief that most of its items are Sedley's rather than the unnamed clergyman's. He classifies them both by size and language. Homer's *Odyssey*, Plutarch's works, and Lucian's *Dialogues* are the only Greek, while Latin authors are numerous, many are French, and Italy is represented only by Guicciardini, *Il Cortegiano* and the *Pastor Fido*. A large proportion was published after 1670. Indeed this potential library gives us a better impression of Sedley's intellectual status than we have ever been able to derive from his verse. Of something under a score of lyrics selected by anthologists we quite allow 'Phyllis is my only joy' as very happy, and 'Phyllis Knotting' rather less so, and let us add with a kind of happiness unlikely to issue from an utterly depraved person: and we like several others, particularly 'As in those nations where they still adore' (to which Dr Pinto must be right in assigning Millamant's denial of a lover's power to constitute beauty), 'Not, Celia, that I juster am,' and 'Ah, Chloris! that I now could sit'—a judgment that tallies with that of most people, from whom we should nevertheless differ in our failure to find Sedley's verse so very charming even at its best. There are few of his pieces which he has not spoilt by continuing beyond the point where he was happy, or by some colloquial or commonplace lapse in mid-career. We should refer Buckhurst's term 'witchcraft' not to a happiness of general conception, though we admit such in four of those specified above, but to the *curiosa felicitas* he often shows in a single phrase or stanza, e.g.:

> Age from no face took more away
> Than youth concealed in thine,

or

> Where change itself can give no more
> 'Tis easy to be true.

Sedley's verse is always smooth, but its diction is hardly ever choice

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and sometimes quite tame: he has much more of the versifier's skill than the poet's imaginative fire; but even so his rhymes are bad. Not one lyric utterance of his affects high feeling; all is on the level of courtly grace and wit: and his later life, which parallels Waller's in serious interest, shows nothing to correspond with 'The soul's dark cottage,' etc. Nor do we rate Rochester, though more passionate, or Buckhurst, though more hearty, very high. None of the three approaches Waller, Carew or Herrick as poets; and Dr Pinto's claim that Sedley founds the polished *vers de société* seems curiously oblivious of the first and earliest of these. Perhaps his chief praise is to have caught well some of the lighter tones of Horace.

In regard to the plays we are at the disadvantage of not yet possessing them, and can only be grateful for the 35 pp. which discuss them, as it seems to us, with a most judicious balance. To compare *The Mulberry Garden* and *Bellamira* with their respective sources in Molière and Terence was very proper, and the editor's remarks on the two incompatible strains of dialogue in the former piece may be quite just, though they might also hit the juxtaposition of comic and sentimental in the plays of Steele, Goldsmith and Sheridan. To a complicated plot, if really well managed, we have no objection at all; it is precisely the point where Ben Jonson generally, and Fletcher often, fail, while some of our own most recent work strikes us as painfully thin and hungry. A mere juxtaposition of humours or characters, or a succession of strong situations, may make a pleasing and successful, but cannot make a powerful play, which requires strong cumulative interest. Dr Pinto hardly enables us to divine the whole issue of *The Mulberry Garden*, though his remarks on Jonson and Beaumont and Fletcher as predecessors of Restoration comedy seem good and clear enough. We agree about the merit of the dialogue and the close imitation of Falstaff in the passages he quotes from *Bellamira*. But for his attempts at tragedy, we should have said that Sedley was very well aware of his own limitations. Dr Pinto, at least, is very well aware of them, and dismisses these efforts curtly enough. We trust his forthcoming edition will print that joint attempt of Waller, Sir Edward Filmer, Sedley, Buckhurst and Godolphin, to translate Corneille in their *Pompey the Great* (1662–3)—it may constitute an interesting puzzle in authorship: but when he says (p. 80) that Buckhurst undertook the last Act, he is forgetting Dryden's pointed allusion to the fourth Act as Buckhurst's in the dedication to him of the *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*. 'Orinda to Poliarchus,' 1705, certainly seems to confirm this, and Dryden writing within some two or three years of the production can hardly be mistaken.

A more serious error lies, we think, in Dr Pinto's view (p. 89) of the river-excursion of the famous *Essay* as an actual fact. So vigorously imagined and well written is that framework that many, no doubt, have shared his opinion. But when we read that Buckhurst, one of the party, was that day (June 3, 1665) serving on board the Duke of York's ship off Harwich and saw the Dutch Admiral Opdam's flagship blown up alongside, and note that the dedication to Buckhurst himself sketches the subjects of the discussion as though Buckhurst knew nothing about

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it, we begin to have our doubts: and when we recall, further, that Pepys' first mention of the Plague is on April 30, that it is 'growing on us' on May 24, that he himself sees the fatal red cross on two or three houses in Drury Lane on June 7, mentions on the 10th that it is 'three or four weeks' since it began, and on the 14th counts 112 deaths for 'this last week,' and 43 the week before—we feel it extremely unlikely that Dryden himself will have remained in town till the day of the battle. By that time the theatres were closed or closing, and Dryden with his wife had probably already fled to his father-in-law's at Charlton in Wilts, where the *Essay* was subsequently composed. There he could easily hear of the great sea-fight and of the noise of the guns heard in London, which Pepys, writing on that day, confirms. Doubtless Dryden had often been down river: Howard, his brother-in-law from 1663, was known to him at least as early as 1660; to Buckhurst the *Essay* is dedicated; nor is it at all unlikely that he knew Sedley too at this date though exact proof be wanting. But there does seem some initial improbability that precisely such a party should be arranged, or should accidentally arise, in actual fact; for Howard seems to have been a rather grave, severe and dignified person, and not of Buckhurst's or Sedley's kidney at all—the distinction is even hinted at in the beginning and the end of the *Essay*. That would be no reason why Dryden, on a purely imaginary occasion, though founded on previous knowledge of and possibly discussion with them, should not bring together these four figures under feigned names to represent four different dramatic attitudes. His avoidance in the *Essay* of all mention of the Plague, and his 'crowd of French people merrily dancing' after their landing, is merely the *mise en scène* proper to an auspicious occasion. Two other unlucky slips, we trust, may be assigned to the printer. On p. 53 '*Arcades* acted by the Countess of Derby's children about 1653' should of course read '*grand*children about 1633'; while on p. 268 (near bottom) '*Thraso* called back his patron' should obviously read '*Gnatho*,' as implied by the preceding 'He sends Thraso away' (cf. *Eunuchus*, v, viii, 38, 58).

R. Warwick Bond.

Nottingham.

The Life and Works of Edward Moore. By John Homer Caskey. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1927; London: H. Milford. vii + 202 pp. $2.00.

Research, however thoroughly and impartially executed, which has yielded us so many prizes must occasionally draw blank. It is no disparagement to the admirable industry of Dr Caskey if Edward Moore, for all he can do, turns out, with one exception, a person of quite inferior literary interest. Though there is no needless belittling of a man of honest enough purpose and some usefulness to his time, it is quite clear from the critic's closing summary that he feels Moore almost negligible from a literary point of view. In the one work where he transcends negligibility it is even possible that more might be said for him; but the ramified affiliation of an immense crop of native and especially foreign

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work attending it—an investigation faithfully performed and exactly proper to such a treatise—has a little scanted the praise bestowed upon it. Dr Caskey's very faint praise is confirmed by what he quotes and by our own knowledge. Moore's *Fables* are learned from Gay and directly indebted to his; and though he succeeds in writing cheerful and pleasant octosyllabics, his verse has nothing like Gay's attraction and his rhymes are extremely careless. His 'Songs' are naught—the merest compilations of idea and phrase to be found in the verses of every magazine, though good enough perhaps for their Vauxhall destination. To two of his plays Dr Caskey's patient research may even seem to attribute more importance than they deserve. Putting aside *Gil Blas*, 1751, garbled, in an effort for originality, from Smollett's translation of Le Sage's novel, anyone who will read *The Foundling* (1748) immediately after Steele's *Conscious Lovers* (1722) cannot fail to perceive that it is a mere *réchauffé* of that play, with some changes which completely spoil a good piece of work. It never took a hold; though Moore, when he printed it, had the fatuity, as his dedication shows, to restore the passages which the audience had emphatically condemned on the first night.

His third piece, the tragedy *The Gamester*, produced February 7, 1753, is on a very different footing. Received with some initial hesitation, it ran for ten nights before Garrick's illness interrupted it, and later became one of the stock pieces of the English stage, very popular in America, and the subject of extensive translation, adaptation and imitation in Germany, France, Holland and elsewhere. Its courageous attack on a vice then pervading all classes was even less remarkable than its abjuration of the received notions of Tragedy. Exalted personages, foreign or ancient scene and date, elevated language, stately blank verse or couplet, or even more stringent classic rules—all these Moore swept aside to show us in prose dialogue a London *bourgeois* household, whose master together with his most loving wife is steadily ruined by a villain pretending friendship, with a gang of sharpers for his tools. Original in this marked change Moore was not: Lillo's two pieces of 1731 and 1736 had anticipated both the modern *bourgeois milieu*, the criminal element, and the prose; and the subject-matter, found crudely in the Elizabethan *Yorkshire Tragedy*, had been developed in Moore's direction, with the addition of a sufficient villain, in Aaron Hill's *The Fatal Extravagance* of 1721. But Moore must have greatly intensified and improved it. His play aroused passionate feelings: it spread far and wide through Germany in two years' time; it was translated by Diderot in France in 1760, and adapted by the Academician Saurin in his *Beverley*, 1767, when it made a *fureur* in Paris, while Voltaire applauded, and others who demurred at the strange change in public taste were half carried away. Unawares Moore had made a revolution; and, frankly, he is not at all the person from whom we should have expected such. Yet what can awake deep feeling must needs have deep feeling behind it; and we can only suppose that his marriage in 1750, and the failure of his *Gil Blas* shortly after, had bred a strong, if brief, revulsion from the smart worldliness or recklessness of the town to an earlier

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and simpler state of feeling, which inspired this passion of pity for a faithful wife, of sympathy for an infatuated man, of divine justice on a hardened villain, and of desire to remedy a crying social evil. Its dramatic effect was to breathe a healthy vigour into an English Tragedy that had long been growing effete; but this concentrated opposition of extremes of vice and virtue is not a road that can safely be followed for long, and to-day we are sensible enough of the weakness of melodrama. Shakespeare, indeed, had called forth the same emotions by the same opposed extremes; but, whether by reason of his broader canvas or his grander as well as his subtler powers, we certainly do not condemn *Hamlet*, *Othello* or *King Lear*. Our modern distaste for melodrama, which reacts a little on its prototype, rests rather on its gross exaggerations, its frequent basis of false assumption, its obvious pursuit of sensation rather than nature. These charges cannot fairly be brought against *The Gamester*, though narrowed, like *L'Avare*, to a single vice. Its chief fault (we could perhaps find others) is that, while pretending to abjure verse, he fills great part of his play with a bastard rhythm which incessantly suggests blank verse, but is neither verse nor prose.

By a somewhat singular paradox a month before the first performance of Moore's play there appeared (Jan. 4, 1753) under his editorship the first number of *The World*, which Dodsley had just established to be the organ of fashionable society. As with the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, religion and politics were taboo, fashionable society was to be the subject, and the rallying of fashionable vices and follies the object; but Moore was no Addison or Steele, and the literary tone was noticeably absent. Among the list of contributors that Dr Caskey collects are several aristocrats; but perhaps Chesterfield (23 papers), Horace Walpole (11 or 12—his first published essays), Richard Owen Cambridge (21), and Dr Joseph Warton (1), are the only names of literary repute, and Moore himself was quite incapable of giving the redeeming tincture. George, Lord Lyttelton, Moore's constant supporter, was diligent in rallying recruits, but does not seem to have himself written: and Johnson, though his own *Ramblers* had lately ceased, could hardly look with favour on a paper with which Chesterfield was connected—Dr Caskey notes Moore's vain mediation between them (p. 138). Joseph Warton, writing to his brother, lamented its 'sad sameness of subjects of high life,' while George Colman roundly dubbed it 'the most pert and insipid paper which is published': but it pleased the class for which it catered, a class generally indifferent to literature, but very well aware whether it is entertained or not. They bought it at a rate that varied between 2500 and 3000 a week, and it ran for four full years, being formally closed in an editorial by Moore himself, Dec. 30, 1756, with the alleged object of securing a better sale for the collected volumes, if limited to six. Three had already appeared on March 14, 1755: before the second set could be issued on March 5, 1757, Moore himself was dead (February 28) of inflammation of the lungs, having not yet completed his forty-fifth year.

R. Warwick Bond.

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L'Auteur de la Farce de Pathelin. Par Louis Cons. (*Elliott Monographs*, xvii.) Princeton, New Jersey: University Press. 1926. viii + 179 pp. $ 1.80.

'Pour apprécier Pathelin, il n'est pas nécessaire de savoir qui l'a écrit. Mais quand on le sait, la vieille farce n'y perd rien. Et la vérité gagne quelquechose.' In these words M. Cons concludes an enthusiastic and scholarly attempt to solve the question of the authorship of the *Farce* and to explain some of the obscure allusions in the text which are so intriguing to the modern reader.

M. Cons' work is divided into two parts. In the first he deals with the hypotheses of his predecessors. Unsupported as they are for the most part by critical arguments, including such diverse names as Guillaume de Lorris, Villon, Blanchet, Antoine de la Sale, Pathelin himself, les clercs de la Basoche, in fact 'Tout-le-monde et Personne,' M. Cons has little difficulty in disposing of them. Having done so, he proceeds to clear the ground for his own thesis. He first determines the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem* of the *Farce*, placing the date of its composition between the years 1464 and 1469. The date settled, he proceeds to locate the author and his work, pointing out how various indications, such as the value of the *écu* and the flourishing state of the drapery corporation at Rouen at that date, seem to indicate Normandy as the 'lieu d'origine' and a Normand as the author of the *Farce*. Not that the author himself is engaged in the drapery trade. On the contrary there is every indication that 'Pathelin vient non du palais mais de l'église,' and it is, according to M. Cons, to this 'milieu clérical' that we owe not only its anonymity, but also its extreme decency, the numerous allusions to clerical and monastic life, and the obvious familiarity of the author with Plautus, Terence, Aulus Gellius and Martial.

Having thus prepared the ground in Part I, M. Cons shows his hand without delay in Part II, and introduces us immediately to the author on whom he fathers the famous *Farce*. One of the best poets of the whole fifteenth century, 'un écrivain qui, comme versificateur, fut pour le moins l'égal de Villon, de Charles d'Orléans et de Martin le Franc,' Guillaume Alecis, author of the *Faintes du Monde* and the *Blason de faulses Amours*, fulfils all the conditions necessary for the vindication of his title to be the author of *Pathelin*. M. Cons shows from Alecis' works (made accessible since 1908 by the edition of A. Piaget and E. Picot in the series of the Société des Anciens Textes) that his conception of society and of justice is very exactly that of the author of *Pathelin*, that his works abound in allusions to the themes, expressions and personages in *Pathelin*, that he is the first author to use the word *pathelin*, and that in the *Faintes* he actually plays upon words and lines in the text of *Pathelin*. Furthermore in a manuscript of the Abbaye de Lyre, of which Guillaume Alecis was a monk, M. Cons has found the autograph signature of Guillaume Alecis in close juxtaposition to a poem entitled *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* which also contains many reminiscences of *Pathelin* and may be due to the same author.

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It is impossible in a brief space to follow M. Cons in his attempts to identify certain characters of the drama with certain personages connected either with the Abbey of Lyre or a neighbouring abbey. Some of his points in this connexion may seem a little far-fetched, as, for example. when he explains the allusion to the 'reines des guitares' who has just given birth to twenty-four 'guiternaux' by a humorous reference to the name of the Abbey.

As regards his main thesis, the thought that strikes one on reading M. Cons' skilfully worked-out theory is the extreme unoriginality of an author who plagiarises his own work to such an extent; who quotes himself and actually 'plays upon' passages in his own works. The 'concordances' and the similarities pointed out by M. Cons between *Pathelin* and the works of Alecis are very striking and deserve serious attention, but one is loth to attribute this lack of originality to the author of the famous *Farce*.

JESSIE CROSLAND.

LONDON.

André Chénier et la poésie parnassienne (Leconte de Lisle). Par C. KRAMER. Paris: H. Champion. 1925. 300 pp. 25 fr.

This volume is of the kind of which it is difficult to speak with enthusiasm. M. Kramer has undertaken the tracing, through the various phases of Leconte de Lisle's poetic evolution, of a persistent current of influence, the source of which is the poetry of André Chénier or such of it as was known to the Parnassian poet. The task is peculiarly arduous, because Chénier is a poet's poet, whose discreet music sings itself into the ears of the initiated and leaves them enriched and unaware. It is distasteful in this connexion to use the word 'influence.' We do not mind speaking crudely of the 'influence' of that up-to-date poet Victor Hugo; his thunder is still rumbling in the rafters and quelling the small and exquisite voices of Rimbaud and Verlaine. But for Chénier we would fain find a finer word, some tender and pleasing assemblage of syllables to describe the stealthy invasion of harmony and its obstinate indwelling in us.

Our grievance against M. Kramer is that he has failed to make a distinction of this kind. His book is divided into three parts. In the first he treats briefly of the influence of Chénier on the great Romantic poets (in which connexion he says on page 16 that Lamartine was not sufficiently an 'artiste pur' to appreciate the more cunning beauty of André) and their lesser contemporaries: in the second, he seeks this influence in each poem and pronouncement of Leconte de Lisle; and in the third gives us his conclusions. It may be said at once that M. Kramer has proved his case as he understood it. His quotations, taken one by one, are not always convincing; but, in bulk, they leave no doubt in the mind of the impartial reader that Leconte de Lisle owed a great deal to the author of the *Bucoliques* and *Hermès*. The accumulation

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of evidence is such that M. Kramer may well lose his reader before he gets to his conclusion. One cannot balance oneself for ever on the tenuous *arête* which separates the probable from the impossible. The conscience becomes fatigued discussing with itself whether it can accord each successive inch required to make up M. Kramer's ell. But, as M. Necker said when his *château* was pillaged, 'le genre admis,' the job is well done. M. Kramer has fulfilled the letter, if not the spirit of his contract.

An examination of the section entitled 'Conclusion' will show why we make reservations as to the spirit. This section contains some thirty pages and in these are recapitulated the very examples which occupy the body of the book. Now we had waited patiently for this 'conclusion,' and hoped greatly that it would explain *why* Leconte de Lisle borrowed so largely from Chénier and what, other than mere words, he got out of him. Surely we are not wrong in supposing that quotations are the beginning and not the end of the matter, otherwise such enquiries as the present one will be curious rather than useful. The scholar who considers that his duty is at an end when his 'fiches' are safely transferred to printed paper is unduly humble in his estimation of his responsibilities. From M. Kramer's conclusion we can only conclude that he could have said in thirty pages what has taken three hundred. It cannot be that this is the only one he intends us to draw or that, having written a book on Leconte de Lisle, he does not think enough of him to interrogate his soul. We borrow only what is already in us, thoughts of which we have had inkling, emotions to which we kindle, rhythms buried deeply in ourselves. Vigny borrowed much from Chénier and Victor Hugo little. Why? Leconte de Lisle much and Baudelaire little. Why? We say nothing against M. Kramer's book, except that it leaves such matters out. If M. Kramer had been content with thirty pages, this objection would have no force. As the book has three hundred, we hope he will consider, or reconsider it. His skill is such that he has made us swallow gnats and camels indiscriminately and with appetite, and we look therefore for a further volume beginning where the present one leaves off.

D. G. Larg.

London.

Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance. By Roger S. Loomis. New York: Columbia University Press. 1927. xii + 371 pp. $ 6.

Since the late Sir John Rhys, in the *Hibbert Lectures* for 1888, and *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, 1891, attempted to prove the derivation of Arthurian romance from Celtic, specifically Welsh, mythology, and that attempt, connected as it was with his adhesion to the 'solar interpretation,' championed by Max Müller, failed to convince the general body of scholars, the question of the mythic origins of this fascinating body of romance has suffered a lengthy period of neglect. Now Mr R. S.

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Loomis comes forward with this important and interesting work, the object of which is to prove that the Arthurian heroes—curiously enough not Arthur himself—and the tales connected with them, are all recognisable survivors of figures and themes of early Irish mythology. We might, indeed, almost say 'of a figure,' as Mr Loomis, to use modern scientific parlance, appears to be afflicted with a 'Curoi complex' and sees in the majority of the heroes of our romances representatives of the old Irish god, Curoi, who was at once a solar deity, and a storm, and vegetation god (*vide* Table, p. 356).

Now we may say at once that, in view of certain modern criticism, which sees in Arthurian romance only the product of conscious literary invention, and refuses to take into account the possibility of any effective tradition earlier than the short period covered by the last quarter of the twelfth, and first quarter of the thirteenth centuries, which saw the composition of our existing romances, such a work as this is both justifiable and welcome. Nor must it be supposed that Mr Loomis' standpoint is entirely to be identified with that of Sir John Rhys: solar elements do, indeed, enter largely into his interpretations, but these are qualified by their position as parts of a 'vegetation' conception—much water has flowed under the bridge in the forty years since Rhys wrote, and Mr Loomis has not been insensible to the magic of *The Golden Bough*.

Adequately to review so lengthy a book, and one packed so closely with controversial matter, would require far more space than is at my disposal, and I must here confine my remarks to the writer's method in general, and to his treatment of certain special themes in particular.

One point to which the writer attaches great importance, that of the derivation of names, requires examination by itself. I do not propose to touch upon it here, preferring to leave a discussion of the many problems raised to those better versed in these bewildering transmutations, the outcome of which appears to me to be in the present case, as in that of Rhys' work, the creation of a mythic protoplastic mass, in which all individuality is lost, and any section of which equals any other section. The heroes, however diverse their adventures, become, subjected to this process, *ab origine*, one and the same. I would only remark that I do not accept the derivation of Gurgalain, given on p. 73, preferring that suggested by Prof. Kittredge, in his study on *Arthur and Gorlagon*, where the interpretation *Were-wolf* goes far to explain the presentation of Gurgalain as a devourer of human flesh[1]. Also I consider the derivation of Lancelot from Llawwynyeawc, or Llenlleawc, clearly impossible, and unnecessary in view of Dr Brugger's demonstration, in his study on Warnke's edition of the *Lais* of Marie de France, that the name was well known on the continent. Lancelot is not a Celtic name, nor was that hero of Celtic derivation[2].

To turn to the main question: I hold the writer's method to be radically

[1] Cf. Kittredge, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
[2] Cf. *Zeitschrift für franz. Sprache*, vol. XLIX, pp. 459–65.

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unsound. It will, I think, be conceded by all critics of popular literature that there are three well-marked stages of evolution: (1) 'Myth,' (2) that in which Myth becomes 'Folk-tale,' (3) that in which Folk-tale crystallises into literary convention. Our Arthurian romances belong to this final stage. There are clearly folk-lore themes to be identified, and the research scholar will detect behind those themes a mythic origin; but it would be hazardous to suppose that the writers of those romances had any consciousness of the origins of the material they were utilising. Take, for instance, that well-known and widespread theme of the giant with the external soul. Certainly the tale was once told of Curoi, but have we any right to assert that it was told of him primarily, or exclusively? Is it not obvious that the countless tellers of this story, one of the most popular of Folk-tales, told it merely as a good tale, and were ignorant of the fact that it had once been connected with an Irish god? Again, we must surely admit a progressive stage in the romances themselves. The characters in the pseudo-historic versions, which admittedly precede the romance texts, are a small and well-marked group compared with those who figure in the poetical romances, and they again are other than the crowd which fills the stage in the final cyclic forms, such as, e.g., the prose *Tristan*. Heroes such as Lancelot, Perceval, and Tristan (to say nothing of Galahad, an obviously literary invention, non-existent outside the cyclic versions in their final form), belong to independent stories, and their connexion with Arthur is one of gradual growth. Yet Mr Loomis ignores all such progression, and treats all versions precisely on the same footing; for him the writers of the *lais*, and the compilers of the late and laboured cyclic texts, possess the same evidential value. Moreover, he appears to hold that these writers were, one and all, fully conscious of the original character of the material with which they were dealing. Such an uncritical use of texts renders the basis of the structure fundamentally unsound.

We are confronted with this defect at the outset. Mr Loomis starts with an interpretation of the sculptures on the Northern doorway of Modena Cathedral, which he assumes to be generally accepted. So far as I am aware, this is not the fact. That the scene represented is a version of the abduction of Guenevere is, in my opinion, exceedingly doubtful. It corresponds with none of the extant versions, which nowhere represent the abductor as a giant. Where the castle in question is surrounded by water, the villain of the piece is a simple knight; where the abductor is a magician, as in *Lanzelet*, the castle is surrounded by a thicket infested by serpents. In order to provide a coherent explanation, the author is compelled to invent a tale which introduces features and figures from the prose *Lancelot*, a compilation of admittedly far later date than the sculpture. For my own part I do not find the interpretation in any sense convincing; it seems far more probable that we have here, as Prof. Singer has suggested, the representation of two separate and distinct stories: that on the right being, so far, unidentified, while that on the left represents an incident drawn from the *Ider* story, which certainly formed a very early part of the Arthurian *corpus*. Incidentally, I do not

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recall any instance of a castle in romance which possessed *two* barbicans, and upon which an assault was made front and rear. Surely, if Mr Loomis' interpretation were correct, Arthur and Gawain would be engaged in a joint attack upon the main entrance?

Yet it is upon this very doubtful foundation that Mr Loomis has reared his magic edifice, and builds it up brick by brick with dogmatic assertion, but with a regrettable lack of critical argument.

As remarked above, I have only space to touch upon certain points upon which I hold the author to be specially mistaken. Chapter VIII (*Gareth and Lynette*) should be carefully compared with the original in Malory; it will be seen that the actual text affords little ground for the author's elaborate assumptions. The story is obviously a late one, the names of the characters point to an advanced (prose *Tristan*) stage of evolution, and the tale cannot fairly be used as an argument for original sources, Celtic, or otherwise.

The writer constantly refers to the one-eyed Herdsman in *Ywain*, whose original he finds, of course, in Curoi. In common with other scholars he ignores the fact that this is the form under which, in many parts of Europe, the vegetation Spirit is known to-day—he is a one-eyed monster who herds all the beasts of the forest—and that this monster has often a female counterpart, sometimes known as 'la Demoiselle Sauvage[1].' I would commend this fact to the author's careful consideration, it would seem to account quite satisfactorily for the hideous maidens we find associated with the Grail.

The attempt to identify the sister of Perceval with such a Grail Messenger (Chap. XXVII) must be decisively rejected. The whole section dealing with this question is based upon a confused misconception of the texts, which not infrequently issues in sheer misstatement, e.g., to say that Perceval's sister does not appear in texts where he has a wife, is quite wrong, both figure prominently in Gerbert. In Chrétien and Wolfram alike, where he has a wife, he has also a foster-sister, a character which, belonging to the *Perceval-Grail* group, obviously gave the suggestion for the sister of the *Grail-Perceval* versions. The wife, found in the primitive, *Syr Percyrelle*, version, belongs to the original story, which knew nothing of the Grail. To say (p. 276) that the story of a queen or princess, a ruler in her own right, besieged by the army of an unwelcome suitor is 'the same episode' as the attempted abduction of an ordinary maiden, is to presume on the supposed ignorance of the readers. The Lady of the Car, who plays the rôle of Grail Messenger in *Perlesvaus* —where the sister is, of course, prominent—is in no sense a 'Loathly Lady.' True, she has lost her hair, but this defect is not apparent till she removes her head-gear, and any one familiar with the miniatures of Mediæval MSS will concede that the head-dresses of the period, as generally depicted, would effectually conceal any such lack. Otherwise her good looks are insisted upon.

Thus, in Chrétien and Wolfram, we have wife, foster-sister, Grail Messenger, all three clearly differentiated characters. In Gerbert, wife

[1] Mannhardt, *Baum und Feldkulte*, vol. II, p. 126.

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and sister. In *Perlesvaus*, Grail Messenger and sister. Only in the prose *Perceval* and the *Queste* does the sister appear alone. Wauchier can here hardly be brought into the question: his *Perceval* section is fragmentary, and obviously derived from different sources, but he, too, knows Blanchefleur as well as the sister. This section should be discarded from any future edition of the book.

The attempt to fix a 'mythic' interpretation on the names of Blanchefleur and Florie must be rejected; by the end of the twelfth century such names had become stereotyped and had no more 'nature' significance than Rose, or Lily, would have to-day. And does Mr Loomis really ignore the fact that in Old German 'göttinne' simply means 'Faery,' and is no indication of divine origin?

With Mr Loomis' theory of the origin of the Grail in a vegetation ritual, I am, naturally, in essential agreement, though I have grave doubts as to whether the cult of Demeter and Kore really played any part in the evolution of our romances. The proposed reconstruction of an Irish Grail ritual (pp. 269–270) seems a not impossible hypothesis, but, at the same time, such a rite as here postulated could not have given birth to our Grail romances. The footnote on p. 269, in which the writer criticises my suggested reconstruction of the Grail Initiation (*The Ruined Temple, The Quest*, vol. VIII), practically gives away the whole case. He remarks that I attribute to these rites a mystical significance 'for which there seems no warrant in the texts themselves (!) nor in what we know of Irish religion.' There is the position in a nut-shell—the Grail romances *are* mystical, that is generally recognised, and, if we are to seek their origin in an earlier ritual, it must have been one possessed of a mystical and spiritual element, capable of interpretation in Christian terms, and such a ritual is, by Mr Loomis' own confession, not to be found in Irish tradition. On the other hand we know that the *Attis-Adonis* cult *did* possess such an element, and that it *was* closely associated with Christianity.

I have given evidence for this in *From Ritual to Romance*, and further evidence on the point has since come into my hands. Mr Loomis is, no doubt, quite unaware of the fact that the relation of these Mystery Religions to Christianity is to-day a burning question of theological debate, and that the most cautious and orthodox of critics are prepared to admit that these rites formed, so far as the Gentile world was concerned, a '*Preparatio Evangelica*'; the crude animalism of the ritual here postulated could never have fulfilled this purpose.

Such an origin could never account for Borron, *Perlesvaus*, the *Queste*, or *Parzival*. But, after all, the author admits that no trace of such a ritual exists in either Irish or Welsh tradition. He must also admit that no trace of Arthur and his knights is to be found in Irish romance; if Ireland be the land of their birth, they have long since been completely forgotten! In Wales, on the other hand, they are living personalities, and even the *Lives of the Saints* show the influence of the Arthurian tradition. The British King, and the figures of his pseudo-historic court, flit in and out of the life of St Cadoc, St Carranog, St Illtyd—this latter is even

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Arthur's cousin. After all, is not this silence sufficient refutation of the extravagant claims put forth in these pages[1]?

JESSIE L. WESTON.

LONDON.

Studi di Filologia italiana. Bullettino della R. Accademia della Crusca. Vol. I. Florence: Sansoni. 1927. 147 pp. and 4 plates. L. 15.

This volume, the first of what promises to be a periodical of singular interest and importance for all students of the Italian language, is fittingly introduced by a preface from the illustrious president of the reconstructed Accademia della Crusca, that veteran master in these matters, Pio Rajna. Since its reconstruction in 1923, the Accademia della Crusca has undertaken the publication of two series, one of critical texts under the general title *Autori classici e Documenti di lingua*, the other as *Studi di Filologia italiana*, to be the *Bullettino* of the Academy, containing supplementary and preparatory researches together with isolated texts of smaller dimensions. The first series has been splendidly inaugurated by the volume, edited by Alfredo Schiaffini, *Testi fiorentini del dugento e dei primi del trecento* (Florence, Sansoni, 1926), beginning with the well-known 'Frammenti' of the 'Libro di conti di Banchieri fiorentini' of 1211. It is to be followed by a volume of western Tuscan texts (Pisano-Lucchesi) and another of southern Tuscan (Aretine and Sienese). We are promised also critical texts of the *Decameron* and of the *Novelle* of Franco Sacchetti. The second series is represented by the issue before us, which opens with a most important study by Michele Barbi, 'Sul testo del *Decameron*.' In the following article, 'Lo Zibaldone magliabechiano è veramente autografo del Boccaccio,' Giuseppe Vandelli confirms the view—first put forward by Ciampi and since then questioned by Hauvette amongst others—that the commonplace-book bearing the above title in the Biblioteca Nazionale, containing a mainly historical medley in Latin, is the work and in the hand of Boccaccio. A third article, again by Michele Barbi, 'Per una nuova edizione delle Novelle del Sacchetti,' reveals some of the problems which will beset the editor of the critical text. Here the case is very different from that of Boccaccio: the only early manuscript, itself imperfect, disappeared after it had been copied by Borghini in the sixteenth century. In the fourth place, as a specimen of minor texts, we are given an unedited version—here edited by Barbi—of the well-known fifteenth-century story (once erroneously attributed to Antonio Manetti), the *Novella del Grasso legnaiuolo*, an excellent example of the spoken Florentine idiom.

[1] With regard to the 'Incest' and 'Infant committed to the Waves' story, the author may be reminded that this is a primitive and folk-lore theme. It is as old as the story of Perseus; it is found in *Apollonius of Tyre*, and figures in Gaelic folk-tale. Instances will be found in Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*. It is surely hazardous, in the case of so well-known and widespread a story, to concentrate upon one version, and a hypothetical Irish origin. Let us admit that Celtic Mythologies, whether Irish, Welsh, or Breton, have a common origin, and that what we may call family characteristics exist between them, but to insist upon a purely Irish original for what is admittedly of non-Irish development, is to create confusion, and to invite a generally hostile criticism which is only too likely to overlook the value of some of the evidence.

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The recent edition of the *Decameron*, edited by Aldo Francesco Massèra in the *Scrittori d' Italia* (Bari, Laterza, 1927), while marking a distinct advance upon the time-honoured text of Fanfani, does not claim to be in any way definitive; it contents itself, as its editor writes, with the modest task 'di costituire il punto di partenza della fase ultima della storia del testo.' It is mainly based upon the Berlin manuscript, which of late years—mainly through Tobler and Hecker—has eclipsed the fame and authority of the Mannelli manuscript of 1384 (in the Laurenziana) which, from the days of Borghini and the sixteenth century, was regarded as a copy from Boccaccio's autograph. Barbi, in the study before us, has shaken the authority of both these manuscripts. The result of the preference given to the Berlin codex is merely the substitution of one idol for another (p. 13), and he shows very clearly that neither of these two manuscripts, nor the group which they represent, can alone afford a sure text of the work. He inclines to the view that, even as Boccaccio composed more than one redaction of certain of his works (notably the *Vita di Dante*), so the variations, not unfrequently substantial, offered by other types of manuscripts of the *Decameron*, may be due to Boccaccio himself, and that there may well have been several autographs in existence. The 'proemio' to the Fourth Day of the *Decameron* seems to imply that the work was published in instalments, which would open the way for considerable variants in revisions. Barbi does not, however, altogether exclude the possibility that the traditional text 'può ben derivare da una delle ultime trascrizioni del Boccaccio' (p. 47).

A point of singular interest arises out of the notorious sub-title. At the beginning and end of the work, we read: 'Il libro chiamato *Decameron*, cognominato *Principe Galeotto*.' Understanding this second name in its traditional sinister sense, Hauvette suggested that it was an addition of Boccaccio's own in later life, after his conversion, as a repudiation or a warning in the spirit of his letter to Mainardo Cavalcanti. Massèra (*op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 351, 352), in spite of the almost unanimous testimony of the manuscripts, uncompromisingly rejects it as an interpolation, on the grounds that, if we take Galeotto as type of a mere pandar or go-between, Boccaccio would never have been guilty of 'quel basso screditamento dell' opera propria,' and that, if we accept the character of the 'haut prince' as given in the French romances, and take him as 'simbolo dell' amore cortese,' his name would be in flagrant contradiction with the nature of the book. Here Barbi (pp. 53–54) shows good reasons for holding that the sub-title is in all probability due to Boccaccio himself, and that the character of Galeotto, not as a 'turpe mezzano,' but as the 'cavalleresco messo d' amore,' the helpful friend of Lancelot in need, is thoroughly in accordance with the purpose that the writer himself professes in the *Decameron*.

Every student of Arthurian literature knows that the figure of Galehaut, 'lord of the far-off isles,' as he appears in the *Lancelot* (and to a less degree, derivatively, in the prose *Tristan*), is one of the noblest in mediæval legend—though he has been deprived of most of his real

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significance in the pages of Malory. It is noteworthy that Italian, in one of the *Conti di antichi cavalieri*, possesses, combined with motives drawn from both French romances, an account of his boyhood which does not seem to be found elsewhere. Dante unquestionably knew the *Lancelot*, and most probably the *Tristan* likewise, at first hand. But, while accepting real or supposed facts that he found in his sources, he maintained considerable freedom in the moral judgment that he passed upon them—as we see strikingly exemplified when his treatment of Brutus and Cassius is contrasted with their characters as portrayed by Lucan. In spite of this knowledge on his part, I cannot but feel that the famous line (*Inf.* v, 137), 'Galeotto fu il libro e chi lo scrisse,' as uttered by Francesca, has (like the preceding 'Caino attende chi a vita ci spense') the force of a bitter imprecation. But the prefix 'principe,' given to Galeotto, shows that Boccaccio had in mind, not Dante, but the original romance, which his commentary upon the fifth canto of the *Inferno* makes abundantly clear that he knew directly. That 'li sires des Lontaines Illes,' the builder of the castle of the 'orgueilleuse emprise,' should thus have given his name to the *Decameron* is among the more curious reflections of the Arthurian legend in Italy.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Nordiske Myter og Sagn. Med kulturhistorisk Indledning. Af VILHELM GRØNBECH. Copenhagen: Povl Branner. 1927. 247 pp. 7 kr. 50.

In his presentation of Norse Mythology and the legendary sagas of the North, Professor Grønbech, as he explains in his Introduction, has attempted not a translation of his sources, but a re-telling or an imaginative reconstruction (*gendigtning*). Recognising how often a literal rendering of an old text will fail to awaken in a modern reader that response which the author intended to evoke, he has aimed at bringing out the implications of the originals, 'so as to restore to the words the life which they at one time had.' Professor Grønbech goes on to explain that he has in certain cases combined his sources in the same way as the author of the *Volsungasaga* combined the various traditions relating to Sigurth and the Gjukungs.

So clear a statement of aim and method should disarm criticism, and it would be ungrateful not to welcome an introduction to Norse mythology and legend, in which the language so happily fits the theme and in which the author's imaginative understanding has indeed made the old stories live again.

Yet without any great change in the scheme of the book, and without pedantically overburdening it with critical apparatus, it would have been possible to cater not only for the general reader but also for the reader who is curious to know something of the ingredients of the dish served up to him. It is true that the Introduction gives the names of some half dozen works suitable for further study, but a short statement at the beginning of each section of the sources used and their relative value would add immensely to the usefulness of the book.

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The skill with which the author brings order and consistency out of his diverse material is admirable, but an uneasy doubt arises whether in some instances too much has not been sacrificed to produce an effect of unity and completeness. It is startling, for instance, to find the Old English poem which once bore the name of the 'First Riddle,' introduced without comment into a narrative which otherwise follows closely the Norse *Vǫlsungasaga*. Schofield's conjecture that these lines actually represent the lament of Signy, daughter of Vǫlsung, is singularly attractive, yet this interpretation of the most obscure of Old English elegiac poems has by no means met with general acceptance, and the use to which Professor Grønbech has put it is surely misleading.

As a matter of course the section on mythology depends chiefly on the *Eddas*, and many of the stories are based upon a single source, a poem of the *Elder Edda* or Snorri's prose. The matter becomes more complex, however, when the sagas of Icelanders and the 'Kings' Sagas' are drawn upon to illustrate the cult of the gods or the superstitions of the people. This material is different in kind from the presentation of mythology to be found in Snorri's *Edda*, or even in the *Elder Edda*, and one could wish that the author had emphasised this distinction. This material in itself, however, is of great interest, and special attention must be drawn to the section headed 'Krist og de gamle Guder.'

The second part includes the more important of the sagas which go under the name of the *Fornaldar Sǫgur*, as well as legends from Saxo. The adventures of Beowulf's youth are, moreover, woven into the Scandinavian version of the story of Denmark's early kings. Amongst these heroic legends, somewhat surprisingly, appears matter from the *Islendinga Sǫgur*, viz., the earlier part of *Vatnsdœla Saga*, chosen, no doubt, as preserving an account of many early customs and beliefs. Between the substance of these sagas and the legendary sagas it is difficult to draw a clear line, but a distinction there is, and it would have been helpful to the reader if the distinction could have been indicated.

The main part of Professor Grønbech's book offers so pleasant a feast that one is led into the unmannerly course of asking for certain things which he has not thought good to provide, not least an index of personal names. The Introduction, however, gives more than the most exacting reader could demand, and its twenty pages include, without anything of the dullness which commonly attends compression, a critical appreciation of the *Germania*, in which is emphasised Tacitus' Rousseau-like attitude to the simple folk whom he at once patronised and idealised, a survey of the Migration and Viking Periods, and an excellent sketch of Norse literature and mythology.

MARGARET ASHDOWN.

LONDON.

Historische Grammatik der niederländischen Sprache. Von M. J. VAN DER MEER. I. Band. Einleitung und Lautlehre. (*Germanische Bibliothek*, I, 1, 16.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1927. cliii + 353 pp. 16 M.

The avowed intention of this highly important work is to explain the

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historical grounds for the differences between Modern German and those languages of the Netherlands which we in England call Dutch and Flemish. A secondary aim is to set forth the linguistic evidence bearing upon the rôle of the Netherlands as a meeting-place of Germanic and French culture and to assess the importance of this factor in separating Netherlandish and German.

A classified bibliography of our chief sources of information—more specialist works being detailed in well-filled appendices in the body of the book—is followed by an 'introduction' of over 120 pp., which lays sound foundations for the interpretation of the phonological characteristics of both native and foreign forms. French loans take up 74 pp., High German 18 pp., English 6 pp. and Indian 4 pp. This first volume presumably completes the phonology. It makes us eager for a discussion of the other aspects.

Our appellation *Dutch*, now much restricted in geographical range, preserves the earliest historical names of the Netherlandish languages used by the speakers themselves, viz., *Dietsc* in Flanders and *Duutsc* in the other regions including Holland. The word *Nederduits* used in the sixteenth century by way of contrast to *Hochdeutsch* survives to-day only in the title of the Dutch Reformed Church. *Nederlands* (cf. German *niederländisch*) is the recognised generic term which comprises *Hollands*, *Vlaams*, *Afrikaans*, etc. It is to be hoped that this term *Netherlandish* will come into general use over here as well.

The autochthonous dialects of the Low Countries are Frisian, Low Saxon and Low Franconian. Frisian is stoutly maintaining its independence, though Mr Hof warned us at the Leeuwarden All-Frisian Congress (September 1927) of the insidious danger of 'Dutchification' from within. Blends of Franconian and Frisian are seen in the *stadvries* of the towns (with ever-growing dominance of the Dutch elements during the last forty years), on the island of Ameland (pure Frisian 1786) and in Het Bildt (a colony of Dutch immigrants who drained the marshes in the seventeenth century). The Frisian spoken north of the Ij about 1600 A.D. has left its traces in the Dutch dialects of the north-west. Franconian and Low Saxon blend in south-west Veluwe. The Low Saxon of the Netherlands never developed a separate literary language except for the short-lived efforts of Anabaptists in the sixteenth century.

The Low Franconian or nuclear Netherlandish dialects fall into three main groups: (1) Dutch-Franconian, of which the Northern dialects show more Frisian traces than the West Flemish grouped with them, (2) Brabantish, which goes back to the Salic Franconian, and (3) Limburgish, which continues the Ripuarian.

Of the heterochthonous dialects the chief to-day is *Afrikaans*. Some of its sounds point to South Netherlandish dialects. Its simplification or 'deflexion' is due to contact with a creolised Malayo-Portuguese pidgin brought by slaves from the East Indies. Its literary rehabilitation is in full swing, especially since its official recognition in 1924. On the whole its set is away from the Dutch standard (*Hooghollans*) in contradistinction to contemporary Flemish which is seeking a 'rapprochement'

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to that standard to strengthen its hands in the struggle with French.

Forms of Dutch creolised by Sudanese and Bantu slaves persist in the *Negerhollands* of St Thomas (on a Flemish or Zeeland basis), the *Djoe-Tongo* transferred from the Portuguese Jews of Brazil to Dutch Guiana, the *Ningre-Tongo* of Suriname and the *Papiamentoe* of Curaçao.

The American Dutch of the early colonists was finally superseded in New York by about 1800, but survives in an agricultural community in Bergen County, New Jersey. English is rapidly disintegrating the Dutch speech of recent settlers in Michigan.

During the Dutch occupation of Ceylon (1656–1802) the medium was a creolised Portuguese with Dutch words. Recently an Afrikaans preacher has received a call to Colombo! In the Indies the Malayo-Portuguese pidgin has given place to purer Malay. Dutch children brought up by native nurses are apt to shift the stress and use native syntactical moulds.

The author next gives us some glimpses of the historical development of Netherlandish. Apart from the Wachtendonck fragments of a Low Franconian psalter of the ninth century and the Limburgish poetry composed by Heinrich von Veldeke in the twelfth century (reconstructed behind a High German version), our first document is a West Flemish deed of sale, drafted at Bochout in 1249. Flemish becomes more prominent with the growing power of the craftsmen after the Battle of the Spurs (1302). Throughout this and the subsequent periods attempts are made with varying success to adapt the Latin alphabet to Netherlandish phonetics. All texts are dialectically coloured, but no text mirrors the patois of a specific village.

During the fourteenth century the leadership in literature passed to Brabant and the Brussels sub-dialect of Brabantish is represented by Ruusbroeck. The Burgundian rulers fostered Netherlandish, which was used more and more in intercourse with the Hanse towns. The Renaissance is marked by efforts to unify, regulate and standardise. Lexicography advances from the vocabularies of the fifteenth century to the largely original observations of Kilian. At the end of the sixteenth and in the next century purists seek to purge the mathematical vocabulary (Stevin) and legal terminology (Grotius); their successful equivalents are the envy of German purists to-day! Vondel, while developing the resources of elevated diction, does not abhor the speech of common folk. With him and his contemporaries the preponderance of the Dutch form of Netherlandish is assured. In the squabbles about spelling a scholar here and there shows knowledge in advance of his time, e.g., Petrus Montanus with his surprisingly modern views on phonetics in 1635 and ten Kate in 1723. Orthographic unity has not yet been achieved in Holland any more than in Flanders.

Of foreign influences on the vocabulary French is far and away the most important right from the outset. Brabant was the focus of dispersion of French knighthood. Dutch counts married French princesses, commercial bonds were always strong, and the Burgundian rulers greatly accentuated the social influence of French. Calvinism and the Napoleonic

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wars brought further increments. The Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond (founded 1898) is trying to perform a task like that of the analogous German institution. All the same the Flemish writers more consciously turn aside from the Gallicisms which threaten their very existence, than do the more securely placed Dutch.

German influence is traceable from the sixteenth century onwards. Germanisms were deliberately introduced by some Renaissance writers as an antidote to French words; others were less consciously brought in by the soldiers and the seamen. Perhaps the author might have told us more of that countervailing movement which carried Dutch words (not only nautical terms, but a number of 'domestic' expressions as well) into the Island and North Frisian dialects and into Scandinavian, e.g., Sylt, *trekpot*, etc., cf. E. W. Selmer, *Sylterfriesische Studien*, pp. 149 f. In more recent times German labourers, handicraftsmen and hawkers have frequently sought their fortunes in the Eastern provinces. In our own day many German business men are settled in the great cities. However, German literature, especially technical literature, perhaps exerts a still stronger, because more subtle, influence. True, there is a certain reaction against the German philological terms, but it will be more difficult to make a clean sweep of all the words in *-haftig*, *-matig*, *-wezen*, *-vol*, etc.

English loans are pretty late. Some of the Dutch industries in the first half of the nineteenth century were at first staffed with English workmen. More recent phases of English influence are seen in the rise of parliamentary institutions, of sport (with the inevitable purist reaction) and now the American film. In the list of Anglicisms *stemvee* seems to belong to German *Stimmvieh* rather than to English *poll-cattle* in spite of a possible pun on the English 'poll' (Du. *kop* and *stem*).

Detailed discussion of the rich chapters on Phonology must be left for Dutch specialists. A few points, noted by the reviewer, may deserve mention: p. cx *uitlander* claimed as a loan from English *outlander*, whereas the *N.E.D.* prefers to posit Dutch origin in view of Kil. *uutlander* (Ger. *Ausländer* is late eighteenth century as against M.H.G. *ûzlendisch*), cf. *duffel* likewise claimed as English, p. 229, though the English word is currently derived from the town of Duffel near Antwerp and the author does not state if he regards Du. *duffel* as a recent re-borrowing through English sailors; p. 12, *aarzelen*, cf. North English dialects *arsle*; p. 26, *greep*, cf. N.E. English *gripe*; p. 28, *rimpel*, cf. English forms with *wr-*, though the Du. form indicates *hr-*; p. 61, *sluik* 'glatt' (vom Haar) is consonantally and semantically so much like Engl. *sleek* (M.E. *slike*), *slick* that one may suspect that it is due to a contamination between *sleyck* (Hexham) and the verb *sluiken*; p. 65, *touwer* 'tanner,' cf. the specialisation of English *taw*; p. 94, *pit* 'kernel' has passed into American English; p. 226, *hondekaak* 'dog biscuit,' cf. this meaning of *cake* at the time of Defoe; p. 227, the *ĕ* of *herrie* < *hurry* and *kerrie* < *curry* is not necessarily due to Dutch sound-substitution, as it may represent the Cockney pronunciation with tongue advanced; p. 227, the *ĭ* of *brits* does not represent English [*i:j*], but the current short sound of the plural *breeches*; p. 228, *kieper* for *goal-keeper*, whereas the English slang abbrevia-

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tion is *goal* or *goaley*; ibid., the *iche* of *fiche* 'scoring peg' is more likely to be due to the French *fiche*, the origin of the English card-term *fish*; p. 229, *boot*, add reference to the attempt to prove a Norse origin of this important word by J. Sverdrup, *Har Norden faat baaten fra England?* (*Maal og Minne*, 1922), a view which has not passed unchallenged; ibid., *blunder* occurs not only in English, but also in Sylt-Frisian *blün'er* (which B. P. Möller regards as an English loan).

This stimulating work carries out on the comparative and historical side the work so ably accomplished by Van Ginneken and others on the descriptive side. Let us hope it will help to foster in England an interest in those Germanic languages, which are so close to us both in their geographical position and in their structural and lexical characters.

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

God, Man, and Epic Poetry. A Study in Comparative Literature. Vol. I, Classical. Vol. II, Mediæval. By H. V. ROUTH. Cambridge: University Press. 1927. Vol. I, x + 232 pp.; Vol. II, xii + 284 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.* each.

The sufficiency of the current methods of literary study has rarely in our day been so powerfully challenged as in this very remarkable and important book. But Mr Routh's challenge is grounded upon an astonishingly comprehensive mastery of the studies which he finds insufficient; he is no eclectic or philosophic outsider, attacking the army of specialists, but a specialist himself, for whom specialism is indispensable, but not enough. He might have written a pamphlet, expounding his ideas; he has preferred to give us a book, packed with erudition and alive on every page with organising and constructive thought, to illustrate them.

God, Man, and Epic Poetry is, on the face of it, a comparative study of the Epic in ancient and mediæval times. But its real subject is the heroic appetencies of the Spirit of Man, as expressed or adumbrated, under diverse conditions of age, nationality, and genius, in Epic poetry. There is no question of continuous history, of a record of development or decline as such, of a chronicle of events or books important only for bibliographical completeness. Thus the first of these two massive volumes is almost wholly concentrated upon the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and the *Æneid*. Even Apollonius Rhodius, who had, when all is said, one of the greatest of heroic stories to tell, is barely mentioned. But this is deliberate exclusion, involved in Mr Routh's method and aim, which was to illustrate, not to catalogue. But if his method is selection, his selective procedure is of the kind which calls into play, has room for, and demands, the highest kind of literary and philosophic scholarship; such scholarship as went to the making of Ker's *Epic and Romance*, and Mr Chadwick's *Heroic Age*. If the discussion centres upon Homer and Virgil, and chiefly upon their presentation of heroic character, its material is drawn from every corner of the vast field of civilised and uncivilised history, which Homer illustrates, or which illustrates Homer,

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from Plato, Fénelon and Goethe to *The Golden Bough* and the newest Minoan discoveries. We pay admiring tribute to the power of will (to put it in the simplest way) which has compelled immense stores of varied learning to arrange themselves along the intricate and difficult involutions of his theme, feeding and enriching it, without betraying him into the archæological, folk-lorist, or philosophical byways which everywhere allure. His book is an example of heroic and sustained resolution, congenial to its subject.

And it is easy to see, even without the aid of his title, that his attitude to Homeric heroism, and to heroism at large, is determined by factors more personal than a colourless encyclopædic curiosity. No aspect of the Homeric warrior or of Homer escapes his notice; he distinguishes, for instance, the 'melancholy' of Homer from 'adolescent discontent' and the later 'melancholy' of the philosophers; or shows how the poet's interest in atrocious mutilations on the battlefield is consonant with his sense of beauty. Yet, clearly, his own strongest interest in the whole heroic age lies in its attitude to divine things, its modes of worship, its ideas of the after-world, its gods in their relation to men. Of Olympos he writes: 'To the present writer it seems incontestable that the immortals of Homer represent one of the greatest efforts of the epic spirit. Without them the mightiest "eaters of the fruits of the earth" would lose their indescribable touch of superhuman grandeur and we, the students of Homer, would have missed perhaps the most valuable of all insights into Man's ways of enlarging and fortifying his self-esteem.' In the very striking third chapter he traces some moments of this creative evolution; the gradual subjugation of the primeval religions of fear and magic by the doctrine of Fate, of ancestor-worship by a cult of the qualities most admired; the upbuilding of heroic character itself by the imagined companionship of gods and goddesses who listened to prayers and interposed immortal aid. In the subsequent chapters, on the *Odyssey* and the post-Homeric epics, the modifications of the heroic spirit are similarly studied in relation with the concurrent changes in religious temper and belief. The evolution of the 'intellectual' hero from the 'warrior' hero is correlated with the decline in Man's confidence in the presence of the gods, and the need and growth of the capacity for ingenuity and resource, already prefigured in the hero of the *Odyssey*. We approach the core of Mr Routh's subject, as he conceives it, in the fascinating chapter devoted to those 'adventures into the next world,' those voyages or descents to Hades, in which the warrior's love of adventure and the curiosity of intelligence alike found, in the successive centuries of antiquity and beyond, a never completely fulfilled satisfaction.

Such 'adventures,' episodical only in the *Odyssey* and the *Æneid*, grow obviously in significance in the mediæval literature which culminates in Dante; and this is one of the lines of continuity which Mr Routh finds between ancient and mediæval epic, and which it is the controlling purpose of his book to set forth. The second volume, which works out the theme in the vaster compass and more complicated sequence of

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mediæval literature with an even more remarkable amplitude of scholarly and linguistic resource, concerns the readers of this *Review* more nearly than the first. But they would be ill advised if they confined themselves to it. Not only is the first more transparently organised, but the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the supreme exemplars both of epic and of the heroic spirits; while the mediæval volume is in large part occupied with the decadence or transformation of both. Christianity beyond question made for a disintegration of the 'epic' temper, whether by the simple application to it of a contrary rule of life such as induced old English converts, like Sigbert, to refuse to bear arms, or, more subtly, by discouraging Man's faith in himself. *Beowulf*, essentially pre-Christian in Mr Routh's view, is still true epic, of an original kind; the *Chanson de Roland* reflects a notable but transient fusion of the military and the Christian spirit. But the narrative poems of the later Middle Ages betray in various ways the decay of true epic. Mr Routh is here working out, but from an original point of view and with a profusion of fresh and acute observation, a distinction analogous to that which underlies Ker's classical *Epic and Romance*. His analysis of the various heroic or quasi-heroic types, from Beowulf, by way of Saxo, Starkad to Roland and Siegfried and Tristram and Lancelot is informed not merely with critical scholarship but with the penetrating apprehension of the heroic character which underlies the whole book. In the account of *Beowulf* it may be thought that he has allowed himself to be a little deflected by his sense of the 'continuity of epic poetry,' of which he frankly owns, 'I had no inkling when I began.' Beowulf, he finds, marks an advance upon the heroic conceptions of the Homeric epics. 'Though he is as zealous in the pursuit of fame as was Achilles or Diomed, he seeks for it in a wider and more civilised field, in the service of others.' But have we really warrant for the belief that the poem was 'the product of a race which had undergone more intellectual experiences and advanced further in material civilisation, than is the case in Homeric culture'? Mr Routh is the last to magnify an English poem as such; indeed, his book is incidentally designed to demonstrate the utter insufficiency of English and all other insularities for such inquiries as this. But does the temper which found complete satisfaction in the hunting of Grendel connote a richer intellectual experience than that which listened to the story of the wrath of Achilles? Or are the civil amenites of Heorot, or any of which we catch a glimpse there, suggestive of a 'material civilisation' superior to that indicated in the Shield of Achilles, and implied in the making of it?

But the continuity which Mr Routh finds between ancient and mediæval epic turns upon more far-reaching comparisons than these. In the second volume it is still more apparent than in the first that his controlling criteria are spiritual rather than literary, and that his handling of 'epic poetry' is determined by its character as a presentation of Man's relation to God. The transition from the hero of action to 'the intellectual hero,' described with fascinating wealth of illustration in the first volume, had no reaction of comparable importance in epic poetry as ordinarily understood. Its essence was not a new phase of creative power, but a

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discovery by thought and knowledge of the means of meeting and mastering the menace of supernatural peril. In the Christian mediæval world the menace of the supernatural was immeasurably more formidable, and the 'intellectual heroism' required for its mastery more slowly and precariously won. For the peril was nothing less than the doctrine of Original Sin, and the daring and brilliant synthesis which has apprehended the long struggle of mediæval thought from Erigena to Dante to allay this spectre or find a way to spiritual consolation in spite of it, as a phase in the history of the heroic spirit first presented by Homer, is the most remarkable and original feature of Mr Routh's book. Even the vitality of the doctrine he explains in epic and heroic terms; it was something to fight as well as to fear; and in fighting it mediæval man recovered the sense of significance which the consciousness of his 'Fall' so gravely imperilled. The doctrine of Redemption, from this point of view, clearly lent itself to an escape from the stress of sin, on Man's part, the reverse of heroic. But Mr Routh emphasises that its nobler exponents, like Anselm, 'insisted less on the prospect of rescue and alleviation than on the virtue of alliance with God; on the way the human race was thereby dignified, and how dependency on God was itself an ennoblement.' With great subtlety it is shown how philosophy, called in by Boethius in the most universal classic of the Middle Ages, to 'console' Man in adversity, became in the hands of the great scholastics an instrument by which Man recovered the consciousness of his own dignity, in the exercise of his own God-given reason. 'The real hero of the later Middle Ages' is the man who has thus rendered himself a worthy recipient of divine grace, and so put by the curse of Original Sin.

It is from this point of view that Mr Routh discusses the actual literary epics or quasi-epics of that age, and these discussions, often too brief, are singularly fresh. He traces with power and insight the effect of this spiritual heroism, thus conceived in transforming or qualifying epic tradition and material in the *Gudrun*, the *Gawayne* and *Piers Plowman*. Of these, Langland's work, where the edifying spirit is most conspicuously associated with artistic disintegration, is for Mr Routh 'the most illustrious of many failures to produce a scholastic and moral epic.... If the poet could have led his hero through a series of adventures teaching him the knowledge of God, the possibilities of his own nature, and the peace of mind which comes from the contemplative life, we should have needed to look no further for the most characteristic epic of the Middle Ages.' It is obvious that the Comedy of Dante is both allied to these examples of a spiritual transformation, and yet far vaster in the line of thought and development that it embraces. As an adventure in the next world it crowns the long series of 'vision' poems, where the hero explores a Hades or Purgatory, into which it never occurred to the authors of *Gawayne* or *Piers Plowman* to carry their story. And in his brief but illuminating 'Note' in the closing chapter, he justly insists that Dante's poem is a true spiritual epic, of which the hero is the greatest of visionaries, Dante himself. Dante is far enough from the militant temper of the secular epic; no great poet, as Croce affirms, ever had less of it. But his great

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enterprise, the discovery under the guidance of Virgil and Beatrice of the 'other way' to salvation, disclosed to the suffering and sinful humanity of his own and later generations a means of human hope and confidence. Thus, 'in the person of Dante... mediæval civilisation again reached the epic ideal of human sufficiency through divine Power—the conquest of fear and the satisfaction of Man's highest impulses.'

Mr Routh's volumes may not find many readers. They are too packed with allusion to be easily followed by the generally instructed reader, and they cumber the path of the specialist with a mass of things that he has no use for. But we welcome them as an essay of rare comprehensiveness in synthetic thinking applied to literature, and one informed on every page with the conviction that the supreme criteria in literature must involve the deepest things in life.

C. H. HERFORD.

OXFORD.

SHORT NOTICES

The most interesting paper in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* for 1926 (Band LXII, Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 254 pp.) is Fräulein J. Engelen's attempt, *Die Schauspieler-Ökonomie in Shakespeares Dramen*, to work out, with a series of tables, the minimum number of men and boy actors required for each play, given some doubling of parts, a reasonable time for change of costume, and a free use of supernumeraries for minor characters. She thinks eleven leading men and four boys adequate up to *King John*. A second instalment of the study is to follow. The *Festvortrag* was by F. Gundolf on *Antony and Cleopatra*. W. Fischer describes Tieck's annotations on copies of Ben Jonson; W. Vollhardt some Italian parallels to themes in *Hamlet*; and H. Anders some echoes, direct or indirect, of classical learning in Shakespeare. The usual surveys, chiefly by W. Keller, of books and periodicals and a bibliography by E. Hartl, covering 1923–26, complete a substantial volume. E. K. C.

An Introduction to the Reading of Shakespeare, by F. S. Boas (London: H. Milford. 1927. 112 pp. 2*s.* 6*d.*), is a valuable little book which furnishes a general preface to the works of Shakespeare, excluding from its purview matters dealt with in a companion volume in the series of the *World's Manuals*. Dr Boas aims at answering such questions as the unscholarly reader of Shakespeare might put to the expert, in the desire for a fuller understanding of the Plays and Poems, and gives him useful guidance on such matters as the publication of the plays, the progress of their dramatic art, Shakespeare's use of his material, his characterisation, his language, and the history of Shakespeare's reputation on the stage and in the study. Dr Boas is at his best in the final chapter on 'Shakespeare To-day,' which he writes with authority as an intimate participator in the activities of producers of the plays and of societies devoted to honouring and popularising them. It is the more surprising that in the list of such societies contained in Appendix III the name of

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the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, with its long and honourable record, should be omitted. The references on pp. 14 and 86 to the phrase 'stolne and surreptitious copies' revive an interpretation of the words of Heming and Condell which is not now accepted. And a sense of irony is stirred by criticisms of the editorial work of the First Folio which are based on mere guesswork on the part of modern writers, as when Dr Boas states, without qualification, that Shakespeare 'had merely touched up' *Titus Andronicus* (p. 15). After all, Meres included this play also. The book will serve its purpose admirably, and in addition it bears the impress of a mind steeped in literature and is delightfully written.

C. J. S.

University of Texas Studies in English, No. VI, 1926, forms a well-printed volume of 180 pages which is a credit to its editors and to the University Press. The organisation and resources that furnish such a medium for the publication of academic research, in a number of American Universities, must long remain, we fear, the envy of sister institutions in England. The value of this encouragement to research is shown in the sound quality of the articles published in this number. Mr C. H. Slover, appreciating the importance of Irish documents of Arthurian stories, in the establishment of the Celtic bases of the legends, gives a first instalment of some valuable work upon *Early Literary Channels between Britain and Ireland*. Treatment of relations between the Irish and the British Churches is to follow. The English Department of the University, we are glad to observe, is doing useful work in Elizabethan fields. Mr T. P. Harrison, Jr., in two articles, relates Montemayor's *Diana* to the *Arcadia* and to Shakespeare's comedies respectively. Elyot's *Governor* is treated as a source of literary criticism from which later sixteenth-century writers upon poetics drew not only ideas but phrases too, by Mr T. Stenberg. And Miss Sarah Clapp writes upon the confusing world of folk-lore in *The Old Wives' Tale*. While over 100 pages are thus devoted to the Elizabethans, later centuries are not neglected. *Pope and The Patriot King*, by Miss Fannie Ratchford, collates Pope's edition with Bolingbroke's 1749 edition, from copies of the rare originals in the Wrenn Library of the University of Texas. Finally Mr H. S. Ficke has an interesting note upon the indebtedness of Rider Haggard's *She* to Bulwer-Lytton's *A Strange Story*. The following instances, taken at random, suggest the need for more careful proof-correction: p. 110, l. 15, *they* for *thy*; p. 111, l. 20, *the* omitted; p. 140, l. 40, *u* broken type. Such a noun as *near-swoon*, on p. 123, is scarcely justifiable, even with a well-known topical parallel of recent birth to sponsor it.

C. J. S.

The Background of Modern French Literature, by C. H. C. Wright, Professor of French Language and Literature in Harvard University (Boston, Mass., Ginn and Co., 1926. xiv + 329 pp. 8*s*. 6*d*.), sets out 'to provide a helpful guide book for the better understanding of the writers of modern France and of the civilisation to which they belong.'

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Opening with a chapter on the geography of France, detailing the literary associations of the various districts, Professor Wright goes on to trace through the succeeding political régimes of the period 1789–1914 the trend of religion and politics, of philosophy and art, and their interaction with literature. With the aid of some fifty illustrations—contemporary pictures, caricatures, etc.—light is thrown on manners and customs and the various social types which are reflected in the literary productions of the period. In spite of numerous Americanisms which shock the ear of the European reader, anyone with an interest in the various aspects of the life of the period covered will find the *Background* to be an entertaining, well-balanced and illuminating volume. To the serious student, there is always an inevitable sketchiness in a work of this nature, limited to one small volume. Professor Wright has to some extent overcome this drawback by adding a well-chosen bibliography of over 150 items and a good index; and in spite of its limitations, his book will render a very real service to the young graduate who is setting out into the fields of research. B. N. P.

In Tome XXVII of the *Bibliothèque de la Revue de la Littérature Comparée* (Paris: H. Champion, 1926. xxxix + 123 pp. 35 fr.), M. Paul Hazard and Mlle Marie Jeanne Durry have produced a monumental edition of Chateaubriand's *Les Aventures du Dernier Abencérage*, just one hundred years after the first appearance of that work. The editors have had the good fortune to use a hitherto unedited manuscript whose owner remains anonymous. Two interesting pages are reproduced in facsimile. In the explanatory notes are set forth the variations between the MS. and the text of previous printed editions. The Preface contains an examination of the use made by Chateaubriand of his literary sources, of the part played by his personal memories of Spain and by his own sentimental reminiscences, and of the reasons for his tardiness in publishing the work. The bibliographical introduction shows the intense interest that the work has aroused throughout the century, not only in France, but in most of the countries of Europe and America. An appendix gives the songs 'Combien j'ai douce souvenance,' with the Auvergnat air for which it was written, arranged in 1806 by J. B. Bédard, for lyre or guitar accompaniment, and *Le Cid*, originally written by Chateaubriand to the air of *Les Folies d'Espagne*, with two musical settings for piano or harp accompaniment. B. N. P.

Miss Margaret Gibb's *Le Roman de Bas-de-Cuir. Étude sur Fenimore Cooper et son influence en France* (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée*, XXX. Paris: H. Champion. 1927. 228 pp. 30 fr.) deals at almost equal length with Cooper's novels and with the 'fortune' of the Leatherstocking group in France. In the earlier part, Miss Gibb shows herself to be a safe, just, and measured critic; moreover, when adverse, she is agreeably caustic. On the French translators and adapters we find many good things, and the long, careful research is simply and compactly expressed. It is perhaps a pity that Miss Gibb does not

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compare Cooper's popularity with that of Scott, who became famous in France some six years earlier than the American; from about 1842, both writers began to decline in popularity, Cooper much the more rapidly; both were at their height in the 'thirties, in the latter half of which Byron, often mentioned and advertised in company with the two novelists, surpassed Cooper and ran Scott close. The influence of the *Leatherstocking Tales* on the drama has been scantily treated, but that on the novel bears testimony to patient investigation and shrewd judgment, especially suggestive for *Les Chouans*. The direct imitators among the French novelists (e.g., Gabriel Ferry and Gustave Aimard) had no genius and little talent. The bibliography is adequate, though necessarily incomplete. Finally, Miss Gibb may be interested to know that, so late as 1851, the Salon contained a pleasant painting, *Le Dernier des Mohicans*, by Émile Wattier, who skilfully rendered one of the more intense incidents of a novel the most popular alike in France and elsewhere. E. P.

Three further numbers of the *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*, published by the Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, have appeared. Number XXII, *Sieben bisher unveröffentlichte Traktate und Lektionen. Schriften aus der Gottesfreund-Literatur*. 1. Heft (xxi + 105 pp. 3 M. 60), is edited with an introduction and notes by Philipp Strauch. The introduction (17 pp.) gives a convenient synopsis of all the texts here published for the first time, but does not deal with the problems connected with Merswin, Nikolaus von Löwen and the 'Gottesfreund.' The editor, to whom we owe much of what is already known on the subject, is of the opinion that no further progress in solving these problems can be made with the material at our disposal, and that we must wait for a re-examination of the whole of the 'Strassburger Urkundenmaterial,' especially of the palæography, before further progress can be made. With the publication of the present texts we are now in possession of all the literary activity associated with the names of Merswin and the 'Gottesfreund.' These texts occupy ninety pages. The notes (9 pp.), in addition to explaining unusual words and showing the influence of the Bible and patristic literature, aim at showing the connection of these texts with other *Gottesfreundschriften*, as far as language and style are concerned.

Number XXIII, *Merswins Vier anfangende Jahre, Des Gottesfreundes Fünfmannenbuch (Die sogenannten Autographa). Schriften aus der Gottesfreund-Literatur*. 2. Heft (xvii + 83 pp. 3 M. 60), is also edited by Philipp Strauch. The introduction (13 pp.) deals fully with the orthography and grammar, and three excellent photographic reproductions of leaves of the *Neun Felsen*, *Vier Jahre*, and *Fünfmannenbuch* enable the reader to study similarities and differences in the handwriting.

Number VII, *Heinrichs des Glichezares Reinhart Fuchs* (lii + 90 pp. 2 M. 80), is edited by Georg Baesecke. This text was first edited in this series by Reissenberger. Baesecke's work is not merely a revised edition of Reissenberger's work. The introduction is entirely rewritten, and the text has been newly edited directly from the manuscripts. The introduction (48 pp.) contains a contribution on the development of the

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Tierepos by Karl Voretzsch (24 pp.), and a description of the MSS., a study of their relation, and an analysis of the language by Baesecke. The text, which offers all the materials, occupies ninety pages. Baesecke's work has given rise to a considerable amount of adverse criticism in Germany. Much of this seems baseless, as Baesecke has shown in a further valuable contribution on Heinrich der Glichezare in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Band LII. A. C. D.

The title of Professor Emil Ermatinger's volume of collected essays, *Krisen und Probleme der neueren deutschen Dichtung* (Vienna: Amalthea-Verlag. 1927. 403 pp. 14 M.), is even less indicative of its contents than such titles usually are; nor is the 'Verwandtschaft der Stoffe und Einheit ihres Gehalts,' which he claims (p. 398) for the volume, very apparent, unless we are to find it in the recurrent emphasis of progressive evolution in the German mind from the Aufklärung through Romantic mysticism to the scientific outlook of the nineteenth century. This looking backwards and forwards, which is characteristic of most of these studies, gives them a spaciousness and value beyond their immediate theme. The contents of the volume range from the seventeenth century, touching there upon the problems of the baroque, on which Professor Ermatinger recently published a useful little book (*Barock und Rokoko in der deutschen Dichtung*, 1926), through the classical period, represented by a study of the spiritual background of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, to the Swiss masters of the nineteenth century, Keller and C. F. Meyer. Nearly half the book is devoted to Switzerland's contribution to German literature; and in this half Gottfried Keller predominates. Of the four items concerned with him, the address on his 'Lebensglaube' and the essay, 'Keller an der Scheide zweier Zeitalter' are particularly suggestive. The two studies with which the volume opens, 'Die deutsche Literaturwissenschaft in der geistigen Bewegung der Gegenwart' and 'Psychologie und Metaphysik im dichterischen Kunstwerk,' are concerned with that philosophical movement in German interpretation of literature which has borne valuable fruit in recent years.

J. G. R.

In *Selma Lagerlöf: Heimat und Leben, Künstlerschaft, Werke, Wirkung und Wert* (Munich: Albert Langen. 1927. 371 pp. 11 M.) Professor Walter A. Berendsohn of Hamburg has given us an excellent study of Sweden's most distinguished living woman writer. The Swedish and Danish monographs that have come to my notice are brief and of a popular kind; the best, indeed, is not Scandinavian, but a Dutch study by Christine Doorman (Rotterdam, 1925). Professor Berendsohn's book is on a larger scale than any of these. 'Der Versuch,' he says (p. 140), 'den Einfluss der mündlichen Überlieferung auf die Dichtung Selma Lagerlöfs darzustellen, ist der Keim und Kern meines Buches.' And in this he has succeeded. The salient features of her wonderful art are well brought out: its serenity, its intimate touch with the mother-earth of Värmland, its healthy naïveté—although Professor Berendsohn would

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expressly deny her this quality (pp. 17, 124), as also any affinity of her outlook to that of the older Romanticists (p. 177). Selma Lagerlöf's indebtedness to Carlyle's *French Revolution* (pp. 45, 233) is not, I think, so apparent to her English admirers as she herself believes it actually to be. More might have been said on her literary relations to Topelius. There is room for criticism of Professor Berendsohn's arrangement of his materials. Instead of giving us a steadily progressing critical biography, he divides his work into sections corresponding with his title, which involves more than once a retracing of his steps. The volume is enriched with interesting photographs and includes a bibliography; but with a little more enquiry in England and America a fuller record might have been given of Selma Lagerlöf's world reputation.

J. G. R.

It will be welcome news to students of the Romance languages to learn from a slip inserted in the last volume of Dr F. Ritter's *Bibliographie* (1924) (Supplement-heft XLIV of the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1927. vii + 234 pp. 24 M.) that the volumes containing the bibliography for the years 1912–23 are in manuscript and will be issued with as little delay as possible. That published in 1926 dealt with the years 1910–12 (Supplement-heft XXXV, XXXVI, vii + 535 pp. 40 M.).

Professor Paul Studer, who died in January, 1927, had occupied the chair of Romance Languages at Oxford with distinction since 1913, having previously been Professor of French and German at Hartley University College, Southampton. By his editions of the Anglo-Norman records of Southampton, of *Le Mystère d'Adam*, of the Anglo-Norman Lapidaries, and by a series of other scholarly publications he had attained a position in the first rank of Romance scholars. His death at the early age of forty-seven, coming after a long illness, left his family in financial embarrassment, with no adequate provision for the education of his three children. A number of his friends therefore met together, and decided that the best manner in which they could show their esteem and sympathy was to organise a fund to assist the children's education. Their appeal met with a good response, and at a meeting of contributors held at Oxford on November 26, 1927, the 'Studer Memorial Fund' was constituted for this purpose, and five Trustees were elected. It is thought that there must be many others who knew Professor Studer, either as friends or as pupils, or who without personally knowing him, appreciated his work and character, and would be glad to seize this opportunity of showing their regard for him. Further information, if desired, may be obtained from Miss M. K. Pope, Somerville College, Oxford, or from Professor E. G. R. Waters, 184 Woodstock Road, Oxford. Contributions may be sent to either of these, or paid direct into the account of the 'Studer Memorial Fund' with Barclay and Co., Old Bank, Oxford.

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(*b*) *Old French*.

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(c) *Modern French.*

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SIR WALTER SCOTT AND MARIA EDGEWORTH. SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

THE warm friendship existing between Scott and Maria Edgeworth originated with the letter addressed to the 'Author of Waverley' on October 23, 1814[1], in which she expressed her ecstatic appreciation of the novel and her gratitude for the charming tribute paid to herself in the 'Postscript which should have been a Preface.' That she had no doubt as to the authorship of *Waverley* is clear from the fact that she headed her letter with the words 'Aut Scotus aut Diabolus,' the exclamation of her father at the conclusion of the novel, which had been read aloud to the assembled family at Edgeworthstown. Communications had, however, passed at an earlier date. Richard Lovell Edgeworth, on hearing that Scott was meditating a tour to Ireland in 1811, had written, inviting him to visit Edgeworthstown (for Scott's answer, see below). He had written again in 1812 to assert the claims of his friend Dr Darwin to be the author of certain portions of poems which Miss Seward had published as her own[2]. Further, according to Lockhart, communications on literary matters had passed between Scott and Maria Edgeworth before the publication of *Waverley*[3]. This statement is borne out by a fragment of a letter from Scott to Joanna Baillie, which the latter sent to Miss Edgeworth; it was written before July 1, 1813, since in a letter of that date[4] we find a clear allusion to the last sentence of the fragment.

(Note by Maria Edgeworth; 'Bit of a letter from W. Scott to Joanna B. sent to me by Joanna Baillie.' The rest of the letter is carefully erased as is the name of the lady to whom reference is made in the first line.)

'As for Miss — I am sorry I have suffered in her good opinion but I cant cry. Some portions I thought had great merit—I never saw any other poem of hers—Miss Edgeworth is of a higher order—her pictures of life and manners are admirable the woman must have the eye of a

[1] Reprinted (from the privately printed *Memoir of Maria Edgeworth*) by Hare (*Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, I, p. 226).
[2] Printed in *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth* (2nd edition, II, p. 245), and mentioned by Scott in a letter to Maria (*Familiar Letters*, II, p. 17).
[3] Lockhart, III, p. 203. [4] *Familiar Letters*, I, p. 299.

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hawk; nothing escapes her in society and when we consider how fine the shades of character in our refined days have become and how difficult it is to trace them through the thick and uniform varnish of modern manners I have the highest respect for her penetration—pray see her if she come to town before you leave it—I would give a whole silver sixpence to see you together I never saw Miss Edgeworth but from her letters I should suppose her as simple and unaffected as she is certainly penetrating and accomplished[1].'

Of this earlier correspondence there is no further trace; but from 1818 onward there is a steady interchange of letters, and the friendship thus begun was cemented by the visit to Scotland of Maria (with her sisters Sophy and Harriet) in the summer of 1823. They were entertained by Scott in Edinburgh at the beginning of June[2], and in August spent a fortnight at Abbotsford. Two years later Scott visited Edgeworthstown (August 1825) and subsequently proceeded to Killarney, Maria Edgeworth forming one of the party. The last of the letters is dated July 23, 1830, and though the increased illegibility of the handwriting and the frequent slips in expression bear witness to the failure of Sir Walter's physical powers, the mind is still alert, and the last letter is as interesting as any of its predecessors.

After Scott's death Lockhart wrote to Miss Edgeworth asking for the use of the letters; 'Pray,' he writes in the postscript of a letter, dated November 14, 1832, 'have Sir Walter's letters to you copied out seriatim as far as you would like to trust me with the use of them in compiling a memoir of his life; and jot down anything you would like to suggest as to him, more especially his tour in Ireland.'

The sequel is best told in two unpublished letters of Maria. In the first (dated November 28, 1832) she writes to her sister Harriet (now Mrs Butler):

'I send you Lockhart's letter tho' *private* on outside. I consider you as part of myself and Mr Butler as part of you. Ergo as safe with you as myself—and I am sure it does him *honor*. I combated however his feelings with all the reason and feelings I have on the opposite side[3], that it is a national tribute, honorable not degrading. I refused him Scott's letters. Very painful to me to *refuse* him at present anything he asked, but *principle* and consistency painful or not required it—I hope

[1] Cp. Lockhart, III, p. 105, where Scott gives Joanna Baillie permission to send the fragment to Maria Edgeworth.

[2] See below, Letter 6.

[3] I.e., as to the proposed national subscription.

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you will think so—and my own feelings. I could not bear to *publish* Sir Walter's praises of myself and affectionate expressions and private sentiments,—*sacred*. I sent Lockhart one letter exemplifying what I mean[1].

'The letter (beautiful) he wrote on his changing fortune in which he almost gives his own private opinion and estimate of each of his family. "Jeanie, for all you think her cold, offered me her whole fortune as if it had been a gooseberry." And Mr Lockhart himself mentioned in a way not fit for publication. I am sure he must feel this and yet I fear he will be vexed with me and disappointed.'

She had refused to allow letters from other friends to be published and she had in her mind her own father's objection to the publication of private correspondence. But she relented, and on January 23, 1833, she wrote the following letter to her sister Mrs Fanny Wilson, who was residing in London:

'You will find in the parcel a far more precious thing than any I have mentioned. A portfolio full of Sir Walter Scott's letters. Ever since I wrote to Lockhart my conscience has been pricking me with the notion that I have been unkind to him, and like the generality of friends who say, "I am ready to do anything in the world for you," that the first thing asked and the only thing required, *I refuse*.

'Well, well, the upshot is—if you do not disapprove—Put this portfolio into Lockhart's hands, (at the same time cautioning to take every care of it and return it to me as I could never forgive its loss) and tell him that he may read all, and from any take any part that he wishes provided I am not named, and that he publishes no compliments to me or my writings from these letters. The rest I leave to his feelings and discretion. He must not *name* me at all about the letters or he would involve me in an *inconsistency* with Miss Aikin etc. You may read what I say to him as I have not time to *put it in good* (*sic*) or in a separate letter to him, and perhaps as he is preparing for publication time presses with him. My love to him and Mrs Lockhart most cordially. (You can send a message for the nonce to desire to see Mr Lockhart.)'

That same portfolio is in our possession to-day. It contains beside the letters from Sir Walter, a miniature of Sophia Scott (Mrs Lockhart), letters from Lockhart, and Edgeworth correspondence concerning the visit to Abbotsford and Scott's tour in Ireland. To it is attached a label in Maria's handwriting: 'This portfolio containing Sir Walter Scott's

[1] The letter here printed under date of May 2, 1826.

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letters and Lockhart's—I wish to be given when I shall be no more to my dear sister Harriet Butler. Maria Edgeworth.' Maria died in May 1849, and the portfolio remained in Harriet's possession till her death in 1889, when it passed to her sister Lucy (Mrs Robinson). At her death (1897) it passed into possession of its present owner, Mrs Harriet J. Butler (née Edgeworth).

The collection contains, as far as the Scott correspondence is concerned, the following letters:

(i) Seven of the eight letters published by Lockhart; the missing letter is that printed in Lockhart, v, p. 306 (dated September 22, 1823); one of these seven letters is the letter from Ballantyne on the authorship of *Waverley* (Lockhart, III, p. 303).

(ii) Seventeen letters all of which appear (either entire or in part) in *Familiar Letters*; it should be noted however that the two letters, published in *Familiar Letters*, II, pp. 15 f., are merely parts of the same letter, while the letters published on pp. 248 and 278 of the same collection should have been printed continuously as one letter.

(iii) One letter first given in the privately printed *Memoirs* of Maria Edgeworth, and reprinted by Hare (*Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, II, p. 96).

(iv) Unpublished letters as follows: one to Richard Lovell Edgeworth; nine to Maria Edgeworth; a fragment of a letter to Joanna Baillie; and lastly a copy (in Maria Edgeworth's handwriting) of a letter to Scott's son Walter, of which the original is believed to be lost.

The letters are in good condition save for the excision of the signature in a number of cases, a mutilation presumably perpetrated to gratify some autograph-hunter. It is to be feared that Maria herself was guilty of this vandalism. Lockhart's text of the letters which he prints is woefully inaccurate, fully justifying the strictures of Mr Davidson Cook in the *Nineteenth Century* (September 1927). The text in *Familiar Letters* is equally bad; the letters have been much 'edited,' and are printed from a transcript, which was presumably that made by or for Lockhart at the time when these letters were placed at his disposal; they were certainly not printed from the MS. In conclusion it must be added that in the text of the unpublished letters which follows Scott's punctuation or lack of punctuation is preserved.

HARRIET J. BUTLER.
HAROLD EDGEWORTH BUTLER.

OXFORD and LONDON.

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(1) To Richard Lovell Edgeworth:

(July 2, 1811.)

'Sir,

'I am honoured with your hospitable invitation to Edgeworthstown which adds to the regret I feel in not having been able to atchieve my intended journey to Ireland as nothing would give me more pleasure than an opportunity of returning thanks to Mr and Miss Edgeworth for the peculiar pleasure which I have received from their very amusing and interesting publications I will not affect to bandy compliments about the honours you offer me as a minstrel it is sufficient that you think me worthy of any attention in that character and I assure you I shall value my rhimes more highly in the hopes your approbation was sincere. As for the thorny wreath of the Reviewer I beg leave utterly to decline the painful honours having never adventured in that sort of composition above a few antiquarian articles very harmless and very stupid I am the more anxious to mention this because Fame I have heard has done me the dishonour to attribute to me a very silly and impertinent review of Miss Edgeworths Tales of fashionable Life which appeared in the Quarterly Review. I know only one motive I could have for venting my revenge on such a work in such a manner and that is the soreness of my sides for several days after I read the Irish journey in the inimitable tale of Ennui. Perhaps this idle rumour has never reachd you but if it should I trust Miss Edgeworth did not believe it. It will give me great pride and pleasure to feel myself authorized to pay my respects at Edgeworthstown should I ever visit Ireland and I beg you will not allow any member of your family or connected with it by friendship to visit our Northern Metropolis without giving me a right to offer them any civilities in my powers.

'I have been reading with infinite delight the Cottage Dialogues[1] and the notes. But I am surprized to find most of your Iricisms (many many of them at least) are familiar Scoticisms. This emboldens me to exercise my aforesaid vocation as an Antiquarian Critic and challenge the derivation of Kemp (applied to the spinning matches) as said to be derived from a Camp or tents. It is an old Saxon word for strife and gives rise to our modern *champion* the *Kiempe*[2] of Germany and the Kemperie man or Kempe of our old romance Vide the curious ballad of King Estmere in Percys Reliques of ancient poetry. Many of the matches in

[1] *Cottage Dialogues among the Irish Peasantry*, by Mrs Mary Leadbeater. With Notes and a preface by Maria Edgeworth, London, 1811.

[2] The form given is Danish. The *i* is a correction. Scott had probably written *Kaempe*, which would have been correct.

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which our Scottish labourers strive against each other, particulary (*sic*) those which the reapers undertake are popularly calld Kemping matches and the contending parties are said to *kemp*, although tents must be out of the question from the nature of the contention.

'Excuse this little trait of the rusty antiquary and believe me Sir

your obliged humble servant

Walter Scott.

'Edin^r. 2 July.'

(2) To Maria Edgeworth:

? Autumn 1818.[1]

'Dear Miss Edgeworth

'I have to return you my best and grateful thanks for making me acquainted with Mr and Mrs Hamilton whom we found very pleasant people as your favourites must necessarily be. We could not detain them above two days but as they seemed to take our rough northern hospitality in good part I hope we parted with mutual regard.

'I reinclose Sir B. Boothby's letter. I have no doubt he may be right in his general position for certainly Miss Seward did not act liberally in reclaiming her own verses supposing them to be hers at the expense of an infer'd charge of plagiarism against the memory of her deceased friend. But literary jealousy seems a passion as violent and unreasonable as that of love and Othello himself could hardly be more frantic against Cassio than we often see wise and sensible men become for the sake of a sentence or a sonnet And after all the *Desdemona* is frequently not worth quarrelling about. The affected brilliancy of Darwins stile which Miss Seward copied *a la distance* has already slain his reputation though his genius might have done much to preserve it. And by the bye our friend Sir B ought not to have been too severe on mediocrity in poetry. But so goes the world and I could say many pretty things on the difference betwixt self-criticism and criticism administered to others only I could teach you little on these subjects being one of those whose observation looks close into the souls of men I fancy it is with criticism as with medicine he who reckons his skill all sufficient to cure others is seldom fit to be his own physician or if he has such an opinion may be shrewdly suspected to have a fool for his patient.

'I have not the life of Robertson by D Stuart by me in this hermitage so I must be innocent of guessing your riddell till I go to town—I mean to Edinburgh—that being our *town* par excellence. As you are now in

[1] Date in handwriting of Harriet Edgeworth.

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the larger isle I trust you will extend your travels northward. Many people will be delighted to have an opportunity of looking on you and touching the hem of your garment—none more than I and mine who live much aloof from general society and are therefore delighted in proportion with any valuable addition to our domestic circle. You have been I believe in Edinburgh but you will not know it scarce so much is it alterd—in outward appearance it is quite elaborate—in the interior —not I think quite so accurate as formerly. We remain here till 12 Nov^{r}, I dare not indulge in so flattering a hope—but if you come down I hope you will make this your headquarters till you have seen all our country has to show

'I am writing in the vicinity of workmen who are engaged in fitting up an addition to my cottage which resembles the temple of Solomon as little in the silence with which it proceeds as the Laird resembles that sage monarch. So that tired of the symphony and accompaniment...'

[*The conclusion has been cut away presumably for the benefit of some autograph-hunter. There is a postscript.*]

'Mr and Mrs Hamilton left us on Monday on their return for the Emerald isle.'

(3) To the same:

[August, 1821.][1]

'I was rather surprised my dear Miss Edgeworth to find the enclosed scroll[2] in my portfolio. I intended to have returned it to you since you had taken the very flattering trouble of copying it for a relation. There is certainly nothing in it but what one who is not worse than an infidel in having no respect for those of his own house must necessarily have written but I believe some of my visitors were wise enough to suppose that I did not care for a very promising and affectionate family because I did not chuse to make scenes with them for the amusement of lookers on. Of all sorts of parade I think the parade of feeling and sentiment is most disgusting and in this you who know all the depths and shallows of the human heart will agree with me that if we must be ostentatious it had better be with respect to our wealth taste or talents than by playing benevolence or sensibility.

[1] The date is fixed by the reference to George IV's visit to Ireland.

[2] The 'scroll' was a copy of the next letter, made by Maria Edgeworth for the perusal of her aunt Mrs Ruxton; it is to this letter (the original of which is lost) that Scott refers in the letter to Maria Edgeworth (August 3, 1821) printed in *Familiar Letters*, II, p. 123. He writes: 'I am equally gratified and surprised at your caring at all about the *bon papa* letter...I suppose my young hussar had given it to some person who was fond...of collecting the parings of the nails of literary lions.'

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'I give you joy of the pleasant manner in which the royal visit appears to proceed. There is on the one hand some risque from its exciting extravagance and impossible expectations but then on the other it is much to have seen all parties and factions united were it only for a few days in the same stream of wholesome and honest feeling

Adieu God bless you

W. Scott

'Abbotsford
Friday— '

(4) To his son Walter:

(October 1820.)[1]

'Dear Walter,

'I observe from your letter of the 6th Oct[r] that you have nearly had a bad accident and am thankful that it has only ended in damaging Handel though that is a bad accident of its kind. I was nearly in the same scrape myself the day before yesterday—Gala and I were coursing on the hill of MacGabbet in galloping after a hare got into the cattail which I presume you remember and in scrambling up the steep side of the fosse Sybil slipt a foot and rolled over with me into the sand ditch which being a work of great antiquity would have been no bad place for an old antiquarian to finish his career in. But neither Sybil nor I were in the least hurt and I was on her back time enough to see Mrs Puss killed. We have had for some days fine coursing though hares are rather scarce.

'I am very glad your second charger answers and is an active horse; but I do not much like your being undermounted. If you could light on such a horse as Mr Lieutenant was with a little more speed he would be invaluable as a real serviceable animal.

'I am glad you have seen Lady Curren as she wd be civil to you for Lady Abercorn's sake. It is always right to keep the best company you can and evening parties keep young men from sitting late at the mess and other less innocent modes of spending leisure. But I pray you to give your mornings to useful reading; an ignorant officer however smart in the field can never be a man of great military capacity and is in fact little better than a sergeant. Read then my dear boy while you have your eyes and your intellects in good order. It is astonishing how much a memory well stored with useful information delights in after life.

[1] Wrongly dated 1821 by Maria Edgeworth.

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'Sir James Soulis is married to a cousin of mine by the courtesy of Scotland (a sister of Miss Henny Dallas) and was an excellent cavalry officer. He served under the Count de la Lippe Buchlons (?) who commanded an army of Portuguese against the Spaniards many years since.

'I thought Sir James resided in that country—remember me most kindly to him and his lady.

'Charles sets off in a few days for Lampater where Mr Williams has his living and school; the place is in Cardiganshire South Wales so when you go over to England you can pay the poor gentleman a visit. At his age he will be much the better of being from home for a couple of years for he grew too much for poor Dominie Sampson. Mr Cadell Constable's partner undertakes to set the emigrant safely down in his new place of abode, which is very lucky our friend being as you know somewhat addicted to fits of absence.

'You have by this time seen something of the tone of Dublin society. Let me know how you like it in comparison with that of Edinburgh and of London. The Irish are proverbial for hospitality and gaiety and the higher classes are uncommonly wellbred as well as warmhearted. Their secondrate gentlemen are sorry concerns but I understand are not to be seen in society as much as formerly. Indeed thro the whole united kingdom the manners are much softened and improved since I was a young man when deep drinking and duels for trifling causes were the order of the day.

'Lockhart and Sophia leave us in two days when we will be rather solitary and Charles departing in the end of the week will add sadness to our solitude. But the old must not complain when they are deprived of the society of their children so that the objects of their affection are well employed elsewhere In the mean while we please ourselves with the hopes they are employing their time better than at home.'

'Octr. 18th.

'Charles has been taken away rather suddenly since I began this letter. Mr Cadell was obliged to set out eight days earlier than he mentioned and they left Selkirk together on Sunday last to proceed by the mail. Charles was in high spirits. Poor fellow! he will think of this house often before he sees it again. I believe he expected to find us all in London, for his leave-taking was as if he was going for a fortnight.

'We expect Mrs Joanna Baillie here in a few days also Lord and Lady Compton. I presume you have heard from Anne and Sophia an account of Humphry Davys and Rose's visit with the humours of Rose's mad valet. I wrote to you lately under cover to Mr Grant whom I had

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occasion to address on your business. All here send love and affection. I always am your affectionate father

Walter Scott.

'× *Amend your hand.*'

(5) To Maria Edgeworth:

Spring 1823.[1]

'My dear Miss Edgeworth,

'I send a few letters to which I might add many but perhaps they would fetter your motions more than you would find convenient and it is not *my own* interest a thing which I as a Scotchman never lose sight of to protract your stay None of the letters are of consequence otherwise than as they may be useful to you so if you do not visit the places they refer to throw them into the fire.

'I could wish you met Mrs Maclean Clipburn who is a fashionable accomplished woman and a high highlander with all their natural pride of feeling She can tell you more and better than any one I know of the ancient time—She is the mountain gem polished which you generally meet with rough enough—If you think of going to Mull you must go to Oban from Fort William a delightful journey The floodgates of heaven seem opened this morning but I think the rain will not last Health pleasure and fair weather to you and my young friends Yours in haste

Walter Scott

'Tuesday'

(6) To the same:

[1823][2]

'My dear Miss Edgeworth,

'Your letter has just acquainted us that we are to be deprived of the pleasure of making your personal acquaintance so much desired till friday when we shall claim you and the young ladies—I am this instant arrived from Abbotsford where I have been busier than ever was King Corney[3] and in the same fantastic sort of labour in which his Majesty was pleased to delight.

[1] Date in handwriting of Harriet Edgeworth.

[2] The exact date at which this letter was written is uncertain. The three Edgeworth sisters found it awaiting them on Friday, June 6, when they arrived at Edinburgh. Scott had invited them to dine for that date, but they had declined as they expected to arrive late. This is clear from a letter of Sophy Edgeworth in our possession. The expedition to Roslin had to be postponed.

[3] A delightful and eccentric character in Maria Edgeworth's *Ormond*.

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'I have just time to add kind respects to Mr and Mrs Stuart and to assure you that I am

most sincerely and respectfully
yours
Walter Scott'

'Wednesday
Edin^{r}—

'On Saturday a sort of Shoemakers holiday with me I propose if the weather be favourable going to Roslin which strangely enough my girls have never seen I expect much pleasure from showing you the banks of the Eske—long my favourite strolling grounds—'

(7) To the same:

[begun March or February, 1826.]

'My dear Miss Edgeworth

'I had been long meditating writing you a letter but probably should have paid it off with thinking about it like the parrot in the show had not your kind letter just received made it an absolute act of ingratitude to suspend my purpose any longer. Woes me if any of my friends judge of my regard by my regularity as a correspondent for partly having much necessarily to write partly from the gradual but very sensible failure of my eyes and partly from a touch of original sin which often prevents me from doing the very thing I ought to do I have become a very irregular and unworthy letter writer.

'The circumstances which have given you such friendly anxiety I am not Stoic enough to treat with disregard But it is not nature to look upon what cant be helped with any anxious or bitter remembrances. My good fortune so far as wealth is concerned was exactly like the motions of the Kings of Brentford

'Ere a pot of good ale you could swallow (I mean *I* not *you*)
It came with a whoop tis gone with a hollo'[1]

The fact is I belong to that set of philosophers who ought to be called Nymmites after their good founder Corporal Nym and the fundamental maxim of whose school is "*things must be as they may*"—And so let that matter rest things past cure should be past care. I trust I shall do well enough even if the blackening aspect of affairs in this country should bring a further and more wreckful storm which is not at present at all unlikely. I had plenty of offers you may believe of assistance and

[1] From the Duke of Buckingham's *Rehearsal*, Act v, line 78.

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poor Jane proferred her whole fortune as if she had been giving a gooseberry. But what I have done foolishly I will bear the penance of wisely and take the whole on my own shoulders Lady Scott is not a person that cares much about fortune and as for Beatrice she amuses herself very well with her altered prospects for with a sort of high *persiflage* which she never got from me she has a very generous and independent disposition

'As for Lockhart London will suit him much better than Edinburgh. He will be obliged to lay aside his hidalgo silence and exert himself a little in society and I am glad to learn he takes the trouble to do so He has now a great stake to play for his talents are of a nature singularly applicable to whatever is before him and he has a great fund of acquired information and Sophia is in every respect a safe and prudent help mate I have often laughed at the heterogeneous group which we composed during our most delightful travels'

'Abbotsford 30th April

'This letter was written as far as above more than two months since But I have since had great family distress which the circumstance you allude to has made me avoid writing unless where circumstances made it absolutely necessary. Sophia when expecting soon to be confined was obliged to go down to Brighton with little Johnie whose natural weakness has resolved itself into a complaint in the spine to cure which the poor child has to lie on his back constantly and there was the great risque that he might be called for before Sophias confinement Then came her being rather prematurely delivered of an infant whose health was at his birth very precarious although thank God he seems now doing well. To complete this sum of domestic distress is Lady Scotts extreme bad health which though better than it was is still as precarious as possible. Her complaint is of water on the chest and the remedy is fox glove which seems a cure rather worse than most diseases Yet she sustains both the disease and the remedy to the surprize of medical persons—But—I will not write more about it. As to my pecuniary loss by Constable it is not worth mentioning and we have fair prospects that the business may be weathered without much ultimately (*sic*) loss of any kind. The political letters were merely a whim that took about a day each. Of Woodstock the best I know is that it has been sold for £8400 instead of £3000 which Constable was to have given me. The people are mad but that in the present circumstances is their affair and the publishers do not complain.

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'I am deeply sorry for Mr Jephsons[1] sudden death and feel much interested for his family I have scarce seen a man I liked so much on short acquaintance he had so much good sense accomplishment and thorough gentlemanlike manners. Depend upon it I will do what I can for the subscription I think the book should have been twelve shillings the usual price of an octavo and it should be printed well and on good paper. I beg you will immediately put down the following names

Lady Scott of Abbotsford	2 copies
Miss Scott of Abbotsford	1
Charles Scott Brazen Nose College, Oxford	1
J G Lockhart Esq Pall Mall London	1
Mrs J Lockhart	1
Hugh Scott Esq of Harden	1
Mrs Scott of Harden	1
Lieut Colonel Fergusson	1
William Scott Younger of Raeburn	1
Capt Walter Scott of Lochore Kings Hussars	1
Mrs Scott of Lochore	1
Sir W Scott	6

I will be responsible for and will remit the money when I get to Edinburgh as despatch in such cases is always useful. I have no doubt I may pick up a score of names more if you will send me a subscription list.

'In general I am resolute in subscribing only for myself because I cannot think of asking my friends to subscribe to the numerous applications which I do not think myself entitled to decline But this is a very different question.

'I am concerned to say that I do not think there is the most distant probability of success at Edinburgh in the line Mrs Jephson proposes though I am happy to think it may answer better in Bath. We are a poor people and in families of consideration our estates are almost uniformly strictly settled on heirs male therefore the mother has to keep the female chickens under her own wing and those of good account are generally desirous of bringing them out themselves and their connections enable them to do so. Those again who are very wealthy desire sometimes London education for their daughters. In short there does not exist amongst us the stile of young ladies who can give for such advantages as I am sure Mrs Jephson would assure them any thing like £200 or £250 a year. Our eldest sons get our estates—our younger become lawyers go to India or into the army our girls live at home while Mama can keep house on her jointure get husbands if they can

[1] The clergyman at Edgeworthstown. See Lockhart's letter in *Familiar Letters*, II, p. 320. The only book by Mr Jephson which we have been able to trace was of a much earlier date: *A Vindication of the Questions proposed by the Bishop of Peterborough to Candidates for...Holy Orders*, by the Rev. W. Jephson, London, 1821.

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and if not do as they can on the interest of £1500 or £2000 The elder brother is in general an honest fellow but embarassed with debt he keeps his sisters in his house if his wife is not cross and a sort of half family pride half family affection carries the thing through but for paying large pensions it is not in the nature of things. Besides though young Englishmen or Irishmen get easily into good society in Edinburgh it is I think more difficult for ladies to do so unless with some strong recommendation as fortunes or talents or accomplishments or something. In short I see no hope in that scheme The melancholy resource of a boarding school for young ladies might succeed but the rates have been always kept very low at Edinburgh so as to make it miserable work My kind love to your brothers and sisters I hope Mrs Fox will make you all a lucky present with good fortune to herself Walter and Jane have been jointly and severally threatened (*sic*) a descent upon Edgeworthstown from Athlone but they are both really bashful as to doing what they should do and so Don Whiskerandos and the lady Tilburina[1] may never accomplish what they themselves consider as grateful and proper

'Kindest regards to Mrs Edgeworth and Miss Sneyd

Always yours

Walter Scott

'[2] 2d May 1825 (*sic*)
Abbotsford'

(8) To the same:

August 4, 1826.

'My dear friend

'If my gratulations on the happy subject of your kind letter is not quite so loud as my huzza for Butler—also believe me it contains that warmth of sincerity which is not always to be extracted from the acclamations which rend heaven and deafen earth. You know Harriet was always a favourite of mine and from[3] I had the pleasure of seeing of Mr Butler I cannot doubt that she has entrusted her happiness to a man of sense and accomplishment who will duly and affectionately prize her always. They have both a strong turn towards literature which is perhaps the surest and most rational road to a happy life because it

[1] See *The Critic* of Sheridan.
[2] The year is 1826 as contents and postmark show.
[3] 'what' *is omitted.* The reference is to the marriage of Harriet Edgeworth to the Rev. R. Butler, Dean of Clonmacnois, which actually took place some weeks later on August 26. For a brief account of Harriet see our *Black Book of Edgeworthstown and other Edgeworth Memories* (Epilogue).

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affords constant and interesting employment. I always suppose it free as I am sure it is in the present case from irritable nerves and acidity of temper. I do not remember my huzza but if I remembered today all the foolish things I did yesterday I would have nothing to do but crawl up and hide myself in the lumber garret for very shame "Sufficient for the day is the *nonsense* thereof." I beg my kindest and best wishes to both the bride and bridegroom As you rightly surmise I did not feel any wonder on the occasion having seen it clear in my own mind as a thing likely to be; but I am the more happy at its actually taking place.

'Anne joins in kindest wishes on the occasion She is now my great and immediate comfort here and has shewn a sort of character during our late distressing scenes which promises me the greatest satisfaction in her conduct as the head of my little household. Of what we have felt I will say nothing for it would avail nothing We have Charles with us now whom I wish you knew as he is really what may be sum'd in that most useful and expressive phrase a Nice young man We expect Walter and Jane in the middle of the month and they propose paying their respects at Edgeworthstown about the (*sic*) and desired us to address to them there. They have been marched and countermarched like Major Sturgeon; how she in six inch slippers keeps up with him in seven-league boots is a different question. Your Irish elections rather exceeding the natural vivacity of the country the man in *blue* have been in generally (*sic*) requisition to assist the men of *green* to keep them patient and quiet. I have little to brag of on this occasion for on the evening of last Monday a feud broke out at a Selkirk fair which has made some work for the Sheriff and very nearly for that other respectable office to wit the Hangman. The curse of our brawls is that when they do get ferocious which luckily happens rarely they know neither measure nor method nor fair play but fight like savage Indians. One or two unfortunate civilians are much hurt their foemen having hammerd on their heads with stones which weapons were found coverd with blood and hair. This disgusting work kept me two days back from the task of writing to you. I have not for a long time been so much in the houses of tradesmen as yesterday and I was struck with a great difference in point of cleanliness from what I used to witness. This is all my news for carrier you know must talk of pack-saddle and magistrates of affrays and blood-wills. But to touch a more domestic theme Spice was happily delivered three weeks since of seven puppies of which one is kept for Edgeworthstown. There is great debate on the neame Cruet—Catch-up —Sauce etc have been proposed. The Cruet is excellent by sire and

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dam and I will back it when eighteen months old against any kind of vermin. Yesterday we had a grand crusade against the otter with all the Harden boys and a pack of otter-hounds whose chidings are really the finest cry in the world The otter was driven into a long drain where he is blockaded and like the Nuns at Kilkenny must have past the night in strict retreat. There will be

The clamour much of men of boys and dogs

at turning him out of his fortress. I shall keep my own madness in as Tilburina advises her attendant to do. But I must go and see for all that.

'I am well aware of what your kind and ingenuous American correspondent (*sic*) and have had various offers and proposals about it from America. I have hitherto declined any interference for I ought rather to be ashamed of what I get from my own country than endeavour to extend my profits elsewhere. Little Britain and Ireland owe me nothing and I have a kind of reluctance to any negotiations abroad though I have had offers also from France and Germany I always despised Voltaires mode of selling his works to different booksellers in different countries and I would not like to do anything which might make a man say "I paid S.W.S. for securing me a priority in publishing such and such a work and such and such tradesmen have yet made use of the printing license and anticipated me." I believe Constable got money from some of the American booksellers.

'I hear nothing of Lockhart lately; he is at Brighton God grant your auguries may answer the good will which framed them Sophias accounts are flattering The review goes on well and is extending in sale. And now there is such a *howlering and a powlering* as the Lancashire man says that we cannot go on There are about 20 hounds and a half score of youngsters assembling on the bent. Shall I venture Spice at the otter—I think not—

'My kindest remembrances attend your brother Mrs Edgeworth Mrs Sneyd I am delighted Miss Lucys recovered activity will enable to fill up the blank you must unavoidable (*sic*) feel when Harriet goes to Trim I hope as you say I may live to see her there I have still a longing to see Connemara and the Joice country much inspired I think by Mr W. Edgeworth who I hope is well and busy My kindest regards to the hospitable Lovel and believe me most regardfully and truly yours

Walter Scott

'Abbotsford 4th August

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'If the enclosed should arrive after Jane has left Edgeworthstown pray throw it into the fire There is no use in returning it. After all I cannot get my franks from Henry Scott who is in the thick of the otter melee. So Janes letter goes by itself not enclosed.'

(9) To the same:

[Christmas, 1826, or early in 1827.]

'My dear Miss Edgeworth,

'My correspondence has been interrupted first by my wandering in France and England and next by a most melancholy incident the death of my Nephew Colonel Huxley of the 71st whom I expected from Halifax to pass the Christmas holidays with me but of whom his wife and child have been deprived by the sudden and shocking accident of his death on the eve of departing from Halifax. He was a brave soldier regular in all his habits attached to his wife and family and maintaining complete independence on very limited means. These providence had of late enlarged by a bequest to my sister-in-law from her late brother David Macculloch to the amount of £10,000 which established the whole family in complete independence—and now when they expected soon to come over here and he had taken his passage—when I had seen his wife at Cheltenham in all the happiness of expectation—comes this fatal intelligence. The distress of course has been immense and I own I have been myself shocked at the loss of a brave soldier which all admitted him to be and at the same time a kind gentle obliging friendly man in this unexpected and most disastrous manner. It has really put me out of sorts in the body as well as the mind or perhaps the extraordinary open state of the state (*sic*) has given me an unusual share of the stomach complaints and rheumatism that are going about. Yesterday on arriving here I had to be lifted out of the carriage so completely were my joints disabled by the rheumatism. But the hot bath and opodelock (*sic*) have put a little nerve into Harlequin each day I would not however promise to scale Saint Kevins bed[1] for a fortnight because (?) Walter is going about the house menacing the harmless little men in armour because none of the cavalry immediately on the move for Portugal belong to the 15th but he has some *hopes* from the newspapers as your countryman said for a bett he succeeded (?) to be carried up to the third story of a house and felt his bearer totter under him when he reached the summit which gave him *hopes*.

[1] For his visit to St Kevin's Bed at Glendalough in Ireland see *Familiar Letters*, II, p. 316.

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'Cruett has gone to Bran Luath[1] and the dogs of other days; the distemper so fatal to the breed cut her off although he had been vaccinated carefully which is the best preservative I know but seems not a certain one You must therefore wait till next spring when we will try to supply the place of the exhausted cruett. It is rather a hard chance for I picked him out of three which we brought up and the other two one with Dundas of Arniston the other with my very active friend Mrs Hughes has both got well over the distemper.'

[*Unsigned. A very illegible letter, clearly written with great difficulty.*]

(10) To the same:

May 15, 1827.

'My dear Miss Edgeworth

'Your very undeserving friend begs to intrude on you Observe I only mean undeserving in the way of letter writing for as to sentiments of true regard and friends (*sic*) Damon and Pithias Pylades and Orestes and all the other models of friendly regard were a joke to me. But it is a marvel (?) to see how long I will sometimes be in writing to those I most respect and honour and how often I wait (? want) in doing what I ought to do till I get some thrust or push operating like a flapper to compel me to my duty. The flapper on this occasion is the departure of a young friend of mine Count Davidow a Russian of high rank and of very considerable observation and talent who proposes visiting Green Ireland. For his time of life you will find he has collected a great deal of information and used with much advantage the various opportunities which his extensive travels have afforded him. He has been a good deal with me at Abbotsford and will bring you news of our household. The gentleman who travels with him is Mr Colyer a Catholic young Davidoff himself is of the Greek Church He does not take the title of Count but remains a simple *Mister*.

'Well here is a new world in politics—will it be a better one—who dare answer the question. I have a great confidence in fortune and hope for the best. I suppose you will soon get the Catholic question[2] which will be one grievance out of the lot Green Erin has to shew. After all though the worst will remain and I have some doubt whether Ireland may not be like the old Frenchman who regretted being cured of his tape-worm which supplied him with a certain degree of interesting employment in order to wind an inch of it up every day. Now here is the

[1] Bran was the dog of Fingal, Luath of Cuchullin, or is Bran Luath one phrase = Bran the swift?

[2] Some word such as 'settled' has been omitted.

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Catholic emancipation occupies every eye and ear and folks endure worse evils because they hope that carrying this point will operate as an universal panacea. I wrote to you acquainting you with the mishap of the little terrier which was carried off by what is emphatically called The Distemper which is particularly fatal to dogs of high blood It was inoculation (*sic*) that is vaccinated but all efforts were in vain All my other dogs are well only Nimrod the great wolf-dog has worried my ancient domestic cat which is as great a loss to me as it would have been to Robinson Crusoe.

'How often I think of Ireland and all the fine scenery I saw there, aye and all the never to be forgotten kindnesses of the inhabitants above all at the hospitable Edgeworthstown. But I am inclined to quarrell with its most distinguished inhabitant for wasting or rather hiding in a napkin her fine talent and ceasing to amuse us with some tale which no body dare tell but herself. You should not let the manners and peculiarities of Ireland which it is of so much importance that the legislature ought to be acquaint with (*sic*) You have already shewn us the kindness talent and disinterested fidelity of the lower orders in Ireland. Do a little more and shew us how the evils which prevent them rising in the scale of society possessed as they are of so much that is amiable and excellent. Why is it that the poor Irish should fill all the hard and laborious duties not only in England but now even in Scotland for within this ten years the Irish have occupied almost all the ballast-heaving hod-carrying canal-digging kind of work at which the inhabitants will not work so cheap because they must observe certain decencies of apparel and possess some comfort in their mode of living. Pat is so good a nag that I cannot help thinking *you* would be able to furnish some bridle which would suit him and admit his being ridden with a light hand with all deference to scientific researches into the philosophy of mechanical pursuits I think you could do so much for us in shewing us how to mend the worst part of our British machine.'

'Edinburgh.

'Here being interrupted by the necessity of packing and having my papers to put to rights touchd (*sic*) save in case of absolute necessity, I found the enclosed half letter written to you on the subject of the day which has never it seems been sent How that has happened as Paddy O'Rourke says is hard to determine my recollection was that it was sent off However I enclose it as the efficient document of the tragic events so my letter will be *a letter and a half*, a Scottish mode of expressing any thing that is very extraordinary.

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'Bonaparte drags on to a conclusion but I fear will with the necessary new documents which I design to print run into nine volumes for though I have won the battle of Waterloo there is much remains behind. I must not blink Saint Helena the most unpleasant part of the work

'Beg your kind mother and Mrs Sneyd to accept my love and the invalid who is I hope one no longer, to Mrs & Mr Lane Fox[1] and Mrs Butler and Mr Butler Cant some of you a rolling (*sic*) this year I believe Lockhart will be with us at Abbotsford so with Beatrice[2] after dinner and a few rough cuts from the "Poor Wounded Hussar" who is just come to England we can get up a goodnatured (*sic*) My kind compliments to the Squire and to your brother William my kind Killarney friend Always

[*Signature cut out.*]

'Edin[r] 15 May.'

(11) To the same:

July 23, 1830.

'My dear Miss Edgeworth

'I have just received your letter with a great Missent to Glasgow on the back of it which has occasioned a vexatious delay On the day before I left home I found among other cards Mr Butlers but without any letter expressing it was an old friend We were in bustle over ears that is Anne and I for though we were in furnished lodgings yet the house being Janes mothers the world of trumpery to remove after living there en locataire[3] for above three years[4]. Intended calling on Mr Butler in hopes to see my old acquaintance but was detained in the court till the chaise was at the gate. I have wrote to him as soon as I discovered his identity and hope my old friend Miss Harriet now Mrs Butler and Mr will pay us a visit which will be highly acceptable

'As for the matter on which you consult me I am sorry to say that the Highland Lairds like the Irish have in many instances run the reckless course you describe and I would to God that gibbeting one of them would be a warning to the rest. The fact is and I tell it you freely that the present Scottish or rather Highland Chief is not and cannot be the man towards his vassalls which their fathers were before the year 1745. Before that fatal year every Laird depended to a certain degree upon the number of men he could raise. To this he sacrificed everything else and only considered himself rich in proportion to the number of

[1] He should have written Fox, but makes the same error elsewhere. Maria's sister Sophy married her cousin Barry Fox.

[2] I.e., his daughter Anne.

[3] A bold interpretation of an illegible phrase.

[4] Some words such as 'was great' have been omitted.

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men he could draw together. I do not believe that Lochiel for example had seven hundred pounds a year when he brought out full fourteen or fifteen hundred men. The men lived poorly enough to be sure but they were ready to fight when called upon. If the Lairds left home which many of them did they only went to France or Italy where they had no encouragement to expense but rather got a little money to buy broadswords and gunpowder against the grand effort. Charles' effort in 1745 which brought the affair to a crisis put an end to all this system. The children and grandchildren of the leaders that were so banishd were restored by the humanity of government but their ancient relation to their vassals was could not and should not be renewed. If something like the old influence remained it was only exercised in raising men for government regiments This was done unfairly by some Chiefs very unfairly towards the men who became mutinous and had insurrections Several of these I remember in particular one where many lives were lost. The Grandfather of this Duke of Buccleuch had raised a regiment called South Fencibles. It was in many respects a clan regiment I well remember that several of the officers were on that unhappy day to dine with my father. At once the drums beat to arms and our friends must off to join their corps. They were brought against a large body of Highlanders standing in a state of mutiny with their backs against Leith pier. They had hitherto been only obstinate in refusing to embark But they became furious on the sight of force The border gentlemen endeavoured to coax them into submission but with so little success that at length an unlucky Highlander who chanced (?) drove his bayonet through an officer of the South Fencibles Captain Mansfield and fired his musquet into the unfortunate gentlemans body. The affair was then beyond curing The yell by which the Scotch announce a deadly purpose was given and returned on both sides and a heavy fire which the officers were far from ordering (?) but could not check They fought foot to foot but the highlanders without officers and inferior to the southland men were shot and stabd like deer in a *tinchel*[1] The others also lost some men John Scott of Gala nearly fell and his serjeant also a Scot was killed in his defence. The highlanders poor things were brought up to Edinburgh and their dead bodies were laid there wrapt in their plaids. The Sentry admitted us high school boys to see the quarry for a penny apiece and never was penny in my case so well laid out for I saw nothing for ten days after but the highlanders lying stiff and stark and so had my penny worth for a whole week.

[1] A cordon of beaters.

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'Many other such stories I could tell you but it is better to refer you to poor Stewart of Garths book on the highland Regiments which is well worth your looking at.

'Thus even when the highlanders were calld into their original trade of war the rules of the service contradicted their privileges and very often led to quarrels between them and their favourite chiefs whom they had followed to the field

'When there was no such calling to arms the Chief or Laird naturally enough found the immense horde of society which loitered on his estate rather a curse than a blessing A single lowland farmer often offered ten times the rent for a glen which the highlanders a hundred perhaps in number[1]. Six shepherds and twelve dogs would often tenant the land which had maintained fifty families.

'From this you must see that the connections between the Clan were gradually dissolved the former no longer wanted or asked unless to raise a company or so for a younger son that of the highland tenants preferd. The patriarchal influence thus fell in many individual instances and there is not perhaps five hundred men who would rise with their chief as of old from right of blood. The feudal influence by which the tenant served the Laird as a part of his lands rent is still understood because it has been more lately acted on. But circumstances have greatly altered and transferred the possession to men who as[2] pay full value for their possessions in money have no idea of paying in personal service also and this sometimes occasions misunderstanding The Highland gentlemen are fond of *spaghlin*[3] as they call it a sort of showy vanity—they are desirous to keep abreast of the English in expense and maintain their own privileges of chieftainship besides They must therefore leave their favourite sheepwalks where the black cattle supported scores and hundreds of men hence high roads (which have proved of late fallacious) and emigrations by the people It is vain to abuse the gentlemen for this which is the inevitable consequence of a great change of things The present highlanders would like well enough to live like their fathers at the expense of their chief but I question whether they would pay him the same devoted obedience and if they in some instances are disposed to do so what occasion has the modern proprietor for the services of a clan He would be hanged if he took up Rob Roys trade and his followers like Actaeons hounds would eat him up. When the Highlander is driven on by a personal love of expense the change is attended with more

[1] Words such as 'were in the habit of paying' have been omitted.
[2] 'they' has been omitted.
[3] Gaelic: 'ostentation.'

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ruinous circumstances and general distress. The lands are bought on speculation often by men of Highland extraction or lowlanders who are kind enough to the people sometimes to speculatists who wish to make the most of their purchase which in the highlands is difficult and dangerous. There is a point beyond which the highlander cannot be driven. If an attempt is made to drive his cattle you must look for very lawless results In return while they have anything they will submit to the hardest life rather than leave the glen. Lord Selkirk on Emigration will shew you a good deal of the state of the Highlands.

'There are too too many of the kind you describe. The difficulty will be to draw a character that men will[1] say there is the Duke of Argyle there is Clanronald with others of like name Keeping the character in general I know no one entitled to complain of it But you had better take what the sailors take[2] a wide berth as to name and country for your stone will fly too sharp and true not to light among glass bottles

'One great cause of the destruction of many highland lairds and their people has been the fall of Kelp since the war. Before that I knew one Laird make £20,000 in a single year his poor tenants having a like sum for manufacturing it. Now since Barilla can be purchased instead Kelp has fallen immensely and the thoughtless proprietors have gone on as if they could spend the same golden shower every year.

'As for his manners the Highland gentleman is usually well bred and even the lower class of the people if treated with civility are remarkable for returning it. The English and lowlanders accuse them of avarice and duplicity the truth is they have little to lose Their language is of course Gaelick or if you please Irish When they speak English it is sometimes with a peculiar brogue like your countrymen but among men of education they speak like other people and in good society perhaps an exclamation or two if they are moved extraordinarily. I saw lately a Chief Clanronald in the case you suppose—his lands with many a mountain and many a long Island all in the market. As he was extremely handsome he found it easy to marry a rich widow Lady Ashburton used her but indifferently and parted with her The last attendant of highland state was his piper Him he had given to one of the princes of the Blood—spaghlin still and the last attendant of state was a large deerhound I was sorry for he was good natured with all his faults and follies yet the spend thrift humour which is after all utter selfishness does not deserve much pity. Of course I would not have given this little

[1] A slip for 'so that men will not.'
[2] A slip for 'call.'

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anecdote but it will give you some idea of the possibility of the thing Your sex and genius give you a privilege—a man might perhaps find difficulties when there are none to a Lady

'Talking of dogs I had only just screwed my courage to the sticking place to refuse your magnificent proposal when Charles my youngest brought me a young Lady Bloodhound calld Bloody Lass A curious looking brute she is with very grim features and large bones adorned with an absurd puppyish innocence and absurdity I am determined not to keep it though.

'If this letter comes too late do not blame the writer I am a bad writer on ordinary occasions but I never fail to say what the Bankers calld the needfull I must put you to expenses sending this without a frank for to get this letter addresst I must have sent it to Edinburgh and scarce had it franked there

'If there is anything I can say or explain pray make no scruple of applying I am always my dear Miss Edgeworth'

[*Signature cut off.*]

As a postscript may be added a passage of a letter of Maria Edgeworth to an American lady, Rachel Lazarus (née Mordecai). Their correspondence covers twenty-three years (1815–1839); the passage is printed from a copy. It forms an interesting commentary on Scott's letter to Maria (Lockhart, v, p. 329, February 3, 1824).

'Edgeworthstown,
April 9, 1824.

'I forget whether in any of your letters you ever mentioned to me a novel of Sir W. Scott's (Ivanhoe) in which there is a charming Jewess Rebecca—pray tell me again even if you have told me once how you like her. I have no doubt whatever from the internal evidence afforded me by the likeness between his conversation and the Waverley novels that he is the author of them. Indeed I know of no other person of talents and knowledge of Scottish manners equal to their production—yet he will never acknowledge them and he finds innumerable forms of evasive speech by which he disavows them without telling perhaps what he conceives direct lies. His own Effie Deans however would have died the death of the righteous or at least have suffered her sister to die the death of the unrighteous before she would on the most urgent necessity have so far paltered with the truth. I own that I am very sorry that Scott should from any motive have condescended to such evasions. He was first driven to the denial by the Kings drinking to

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him from the Boar of Bradwardine when Waverley first came out and before Scott was sure perhaps whether it would stand its ground. After having once denied it to the King he could not acknowledge it to the subject. And doubtless the mystery has increased public curiosity about the works so that Scott and his publisher have found their account in keeping up the farce. A farce it is now—In this country few who know him or who can judge of literature or probabilities can doubt his being the author. He enjoys the jest and as he loves diversion I think the amusement is now and has been all through his chief motive. Of course when we were with him we never directly or indirectly touched upon the subject as we deemed it a point of good faith and good breeding not to force his confidence, far less to steal upon or surprise it. Therefore the more he laid himself open the less we took advantage. My American correspondent Mrs G.[1] however lately wrote to me to desire I would let Scott know that he would lose all his popularity in America if he did not immediately come forward and avow the Scotch novels—because as she says they are now attributed to some Mr Greenfeld who is as she says a person whose character is so bad that he cannot reap the fruits of his own talents—dares not avow himself the author because he knows that none would buy the books if they were known to be his. Therefore as the story is strangely stated he has bribed Walter Scott to let them pass for his.

'Mrs G. further tells me that a story is current in her neighbourhood of Mrs Grant the author of The American Letters having said that Sir W. Scott confessed to her that he is the author of these novels. As Mrs G. expressly desired that all this should be made known to Sir W. and as I could not undertake to do this in any words but her own I sent her letter to him. His answer was admirable as far as it regarded Mrs G.:—"Give my respects to your American correspondent and tell her that I hope she will not attribute to me any share in any dishonorable transaction respecting this or any other matter until she finds in some other part of my conduct some thing that might justify such an accusation or suspicion." He adds—"I have for these twenty years past been pretty well known and have maintained an indifferently good reputation as a lion in my own deserts."

'He says moreover that he has never seen or had any communication whatever with this Mr Greenfeld and that if he is the person he is supposed to be he could not without a total loss of reputation have had

[1] A 'Mrs Griffith formerly of Philadelphia now of Charlieshope in New Jersey' (letter from Maria Edgeworth to Rachel Lazarus, September 30, 1823).

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any communication with him. Then he says what I did not repeat to Mrs G. as I was not sure that he meant it should be repeated—that the story of Mrs Grant is quite absurd—"Why I should choose Mrs Grant for my Mother Confessor it would be hard to tell—if it had been you or Joanna there might have been some probability in the story." He yet further says—and this is the passage which I cannot approve though it is worded with the care of a special pleader to avoid the lie direct

'"I have repeatedly answered to all who had the slightest title to ask the question that I have nothing to do with these novels."

'Now here are two things to be remarked on this—that he may shelter himself behind the plea that no one has any right to ask the question—and that he may safely say "I *have* nothing to do with these novels because he has sold them."

'His publisher spoke more openly to me—but I do not think it right to repeat how openly. I conclude upon the whole that some other person or persons have written parts of each book just enough to allow him to declare that they are not all his—just as great painters allow inferior hands to do the drapery. You know that many more pictures are undoubted Raphaels than the life of Raphael had he never one instant had the pencil out of his hand could have finished even if he had neither allowed himself to eat drink or sleep. In all these pictures connoisseurs recognise touches of the master's hand.

'In the last of the Scotch novels St Ronan there are many touches which could be from none but the mighty master—yet the public complain and we his most sincere friends are forced like Mrs. Candon to acknowledge that there are fewer of these than in former works. He will indemnify us in the Crusades which is soon to come out.—

very affectionately and gratefully
Your obliged friend
Maria Edgeworth.'

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AN EARLY MANUSCRIPT OF THE 'ROMAN DES ROMANS'

In the summer of 1926, while engaged at Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, upon the collation of the excellent Phillipps MS. of the Anglo-Norman *Guy of Warwick* for a forthcoming edition of this romance, my attention was called by the owner, Mr T. FitzRoy Fenwick, to two Old French fragments which have hitherto escaped notice. I have since been authorised by Mr FitzRoy Fenwick to publish the following account of these fragments. I take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of obligation to him for so kindly placing the MS. at my disposal and for facilitating my labours at Thirlestaine House. I have also to thank Professor E. G. R. Waters for a number of valuable suggestions in the preparation of this notice.

Item No. 2324 in the late Sir Thomas Phillipps' catalogue[1] is a volume measuring 10″ × 7″ in wood covers and contains a thirteenth-century manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*[2] (ff. 1–114). The *Historia* ends on line 13 of 114 *d* ...'iam toti loegrie imperaverant sub duce adelstano qui primus inter eos diadema portavit.' The rest of 114 *d* is left blank and is followed immediately by two quires of 8 leaves of vellum (of a darker colour and slightly smaller than the rest of the volume) in different hands. They are unnumbered and were probably inserted at the end of the *Historia* after it was bound, but for the purposes of this notice I propose to number them consecutively ff. 115–130.

Ff. 115–122, which measure 9½″ × 6¼″, contain a fragment of a moralising poem in octosyllabic rhyming couplets. The script (in a thirteenth-century hand) is in double columns of 40 lines, except 117 *b* and 122 *d* which have 38 lines each, making a total of 1276 lines. The fragment begins with a slightly more ornate initial than those used in the rest of the text.

f. 115 *a* Tel quide aleger sa grevance,
Qui creist e duble sa pesance;
Tel se quide mult bien delivrer,
Ki ne se fait fors encumbrer;
Tiel quide aleger sun torment,
Quil creist e duble mult suvent.

[1] *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bart.*, Middle Hill, 1837, pt 1, p. 28.

[2] Sir T. Duffus Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue* (Rolls Series), 1, p. 341, gives a list of MSS. Cp. also the edition of San Marte (Halle, 1854).

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Mielz vient suffrir e endurer
Anguisse ki puet trespasser
Que sanz fin estre dolent;
Mult ad dur sens qui ceo n'entent.
Tel l'entent bien, faire nel volt,
Mais itant tost cum il se deolt,
Si quert mescine de sun mal,
N'iert le peché si criminal,
Ke il ne face de sun gré
Pur acumplir sa volenté.
Ahi! si dulerus cumfort
Ad en pardurable mort.
Mult par est fols qui s'alme ocit
Pur aveir un poi de delit,
Que il ne set cum poi durra,
Neïs cum bien il vivera.
Grant poür ai quant me purpens
Que ci n'erc fors poi de tens;
E cel que ai trespassé
Ai jo si folement usé
Que n'ai rien purchacié
Fors le col chargié de peché;
Trop tart me sui aparceü
Que li secle m'ad deceü.
Jo fis que fols, trop jo estui,
E las, chaitif, mar le conui!
Alkes m'en sui ja treit ensus,
Peise mei que n'en sui plus;
E sachez ben que si jo poeie,
Un petit plus l'esluingnereie.
Mais Deus, ki veit bien mun voleir,
Me purra bien doner poeir
De lui amer e lui servir,
Cum il li est plus a pleisir.

f. 115 *b* Seignurs, que avez el munt trové,
Que tant par l'avez enamé?
Que i avez trové e veü,
Que il vus ad ci deceü?...

The rest of the poem is devoted to a development of this theme: the vanity of the world, its corruption, extending to every class from 'Proveires souls e lecheurs' to 'Mals eveskes e mauls abez,' from 'vilains' to 'Mals seignurs e jovenes reis.' Sin is presented with some ingenuity in various allegorical guises: as the 'feu de felonie' devouring the world —'Plus ad conquis sur ses veisins, Que ne fist Charles ne Pepins'; or, again, as a liege lord exacting dues from, and grinding down his serfs. But

Deu fu pere, Adam parastre,
Marie mere, Eve marastre;
Quanque Adam pecha e forfist,
Trestut amenda Jhesu Crist. (f. 118 *b*, lines 25–28);

and the poet proceeds to develop with no mean skill the antithesis: the

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Fall—the Redemption, Sin—Virtue, culminating in a solemn *memento mori*:

f. 122 *d* A terre nue pouvres nez
Que li riches es liz parez;
Si neissent e muerent senz faille,
Pis sur le paille que sur la paille.
Si vit e viveit mielz e plus bel
Li povres en sun petit bordel
Que es granz paleis u as fortes turs
Li reis u li empereurs.
Ne puet murir petit pur grant,
Ne le povre pur le manant;
Nuls ne puet altre esparnier:
Chescun s'estuet ci aquiter.
Mort n'esparnie veil n'emfant,
Ne le fieble ne le puissant;
Mort n'ad cure de luer;
Vers mort n'ad nule rien mestier.
Ço est mort qui tuz les meine:
Cels en repos, e cels en peine.
Nos anceisurs sunt tuz alez;
La mort les en ad tuz menez;
Unc puis un ça ne returna
Qui nus deïst que cil funt la;
Nus ne rement en ceste vie
Qui d'els nule novele en die.
Ne savum qu'il sunt devenu,
Ne queles veies il unt tenu;
Ne savum quels chemins il tindrent,
Ne u il sunt, ne qu'il devindrent;
Ne savum suz ciel u il sunt,
Quele vie il meinent, ne que il funt;
Mais ceo savum bien sanz dutance,
Kar ceo est nostre creance,
Que or unt il ceo que il deservirent,
U ben u mal, lequel k'il firent.
Ceo qu'il quistrent orunt truvé:
U il sunt livré al malfé
E pardurablement dampnez,
U il sun od les benurez.

At the foot of the page the scribe has indicated the first line of the following quire:

U il sun el fu espurgatoire.

It may reasonably be conjectured that the fragment preserves the greater part of the poem. Certainly the poet had succeeded in working up to an effective climax, and we probably lack only the final solemn call to repentance.

Ff. 123 *a*–130 *b*, which measure $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$, contain a complete, and what is perhaps the oldest and undoubtedly the best extant MS. of *Li Romanz des Romanz*. The script is in double columns of 37–41 lines, making a total of 1008 lines exclusive of the couplet with which the

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poem closes (as in *T*). It is the work of an Anglo-Norman scribe and seems to me to date from the first half of the thirteenth century. The MS. is devoid of any ornamentation, save that the tails of four of the letters in the first line extend considerably above the line and that the beginning of each stanza is indicated in the margin by a ¶.

The MS. shows a considerable number of corrections which fall into two categories: (*a*) corrections made by the scribe in the actual course of his work—erasures, words crossed out and re-written above the line; (*b*) corrections made after the completion of the whole or part of the work (probably the whole). The latter corrections are in a very similar, if not the same hand, but the script is thinner and the ink slightly darker. They generally represent an improvement, but in a few cases are either unimportant (e.g., *jovenes* for *jovnes*) or are definitely changes for the worse. I have found no certain indication that the scribe used a second source in making these corrections. The first and last stanzas read:

f. 123 *a* Ici comence li romanz des romanz;
Molt deit bons estre, kar li nons en est granz,
E profetables e forment delitanz
E as oreilles e as quers des oianz.

f. 130 *b* Kar s'il ust a Deu merci crïé
O bone fai e o simplicité,
Deus est si pleins de grande pïeté
Qu'il li ust son peché pardoné.

followed after a one-line space by:

Si plus i a, ne pois mes.
A ceste parole me tes.

Li Romanz des Romanz has been edited successively by Dr F. J. Tanquerey (T.)[1] and Mr I. C. Lecompte (L.)[2]. I have collated the Phillipps MS. (*R*) with L., and, in attempting to determine the relation of *R* to the other MSS.[3], I have been led to conclusions which differ slightly from those of the editors. It at once appears that *R* shows the

[1] *Deux poèmes moraux anglo-français: Le Roman des Romans* et *Le Sermon en Vers*, éd. F. J. Tanquerey: Paris, Champion, 1922 (T.).

[2] *Le Roman des Romans*, ed. Irville C. Lecompte (Elliott Monographs, Princeton University Press: Paris, Champion), 1923 (L.). Both editions are reviewed by J. Vising in *Literaturblatt für germ. und rom. Phil.*, XLVII, Jan.-Feb., 1926.

[3] The manuscripts are listed as follows by L.:
A Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 25407. Complete. (T.: = *P* 2.)
B Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 19525. Complete. (T.: = *P* 1.)
T Trinity College, Cambridge, 0, 2, 14. Complete. (T.: = *C.*)
M British Museum, Royal 20 B xiv. Complete. (T.: = *L.*)
F Clare College, Cambridge, Kk. 3. 10. Lines 1–298 only.
C Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 24429, and
Vatican 1628, fonds de la reine Christine. Lines 721–976 only. According to L. these two MSS. are so closely related that he allows the reading of one manuscript to stand for both.
D Bodleian, Douce 210. Lines 942–1008 only. (T.: = *O.*)
C and *F* were not used by T.

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greatest affinity with *T*, but does not give the continuation of five stanzas contained in *T*, although it agrees with *T* in giving the concluding couplet.

None of the other MSS. could, owing to gaps and differences of reading, be the source of *R*; nor could *R*, although it has no gaps, be the source of the other MSS., either singly or as a group, owing to differences of reading where they agree in giving the correct reading against *R*.

83 TMABF *tut seit seürs* (MAB *seür*) *e fis*, R *toz seit seignors e fis*. 267 TMABF *a recoillir la blee*, R *al r. le ble*. 138 R omits *tant*. 279 TAB *si veisin e si per*, M omits line, R *si viseinz si per*. 366 v. infra. 469 TMAB *l'em d'iglise*, R *home de i.* (+ 1). 504 and 508 TMAB *Ou, si ceo nun*, R *Ou co que non*. 873 TMABC *haumes*, R *almes*. 893 TMABC *le fié*, R *del fu*, etc.

In classifying the complete MSS. *ABTM* both editors distinguish two groups *AB* and *TM*, but whereas L.[1] contents himself with establishing the superiority of *TM* over *AB*, T.[2] concludes that each group is based on a MS. intermediate between the group and the common source, and that *M* (with *D*) forms a sub-group which shows marked affinities with *AB*. An examination of the variants given in both texts does not appear to justify the assumption of an independent group *TM*, but rather a group *MAB* presenting a marked inferiority to *T*, and a sub-group *AB* showing a decided inferiority to *TM*. The MS. *R* helps to strengthen this conclusion.

RTM and AB: 53 RTM *Ne dites mie*, AB *Ne di mie*. 193 RT *plus se cuide*, M *se c. p.*, AB *se c. tut al mielz*. 196 RTM *adosser*, AB *oster*. 721 RTM *Questioner vus voil*, AB *Queste vus voil mover*. 833 AB omit *vus*. 849 AB omit *seon*. 856 RTM *De la faute*, AB *De la desleaute*. 865 AB omit *tut*. 895 AB omit *faire*, etc.

RT and MAB: Omissions common to MAB: 326 *par*, 330 *de*, 517 *en*, 981 *i*, 997 *il*, 129 second *il* (according to L. omitted in AB only), 542 *bien* (according to T. omitted in TAB). Other cases: 314 RT *vaillescant*, MAB *vaillant* (− 1). 424 RT *sa*, MAB *lur*. 496 RT *traitur*, MAB *traitre*, etc.

Although there are a number of cases in which *T* agrees with *MAB* in giving a wrong reading against *R* (*vide infra*), I think they may be accounted for as due to coincidence, whereas a few but conclusive instances indicate clearly a common source for *RT* representing a slight corruption of the text. For lines 366–7 *MAB* offer a perfectly satisfactory reading: *Ki velt a Rome sa cause bien traitier, S'i porte od sei aukun ruge denier*; *T* omits line 366, gives 367 as *Ki p. od sei a. r. dener*, and adds: *E il les voille al legat baillier*; *R* omits line 366, gives line 367 as *S'i port o sei alcun roge dener*, and gives at the top of the page (f. 125 *b*): *U de blanc argent akes vudra doner*. The omission of line 366 in the source of *RT* is clearly indicated; each filled in the gap with a metrically incorrect line, the addition in *R* being meaningless, that in *T*

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. xii–xv. [2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 4–7.

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inferior to *MAB* which have here undoubtedly preserved the original reading. Further evidence is furnished by:

385 MAB *Oir poet l'om*, RT *Oir poez lon*; MAB *pur faus los*, RT *pur aver f. l.* (R adds *aver* above the line) (+ 2); 860 MAB *ses*, RT *lor*.

It would therefore appear that the source of *RT* was a very good copy of the common source of all the extant MSS.; *R* has reproduced this text much more faithfully and correctly than *T*.

9 T adds *ke*, 10 T omits *ki*, 11 T omits *s'*, 105 T adds *nus*, 161 T omits *mort*, 81 *durement*] T *forment*, etc.

With regard to the incomplete MSS., it is more difficult to indicate their place with certainty, but, as pointed out by L., *C* agrees with *TM* in the large majority of cases (Introd. p. xiv). The few cases which he cites of agreement with *AB* do not seem to me to prove the inferiority of *TM*, supported as the latter are in each case by *R*. I would merely add the following:

796 TR *Li plus hauz d'els*, M *Li plus de eus*, ABC *Cil desor* (AB *de sus*) *els*. L. has rejected *T* for no apparent reason.

The evidence clearly indicates a sub-group *CAB*.

F agrees with *RTM* against an inferior reading in *AB* in a large number of instances (cp. L., Introd. p. xiv). *F* agrees with *AB* against *RTM*.

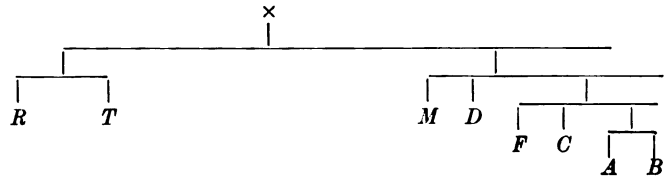
56 RTM *Ainz*, ABF *Mes*. 102 RTM *ubliez*, ABF *trespassez*. 245 RTM *sunt or* (TM *ore*), ABF *sunt*, 294 RTM *abaissiees*, BF *empirees*, A *espirees*, etc.

F would therefore seem to occupy a place similar to that of *C*.

With regard to the short fragment *D* the evidence is very scanty.

Lines 959 RT *deporter*, ABC *a deporter*, D *a porter*, M *a lesser*; and 962 R *E si cunsentent*, T *E c.*, MD *Od eus c.*, A *Cels c.*, B *Od eles c.*; seem to indicate that *D* belongs to the group *MFCAB*, whereas lines 968 RTMD *volt tant suffrir*, ABC *le v. s.*; and 969 RTMD *faire*, ABC *traire*; show that it stands outside the group *FCAB*.

The relation of the manuscripts to each other may therefore be indicated thus:



There are a number of isolated cases where this classification seems to break down. Of these the following are the most serious:

39 RAF *ne ne*, TMB *ne* (– 1) (T.: TA *ne ne*, MB *ne*). (*T*)*MB* have omitted the connecting particle *ne* (< nec).

104 RT *ubliez*, MB *abobez*, AF *eschivez*. *abobez* would seem to be what the poet wrote, for which rare word the unsuitable *ubliez* was substituted in the source of *RT*.

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In the absence of other similar cases the agreement of *AF* against *MB* can only be set down as a coincidence.

356 RTB *d'autre*, MA *de l'autre* (+ 1). Influenced by the *de l'un* of the preceding line, *MA* were led independently to introduce the definite article.

493 RM *Jesus Christ, sire*, *TAB* omit the vocative *sire*.

498 RM *fels* (acc. pl.) replaced by the more common form *felons* (+ 1) in *TAB*.

903 RTC *L'ostel tient net e bien encurtiné*, MAB omit *net e*. *M* and *AB* may well have misread *tientnet e* as *tiennent e* and corrected this to *tient* thus rendering the *e* superfluous; they have thus reduced the line to eight syllables.

The above cases can hardly be said to invalidate the conclusion arrived at. It is just possible that *C* may have had access to a second source outside the group *MDFAB* (cp. line 903), and certain minor resemblances tend to support this hypothesis.

In a large number of instances *R* alone supplies the correct form or version:

Declension: 8 *miens*, 169 *freiles*, 299 *preechement*, 347 *uns*, 405, 556, 561, 582 *evesques*, 450 *ki*, 462 *nus* (= *nuls*), 639 *cascuns*, 760 *pechiez*, 911 *Veritez*.

Conjugation: 5 *Jeo nel comenz*, 350 *e sin port* (subjv.), 367 *Si port* (subjv.) *od sei*, 872 *port* (subjv.).

Orthography: 172 *Crient*, 190 *asazez*, 562 *noisir*, 579 *raencon*, 598 *gaagne*, 601, 611 *gaainz*, 618 *Beneeiz, esperit*, 766 *beneeit*, 824 *abevre*, 944 *criem*, 949 *asazer*.

Other instances:

2 *li nons en est*. *R* alone gives a metrically correct line, justifying the conjecture of both editors and supporting the emendation of T.

99 *turne en adusage*. *R* alone gives the correct reading.

112 *Come sunt cil qui n'unt quinze anz vescu*. The reading of *R* gives a more satisfactory cesura and makes better sense.

118 *il ad concevement*. The context suggests that *R* alone has preserved the reading of the original.

128 *lequel que il ait fait*. *R* alone has the more correct subjunctive.

138 *Quai est de nos*. This line should be taken as a rhetorical question, which *R* alone has done.

343 *quis ja peust*. *R* supports L.'s conjecture (p. xviii).

380 *Qui n'en set rendre ne reison ne acunte*. *R* alone has the first *ne*, thus supporting the emendation of both editors.

567 *Denier unt ja faite mainte merveille*, AB *D. unt fait m. grant m.*, TM *D. unt ja fait m. m.* *R* has probably preserved the correct reading.

624 *en trois*, TB *truis*, M *trove*, A *trovons*. *R* clearly furnishes the correct reading.

661 *ke Crist*, T *k'escrit*, M *le seint escript*, AB *ke Deus*. *R* has probably preserved the correct reading.

725 *se il*. All other MSS. have the incorrect *s'il*.

780 *resunt*, C *si sunt*, ABTM *sunt* (− 1). *RC* alone satisfy the metre, and *R* is the more acceptable.

880 *l'enemi coitus*. All other MSS. have *coveitus*, which gives an 11-syllable line unless *enemi* be treated as disyllabic. L.'s conjecture that the poet did not so treat it is supported by *R*, which has again preserved the reading of the original.

There remain a number of instances where the evidence supplied by *R* may help to clear up doubtful points in the existing editions:

14 *aparaleit* (− 1) (*-para-* over an erasure). T *apareit*, for *apareilt* which probably stood in the source of *RT* and makes sense; but BMF *asuppleit* has been adopted by both editors as a more satisfactory reading. Cp. T., Notes, p. 96.

48 *Tuit i morons* (for *morrons*). *i* is omitted in *TMB* (*M* has preserved the metre by adding *E*). *RF* alone have kept the original reading.

90 *Li uns vivent* (*s* added above the line), for *Li un se vivent* (so T.); *se* was omitted

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in the source of *RT* which *T* has corrected by the addition of *Dunt*. Cp. line 270 *Ke il* (RMFAB *eus*, T omits) *se vivent a grant efforcement*.

110 *Ki cent anz uüt ester f. e c.* (*uüt ester* over an erasure). None of the scribes seems to have made sense of this passage. The reading adopted by T. (cp. Notes, p. 96) finds support in *R* and satisfies both sense and metre.

180 *E a traire mananties volages*. *R* agrees with *TM* in omitting *ensemble*, thus giving a line with lyric cesura. They have probably preserved the reading of the common source, though not necessarily what the poet wrote.

186 *les celestieus querons*. *R* here supports *T* which L. rejected in favour of AMF *les bones conquerrons*.

230 *desoute*. *R* justifies L.'s adoption of M *desute*. Cp. Vising, *op. cit.*

245 *Avers icels ne sunt or fors mintraille*. The variants given by the editors do not agree. L. adopts: *Envers icels ne sunt fors nientaille*, T.: *Envers icels n'eimes fort ne en taille*. The presence of *or* (TM *ore*, FAB omit) indicates a disyllabic word, and *mintraille* (= 'a small coin,' hence 'a thing of little worth') is probably what the poet wrote. Varr. (according to L.): F *mintraille*, A *nuntraille*, M *munstaille*, TB *nientaille*.

267 *vient laoust*. With the exception of *F* the other MSS. have *a laust*, which would satisfy the metre only if *aust* were treated as a contracted form. *R* therefore justifies L.'s adoption of *F* (Introd. p. xvii).

467 *Ki issi monte mult redeit ben descendre*. Varr. of editors do not agree. *R* clearly gives the correct reading as adopted by T.

514 *estuece*. *R* supports L. *estoce* against T. *esteus*. Cp. Vising, *op. cit.*

569 *Cil qui li deivent*. Varr. of editors do not agree. *R* gives the metrically correct reading (ABT omit *li* according to L.) and justifies L.'s adoption of *M*. Cp. Vising, *op. cit.*

583 *cest ovre*; L. *nostre o.*, T. *ceste o.* *T* seems to be the only MS. giving *nostre*, and this seems to have been unintentionally introduced into the text by L. who gives as a variant T *nostre o.*

636 RTM *orrez*, AB *oez*. The agreement of *RTM* suggests that *orrez* should be adopted.

685 This stanza (172) might be used to substantiate the classification suggested. *RT* have the future throughout, which would require *seit* in line 688 (R *seit*, T *est*). In the common source of *MAB* the conditional was substituted but *seit* was allowed to stand (M *seit*). In the common source of AB *seit* was then corrected to *fust*.

802 RC *Ke iceus*. The other MSS. have *Ke ceus*, giving a line with lyric cesura. L.'s adoption of *C* is thus supported, and once again *R* strengthens the conclusion that the poet did not allow himself a licence which appears in Continental poets only at a later date. Cp. Vising, *op. cit.*

891 RC *reuser*. L. adopts TM *reverser*, but his conjecture (Notes, p. 57) that *C* had preserved the original finds support in *R*.

It will, I think, be clear from the variants given that the addition of the Phillipps MS. to the tradition enables us in many cases to restore the original reading where the other MSS. furnish little or no support for emendations. A number of emendations proposed by L. are now justified by *R*, and others suggest themselves. Very few metrical irregularities would thus remain, and there can be little doubt as to the soundness of L.'s conclusion that the *Roman des Romans* is the work of a Continental poet. Although all the extant MSS. were executed in England, the lack of internal evidence makes it impossible to tell whether the poet wrote on the Continent or in England.

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THE 'CANTAR DE GESTA' OF BERNARDO DEL CARPIO

I

EXPOSITORS of the legend of Bernardo del Carpio have hitherto set out from the celebrated outburst by the author of the *Historia Silense* (*c.* 1115) against the singers of the French epics concerning the Spanish conquests of Charlemagne. The passage has been brought forward by Milá and Menéndez Pelayo in order to illustrate, as it admirably does, the growing national consciousness of Spain, and the willingness of Spaniards to regard the battle of Roncesvalles as a national feat of arms. Such an atmosphere would be favourable to the invention and circulation of a special account of that event in which Roland and the peers would fall beneath the swords of Spanish heroes, whose leader might draw his name from an historical Bernardo of Ribagorza, coloniser of the Canal de Jaca. The latter, a mere name in the *Primera Crónica General*, became a romantic hero in Milá's *Cansó del Pros Bernat*, and his connexion with the battle was somewhat strengthened by the ingenuity of Baist and others, who summed up the feats of all the Carolingian Bernards in the hope of producing a plausible plan for the 'primitive epic.' This, however, being originally a hypothesis, does not approach towards certainty by becoming a tissue of hypotheses. Further, the hypothesis and hypotheses have been shown to be useless by the author of the most recent study of the subject, Dr Theodor Heinermann of Münster[1], both because no feats on the Canal de Jaca explain an epic that is chiefly unrolled in the fields of León, and because the battle of Roncesvalles, far from being the principal object of the earliest known redactions, serves merely as an episode in the 'Familiendrama' of the imprisoned Count of Saldaña, the filial piety of his son Bernardo, and the tyrannous perfidy of King Alfonso of León. Dismissing the 'primitive epic' to the limbo of functionless hypotheses, Dr Heinermann commences his studies with the earliest texts that record our legend, the *Chronicon Mundi* (1236) by Lucas, Bishop of Tuy, and the *Historia Gothica* (1243) of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo.

The theme of Bernardo's exploits at Roncesvalles, incidental to the original poem, was underlined by the historians of the thirteenth

[1] *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung der Sage von Bernardo del Carpio.* Halle, Niemeyer, 1927.

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century and by the *Poema de Fernán González*; and it continued to grow in interest with the growth of national rivalries until it reached its maximum of popularity in the Spanish Golden Age. The clear perception of this tendency, and the excision of the hypothetical 'primitive epic' of Bernardo at Roncesvalles, are, in Dr Heinermann's thesis, sure gains of science. Notwithstanding, the exposition of the legend ought to begin at the point at which former expositors commenced, namely, in the pages of the *Historia Silense*[1], though for a reason not hitherto alleged. All our prime authorities—Lucas of Tuy (*L*), Rodrigo Toledano (*R*), the *Primera Crónica General* (*PCG*) and even, in respect of the *Bernardo*, the *Poema de Fernán González*—write as historians. As historians they rely on previous annalists or collections of documents, which they prefer to any other sort of evidence[2]; and of these documents the most important was the *Historia Silense*. Into their hands there also came a *Cantar de Bernardo del Carpio*, endorsed with a strong presumption of historicity, just as to a historian of the House of Lancaster there might come Shakespeare's 'histories' of the three Henries. Neither the modern nor the mediæval historian would reproduce the plot of novelistic material without an application of historical criticism; both, if they decided to avail themselves of the superior vivacity and 'truth to nature' of poetry, would incorporate this sort of material into a plan determined by historical antecedents, and by a method that is essentially the same for both mediæval and modern times. The first step would be to cancel out all matter which is not judged to be of public interest; next, the remaining incidents would be identified with the facts known from previous historical research, and whatever was incompatible with history would suffer a further cancellation; lastly, the identified episodes would be related in the order, and generally in the words, of reliable history, or, where the information was clearly additional, in the intervals between blocks of matter guaranteed by the annals and documents. In the case now under consideration, therefore, it is clear that we have no right to expect from historians, who are our only sources, a straightforward account of the plot of this romance.

[1] *Historia Silense*, ed. F. Santos Coco, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1921. *L* and *R* in Andreas Schottus, *Hispania Illustrata*, Frankfort, 1608, tomes II and IV (reproduced in Dr Heinermann's work cited). *Poema de Fernán González*, ed. C. C. Marden, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Univ., 1904. *PCG*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, Bailly Baillière, 1906. I am indebted to Miss Janet H. Perry for her kindness in verifying certain references.

[2] *R*, p. 75, l. 25: 'Facti igitur evidentiæ est potius annuendum quam fabulosis narrationibus attendendum.' *PCG*, p. 376 *a*: 'nos dezimos lo que fallamos por los latines en los libros antiguos.'

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The principle which determines the rejection of certain kinds of information was stated (about 1115) by the author of the *Historia Silense*, who not only was the most brilliant historian that appeared in Spain before the thirteenth century, but himself incorporated into history novelistic matter concerning King Rodrigo, the last of the Goths, and Pelayo, the hero of Covadonga. For this author history is concerned with kings alone[1]. Towards 1160 a modification was introduced into this principle by the anonymous author of the *Crónica Najerense*[2], who retails the legends of Fernán González, Garci-Fernández and García, counts of Castile, of the sons of Sancho the Great of Navarre, and of Sancho the Strong who died at the siege of Zamora. The difference consists evidently in the Castilian or Riojan patriotism of this chronicler; the *Historia Silense* restricts sovereignty to the 'magni reges' and 'imperatores' of León, and treats the counts of Castile as mere rebels; the Castilian chronicler champions the independence of Castile and treats her counts as independent monarchs. It is clear, none the less, that he also considers the sphere of history as limited to the interests of sovereigns[3], and on that account has no cause to comment on the purely private heroisms of the *Siete Infantes de Lara* and the *Poema de mio Cid*, nor on that part of the *Cantar del Cerco de Zamora* which relates to Diego Ordónez and Arias Gonzalo. These reticences are shared by Lucas of Tuy and Rodrigo of Toledo, who inherit this technique. Concerning Bernardo del Carpio they refrain from relating anything but his royal genealogy, his leadership in a national campaign against Charlemagne, and his intervention in the wars of Alfonso III of León. They have no reason to concern themselves with his private affairs—the game of chess at which he learns of his true parentage, his disputes with his French cousins, the restitution to him of his father—dead. So little do these private affairs interest the two Latin historians that *R* actually affirms that the count of Saldaña was restored to the hero alive and before his intervention in Alfonso's battles, a datum which would bring the whole fabric of the *cantar de gesta* crashing to the ground[4]! In short, it is clear that a certain antagonism exists between the historians and the poets: the primary concern of the poets are the personal adventures of their

[1] Ed. Santos Coco, p. 86: 'regum gesta tantummodo scribere proposui.'

[2] Published by G. Cirot in *Bulletin Hispanique*, XI ff.; cp. R. Menéndez Pidal, 'Relatos poéticos en las crónicas medievales,' in *Revista de Filología Española*, X (1910), pp. 329–72.

[3] Concerning Fernán González the chronicler remarks: 'Qui castellanos de sub jugo legionensis dominationis dicitur extrassise.' The *Historia Silense* describes the count as a rebel (tyrannus, cp. p. 52) and insists on his oath of allegiance (p. 52) and fulfilment of military obligations as a vassal (p. 54), 'nolens volens cum magno metu.'

[4] *R*, p. 78, l. 27: 'Sed Rex Aldefonsus absolutione patris Bernardum concilians contra Arabes exercitum instaurauit.'

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hero, the primary concern of the historians are operations on a national scale.

A new method, however, was introduced into historiography by the redactors of the *Primera Crónica General.* The difference between 'scientific' and 'popular' history, with us a question of method, was in the Middle Ages primarily identified with language. The Latinist was understood to be addressing the learned, the Romancist the public. The authors of vernacular history were, of course, bound to respect the researches of their learned brethren, but they were freer to adopt material which, if not scientifically assured, was at least probable and illuminating. It is only in the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes* that these historians reached the point of preferring the *cantares de gesta* to the official treatises, and even in that case they did not ground their preference on a claim to greater veracity. The scribes of the *PCG* are the servants of *L* and *R.* They prefer the history of the Toledan archbishop at every point, but quote the divergent testimony of 'el sabio don Lucas.' But they also take into account the data of the *cantares* with the more confidence seeing that they had already been accommodated to this purpose by an *estoria*[1], and they are for the first time free to develop at length the private interests of their heroes. It is for that reason that we find in the pages of the *PCG,* for the first time, the legends of the *Infantes de Lara,* the *Poema de mio Cid,* and the conclusion of the poem on the siege of Zamora; for that reason, too, we first discover in its pages the private career of Bernardo del Carpio. But the method of reporting differs in different parts. The birth of the hero is retailed according to the consensus of *L* and *R,* and in their disagreement the battle of Roncesvalles is patched together as well as possible by preferring *R* and introducing some speculations of a naïve sort. In dealing with the wars of Alfonso III, two campaigns are reported in the words of *L* and *R,* words which go back almost entirely to the *Historia Silense*; but a third battle is introduced and related with the same brevity as the other two, that is to say, with more than is probable in a *cantar de gesta,* seeing that brevity is the distinctive quality of the two churchmen. There remain certain episodes taken from the *cantares* or the *estoria* (more generally, perhaps, from the latter), and inserted at convenient interstices between the blocks of historical matter translated or paraphrased from *L* and *R,* viz., between the arrest of the count of Saldaña

[1] *PCG* ,p. 371 *a*: 'et dizen algunos en sus cantares segund que cuenta la estoria....' 351 *a*, n. 8: 'segund cuenta la ystoria' (MSS. BU). More doubtful is 356 *b*, n. 40: 'segunt que lo ha contado la ystoria ante desto,' which should be a reference to the *PCG* itself, but the matter referred to is not in the *PCG.*

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and the battle of Roncesvalles, between that battle and the wars of Alfonso III, or after the conclusion of these wars. It is evident that we cannot ask from the *PCG* a veracious account of the *Cantar de Bernardo del Carpio*, and, in view of the diverse treatment of the original and the interposition of the *estoria*, it is hazardous to allege that any single scene in the original poem is reflected faithfully in the vernacular history[1].

Lest any reader of the above account of early Spanish historiography should give it too facile a credence, let me make haste to acknowledge that there is no novelty in calling attention to the reticences of the Latin chroniclers. They are among the commonplaces of criticism, and are protected by the sturdy growth of inferences which already covers them. The most notable of these inferences are those emitted by Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal in his article entitled 'Relatos poéticos en las crónicas medievales' and in various books, notably the *Juglares y Poesía Juglaresca* and *L'Epopée Castillane à travers la Littérature Espagnole*. In the first-named essay he hails the *Crónica Najerense* as an innovation in Spanish historiography: 'inasmuch as it took notice not only of the kings, but also of the national heroes[2].' Commenting on its reticences, he holds that the epic of the *Siete Infantes de Lara*, notwithstanding the silence of the chronicler, did in fact exist in 1160; it was excluded 'because without biographical reference to any count or king of Castile, like those that were accepted[3].' The absence of the *Poema de mio Cid* and the presence of part of the epic concerning Zamora leads to the inference that the poems reproduced by the chronicler were anterior to the Cid epic[4], so that the author of the *Cantar de Zamora o de don Sancho el Fuerte* would have been the first to estimate correctly the worth of the hero[5]. It is further inferred that, as the chronicler does not tell us of the famous *reto* or challenge with its consequent duel between Diego Ordóñez and the sons of Arias Gonzalo, therefore this second

[1] At various times Sr Menéndez Pidal has attempted an estimate of the length of the various *cantares de gesta* (e.g., *Estudios Literarios*, p. 228, *Juglares*, p. 325, etc.), calculating that of our *cantar* at about 1500 lines. In view of the interposition of the *estoria* between the *PCG* and the *cantar*, the calculation must be regarded as conjectural. Any further deduction made from that estimate (such as the inference classifying the *cantares* into three types according as their length approximates on 500, 1500 or 3000 lines, and associating these classes with an approximate chronology) ought to be treated, in the case of this epic, with extreme reserve.

[2] *Revista de Filología Española*, x (1923), p. 350: 'por no atender sólo a los reyes, sino también a los héroes nacionales.'

[3] *Juglares*, p. 321.

[4] *Revista de Filología Española*, x (1923), p. 351: 'ya que el autor del *Najerense* no conoce el *Mío Cid*.'

[5] In the *Revista de Occidente*, IV ('De la Vida del Cid'), pp. 146–7, Sr Pidal has argued for a Mozarab appreciation of the heroism of the Cid as anterior to the esteem given him by Castile. His argument is covered by the superscription: 'A prophet is not honoured in his own country.'

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portion of the *Cantar de Zamora* belongs to a second redaction of the poem[1]. I do not wish to impugn the accuracy of these conclusions, which were defended on other grounds before the discovery of the *Crónica Najerense*, but only to call attention to their premiss. The persons cited by the chronicler seem to me to be fewer than the whole number of the national heroes: he is concerned only with reigning counts or kings of Castile (as stated in the special argument for the existence of the *Siete Infantes de Lara*), and even in epics referring to them a chronicler's interest does not necessarily extend beyond the scenes or sections in which they play an important part. The history under discussion, therefore, seems to me to contain no argument for or against the existence in 1160 of private epics or portions of epics, such as the *Siete Infantes de Lara*, the *Poema de mio Cid* and the *Reto de Zamora*. The same argument applies to the silences of Lucas of Tuy and Rodrigo of Toledo. On the other hand, the *Cantar de Bernardo del Carpio* contains some scenes of merely personal interest which any serious historian might ignore, but also others which are indissolubly linked with the great names of Charlemagne and the second and third Alfonsos of León. The silence of all historians previous to Lucas of Tuy, therefore, is sufficient evidence that the poem was unknown to them, and probably not in their time composed. Its date remains between 1160 and 1236.

When we pass to the second principle of the historians, viz., that of the identification of some matters and the rejection of others, we are first struck by the notable agreement of the two Latinists. A highly fabulous epic is by them pinned surely down to the reign of Alfonso III. Both consider whether the whole history of Bernardo del Carpio may not refer to this reign: both transfer certain episodes to the reign of Alfonso II, after a discussion of the various possible French monarchs named Charles in which both give the incorrect order: Magnus, Calvus, Martellus; both add a note admitting the difficulty and submitting their work to correction[2]. Both pay little attention to the absence of Bernardo's name from the reigns of Ramiro I and Ordoño I. The *PCG* tells us that

[1] *Revista de Filología Española*, x (1923), p. 350: 'Esa forma primitiva se conserva afortunadamente, resumida y prosificada en la *Crónica Najerense*.' Since writing the above I have, by the courtesy of M. Cirot, examined attentively the relevant passage in the *Crónica Najerense*, and my resulting opinions appear, contemporaneously with this article, in the *Bulletin Hispanique* ('On the *Carmen de Morte Sanctii Regis*'). The *Crónica* depends, not on a vernacular poem, but on a short Latin piece in about 150 hexameters, some 63 of which I have ventured approximately to reconstruct. It is probable that the episodes omitted in the *Crónica* were also omitted by the *Carmen*, and that the latter was intended to commemorate Sancho II's entombment at the monastery of Oña, securing thereby whatever donations may have depended on that fact.

[2] *R*, p. 78, l. 44; cp. *L*, p. 79, l. 40. *L* remarks: 'Vnde sæpius in historiis ambiguitas oritur, & vnius factum alteri attribuitur.'

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according to the *cantares* the hero's mother was named Tiber, but both *L* and *R* name her, without discussion, Jimena. Both give only those names of the dead at Roncesvalles which they had received from the *Historia Silense*. It is by no means impossible that these features were due to the intelligence of 'el sabio don Lucas de Tuy,' but it is also possible that the task of historical identification may already have been partly completed. We know from the *PCG*, as already remarked, that in addition to the *cantares* there existed an *estoria*. *R* and *L* do not explicitly name their source. We find, however, that the *Anales Toledanos Primeros*[1] (*c.* 1219) are of the opinion that the battle of Roncesvalles occurred in the reign of Alfonso III, an opinion quoted and refuted by *R* and the *PCG*, but accepted by *L* along with the attribution to Alfonso II, and it is difficult to see how this date could arise either from the French *chansons de geste* or the Pseudo-Turpin, or even the poem concerning Bernardo unless its data had been accommodated to history. The *Anales* add a further curious date: that of Charles' entry into Spain 49 years before this battle. This interval is not suggested by the French *chansons de geste*, seeing that the *Roland*, *Spagna* and *Prise de Pampelune* assign the Emperor only seven years of conquest[2]; nor is it suggested by the Pseudo-Turpin's narrative. It does not correspond to the interval indicated by French tradition between the youth and old age of Charlemagne, the *Mainet* and the *Roland*, seeing that in the latter the emperor is 200 years old[3]. But it does correspond with the interval allowed by the scribes of the *PCG* between their *Mainet* and their Roncesvalles. In the *PCG* this interval is 43 years (DCCCI–DCCCXLIV): in the *Anales* it is 49 years (DCCCC–DCCCCXLIX). It appears that the labour of forming a chronology had already been undertaken before 1219, the date of the *Anales*, and that this labour corresponded to the *Estoria de Bernardo*. The *Mainet* also affects our legend when it affords *R* and the *PCG* an argument against the historicity of Charlemagne's Pilgrimage to Compostela, asserted by the *estoria*.

[1] Ed. Huici: *Crónicas Latinas de la Reconquista* (Valencia, 1913), I, p. 340: 'Murió el rey D. Alfonso el casto: era DCCCLXXXVII... Vino Carle Magne en España; era DCCCC... Fue la batalla de Roncesvalles, quando murieron los XII pares. Era DCCCCXLIX. Murió Carle Magne.'

[2] Bédier, *Légendes Epiques*, III, p. 115; cf. III, p. 137, where *Guy de Bourguinon* is said to increase the figure to 27 years.

Carles li reis, nostre emperere magnes,
Set anz tuz pleins ad ested en Espaigne.
Chanson de Roland, *vv.* 1–2.

[3]
Dist li Sarrazins: Merveille en ai grant
de Carlemagne ki est canuz et blancs;
mien escientre plus ad de .ii.c.ans.
Chanson de Roland, 550–2.

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Such a work as we have been describing could have had its origin in a desire to exploit the Carolingian traditions of Compostela among those Leonese and Spanish pilgrims whose patriotism could not permit them to tolerate the sarcasms of the Pseudo-Turpin. In the data of this legend which have been transmitted to us there is a certain preoccupation with the interests of the Compostelan see, and, to a lesser extent, with that of St Saviour's at Oviedo. *L* reports that Charles restored the Isidorian organisation of the Spanish church and settled the Primacy on the Galician archbishopric, but it is possible he may here be reporting the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*. Apart, however, from the special argument in favour of the Primacy of St James, which is put forward by the Pseudo-Turpin, the *chansons de geste* had repeatedly insisted that the aim of Charlemagne's Spanish wars had been the clearance of the route to Santiago de Compostela[1], and, when these fictions began to be repeated in the Spanish *cantares de gesta*, they were still serviceable to the claims of the Galician archbishopric. It is noteworthy that our poet or historian's geography, so far as we know it through the obscure medium of the extant chroniclers, tends to coincide with main routes to the shrine of the Protomartyr Apostle. In Navarre he speaks only of well-known stations on the Pilgrims' Route, such as Nájera and Monte Jardino, or Pyrenean Passes cited in the guide-books, Roncesvalles and Val Carlos, Gitarea (Sizara), Aspa. In Castile he names only one place, Ordejón de Amaya, but it is recorded that the road was altered by Sancho III of Navarre (d. 1035) so as to run through Amaya. In the kingdom of León itself the poet's geography gains breadth; it pivots on the city of Zamora, founded by Alfonso III, and names most of the important towns and divisions of the province. Only one significant detail has been transmitted to us, namely, the mention of the Vado de Bimbre on the river Tormes near Salamanca. Yet even in León a number of scenes of the narrative are aligned along the south-north road to Compostela: El Carpio, Alba de Tormes, Salamanca, Vado de Bimbre, Zamora, Benavente (El Encinal or El Romeral?), Polvorera on the Orbigo (at Puente Orbigo the south-north route meets the east-west Pilgrims' Way), the Torres de Luna on a tributary of the Orbigo though not on the road, Astorga, Santiago de Compostela.

Both poet and cleric, as Bédier has repeatedly shown, found their interest in advancing the fame of a shrine or pilgrimage, and we may

[1] Venus somes conquerre Aragon et Castelle
et dou baron saint Jaques eslargir la sentelle.
Entrée en Espagne, 9437–8.

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suppose that the difference between the *cantar* and the *Estoria de Bernardo* consisted, not in the importation of a new interest by the latter, but only in giving clearer definition to episodes which had a bearing on ecclesiastical privilege. These episodes also attracted the goodwill of Lucas, bishop of Tuy, who necessarily championed the claim of his archbishop to the Primacy: *L* regards the fabulous Isidorian constitution bestowed by Charlemagne on his archbishop as the truth which most enlists his credence and support; he, therefore, has no difficulty in accepting all the antecedents of that donation—the legend of the emperor's Pilgrimage to the shrine of St James and the battle of Roncesvalles as the crowning incident of a long warfare with the Spanish Moors. At most he might have patriotic scruples in subscribing to the assertions of *chansons de geste* which have no knowledge of the recorded course of the Asturo-Leonese Reconquest, and which are recounted by the Pseudo-Turpin in a manner wholly unfavourable to Spain. One is not surprised that, having to choose between the *chansons de geste* and the legend we are studying, he should have preferred to relate this latter. The Pseudo-Turpin, however, had spoken of two pilgrimages and two regulations of the affairs of Compostela, and *L* doubles his account, not only of the pilgrimage, but also of the battle of Roncesvalles itself.

Very different is the criterion of truth in the eyes of an archbishop of Toledo, and especially of an archbishop so zealous for the prerogatives of his see as Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. Nothing could be less credible in his eyes than the Pseudo-Turpin and the pretended Primacy of Compostela. Not only does *R* place the word 'primas' against the names of all his predecessors since the conquest of the city, but he quotes the decisive epitaph:

> Primo Bernaldus fuit hic *primas* uenerandus,
> huic successit Raymundus, episcopus Oxomensis.

He devotes a whole chapter to denying the claim put forward for the Primacy of St Isidore's see of Seville during the Visigothic era (lib. IV, cap. iii), so cutting away the ground from beneath the Compostelan archbishop; and it is said that death overtook him while on the road to Rome to contest the rival claims of Tarragona[1]. His interests, coinciding with the truth of history, prevented him from giving credence to any of the *chansons de geste* or *cantares de gesta* relating to Charlemagne's Spanish wars, which served, as we have seen, the special ambitions of his rival in Galicia. *R*, therefore, exalts the authority of a work which was generally trusted, but at this point ignored, by *L*: he cites the

[1] Ballester, *Fuentes Narrativas de la Historia de España*, p. 78.

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Historia Silense, which itself was citing Eginhard. From these sources he knows that the Moors took no part in the battle, and so the first of a chain of incidents leading up to the fictitious donation can be categorically denied. But, though his position is ultimately a denial of all the epic data, the archbishop has still to reckon with the popular prejudice in their favour. His argument is very carefully constructed. It consists of a series of positions, each defensible in itself, like Wellington's lines at Torres Vedras, each stronger than its outer line and designed to keep the enemy as far as possible from the vital spot. He knows from Eginhard that Basques fought with French at Roncesvalles, but he is willing to accept from our poem the presence of Leonese, and even, in view of the greatness of the event, to set at the head of the Spanish troops the king himself. But the epics assert the presence of the Moors. Very well, the French were defeated, so that the allegation of extensive French conquests in Spain is still incredible: further, these conquests can mostly be dated and assigned to Spanish kings and chiefs. He censures the bishop of Tuy for relying on fables in place of historical documents[1] and for confounding in the renown of one French emperor 200 years of the Spanish Reconquest. There being no Moorish wars of the type described in the epics, it follows that there could have been no Pilgrimage to Compostela. But some advantages (said popular prejudice) were conferred by Charles on the pilgrims to the shrine. Very well, according to the *Mainet*, Charles had in his youth resided in the court of the Moorish king of Toledo: let him use his influence there in the interest of Christians travelling in the North. We must note two points in this defence which are of importance for our legend[2]. Though *R*'s account of the battle is wholly Christian, his admission in the words 'siue enim a Christianis siue a Sarracenis ipse vel eius exercitus fuit victus' shows that he is contesting a text in which the Moors have a share in the battle. Further, having asserted the defeat of Charles, he considers that

[1] *R*, p. 74, l. 44: 'Nonnulli histrionum fabulis inhærentes ferunt Carolum ciuitates...in Hispaniis acquisisse...& stratam publicam a Gallis & Germanis ad sanctum Iacobum recto itinere direxisse.'

[2] The passage is so important that I quote it in full. *R*, p. 75, l. 23:

'Cum igitur hæc omnia infra ducentorum annorum spacium potestati accreuerunt Christianæ, non video quid in Hispaniis Carolus acquisiuerit, cum ab eius morte anni pene effluxerunt quadringentesimi. Facti igitur euidentiæ est potius annuendum, quam fabulosis narrationibus attendendum. Siue enim a Christianis siue a Sarracenis ipse vel eius exercitus fuit victus, itinere retrogrado comitatus damnis & periculis retrocessit nec stratam sancti Iacobi suo itinere potuit publicare, cui non obuenit transitum vallis Roscidæ penetrare: sed longe post cum gloria apostoli Iacobi miraculis publicata pœnitentium animos incitasset, propulsis a strata Sarracenorum incursibus, occultæ semitæ in viam publicam concreuerunt, per quam ferme ab vniuersis Christianorum finibus beati apostoli limina visitantur: nisi forte aliquod insigne fecerit eo tempore, quo cum rege Galafro Toleti degebat.'

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the legend of the Pilgrimage has no other foundation. But in the Pseudo-Turpin the two Pilgrimages precede Roncesvalles. *R* is answering a legend, therefore, in which the Pilgrimage followed the battle, and we are assured that his text of the *Bernardo* did contain the account of the Pilgrimage despite the archbishop's sedulous silence. It is not that he wishes to recount to us the plot of *Bernardo del Carpio*: he wants, in fact, to conceal it as far as possible in face of the popular presumption of its historicity.

In this quarrel of the archbishops the place of the *Primera Crónica General* is, like that of the *Anales Toledanos*, on the side of the Toledan. But its authors have even greater difficulty, seeing that they employ the vulgar tongue, in refuting legends supported strongly by vulgar prejudice. They therefore offer naïve suggestions, and report the allegations of the bishop of Tuy as less desirable alternatives: they reject the Isidorian constitutions and the Pilgrimage, but welcome *R*'s suggestion that some advantages attributed to the French emperor may have resulted from his stay at Galafre's court in Toledo. Rejecting the Pilgrimage, they have no way of conveying Bernardo to the emperor's court according to the data of the poem, but they suggest that he (an epic hero!) may have been taken prisoner, and they father this unhappy offspring of their invention on the unsuspecting bishop of Tuy!

After the process of criticism was completed it remained for a historian, treating of this legend of Bernardo del Carpio, to arrange the surviving matter in the scheme prescribed by preceding historians; and here again the dead hand of the *Historia Silense* appears to have weighed on the *cantar de gesta*. In the *PCG* we have a speech in which Bernardo reproaches Alfonso with the ingratitude shown him despite his services in three momentous battles, those of Benavente, Zamora and Río Orbigo; and it is in this order, perhaps by an oversight, that the *PCG* narrates these events[1]. *L* and *R*, however, who have the *Historia Silense* in their hands, besides cancelling the battle of Benavente as unidentifiable, have restored the historical order of the other two engagements and have described the battle of the Orbigo as taking place almost simultaneously at Polvorera and at Valdemorilla. The truth of these details was guaranteed by the *Historia Silense*, but we cannot say with certainty whether Valdemorilla was also named in the *cantar*, or in the *estoria* based upon the *cantar*. In the manner of reporting the epic material,

[1] *PCG*, p. 372 *a*: 'bien sabedes uos de quam bien uos yo acorri con el mio cauallo en Benauent... Otrossi quando fuestes dessa uez lidiar con el moro que yazie sobre Çamora... otrossi de como uos acorri cercal rio Oruego.'

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L and *R* are distinguished by their brevity and their strict attention to matters of national interest; *PCG* paraphrases *L* and *R*, generally with faithfulness, but also introduces blocks of episodes drawn from the *estoria* and from the *cantares*. The same or analogous methods are employed by the cleric who wrote the *Poema de Fernán González*, by the ballad poets of the *Primavera* (though not by the Asturian and Portuguese ballads), by the translator of the archbishop's history into Spanish, and by the various redactors of the *Crónica General*[1]. In no direction can we look for an unsophisticated report of the content of the *Cantar de Bernardo del Carpio*, either in respect of the order of narration or of the contents of the episodes. It is clear that our first need is to tell the story credibly to ourselves, in a manner that will be necessarily hypothetical and perhaps sin through overmuch logic. Whatever may be urged against such a reconstruction, we may be certain of two principles: the episodes of a successful story must have been connected by an intelligible logic of sequence, and an epic poet must have been interested above all in the personality and in the private interests of his hero.

II

The Plot of Bernardo del Carpio

1. *The Imprisonment of Count Sancho Díaz of Saldaña.* When Timbor or Tiber, sister of Charlemagne, was engaged in a pilgrimage to Santiago, and on her return from the shrine (as 'algunos dizen en sus cantares et en sus fablas'), she was the victim of Count Sancho (*PCG*, p. 351 *a*). The matter was reported to her brother-in-law, King Alfonso of León, husband of Charlemagne's sister Berta (358 *b*), who caused two nobles, Orios Godos and Tiobalt, to arrest the count, and to convey him to perpetual imprisonment in the Torres de Luna (351 *a*), in which the unfortunate man languished ('segunt cuenta la ystoria') for 47 years (*PCG*, p. 351 *a* n. 8, MSS. BU—this 'ystoria' is not *L* nor *R*). At Count Sancho's request the fruit of his intrigue, Bernardo, was brought to the court. He was a promising boy, beloved of the king, and reared under the impression that he was the king's only son (351 *a*).

2. *The Rout of Charlemagne and the Peers.* It was, therefore, with indignation that Bernardo heard of Alfonso's secret offer to Charlemagne

[1] I have at hand the *Historia de los Godos* (as published in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, lxxxviii), and the *Cuarta Crónica General* (*C.I.E.*, cv–cvi) Dr Heinermann consulted the *Tercera Crónica General* for his thesis already cited, and Sr Menéndez Pidal handled all these documents in his 'Roncesvalles,' in *Revista de Filología Española*, iv (1917), pp. 105–204.

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to give him the reversion to the Leonese crown, whether this offer were the result of a demand by the emperor (*L*) or a spontaneous act by the king (*R*). Charlemagne had been engaged in driving the Moors from France, but on receipt of a second epistle, dictated by Bernardo, revoking the first, he resolved to turn his arms against Christian Spain. Bernardo with 300 followers, 'putting behind him the fear of God,' joined Marsilie of Zaragoza, and attacked a portion of the French army (*R*: the van, *L*: the rear, cf. *PCG*, p. 354 *a*), killing Roland and others of the Peers, and putting Charles to flight (352 *b*–353 *b*). French and Spanish poets equally admitted the presence of Basques in the fight, in which they were captained, according to a late authority, by Fortún García (*C.I.E.*, lxxxviii, p. 392). The victory was due mainly to the efforts of Bernardo.

3. *Charlemagne's Pilgrimage.* Having retreated to Germany, Charles realised his error, and returned to his legitimate policy of war on the Moors. He crushed Marsilie and captured Zaragoza (*PCG*, p. 355 *b*, reporting *L*). 'Algunos dizen en sus cantares et en sus fablas de gesta' that Charles conquered a number of Spanish cities and cleared and opened the road to Compostela (*PCG*, p. 355 *b*, quoting *R*). The emperor proceeded amicably to Compostela and San Salvador de Oviedo, and restored the Isidorian constitution of the Spanish church, with the approval of Alfonso (*PCG*, p. 357 *a*, citing *L*, who narrates two pilgrimages, as in the Pseudo-Turpin). In this expedition he met Bernardo and took him back to France (355 *b*, *L*). We learn from the *estoria*, however, that Bernardo returned to Spain to fight many battles for Alfonso III and to build El Carpio on Spanish soil, and further that he died in Spain (355 *b*, and n. 45, MSS. BU).

4. *The Revelation.* 'Cuenta en la estoria de Bernaldo' that two of Bernardo's relatives, Blasco Meléndez and Suero Velásquez, resolved to acquaint him with the fate of his father. They contrived to have him reproached with his ancestry over a game of chess, played with María Meléndez and Urraca Sánchez. Bernardo requested the king for his father's liberation, but was refused. He bowed to necessity, but was evidently no longer attached to the Leonese crown. He willingly accompanied Charles to France (355 *b*) where his relations lived (Milá MS., cited by Heinermann).

5. *The Repudiation.* Having arrived in France, Bernardo doubtless distinguished himself in whatever war might be on foot (*L*), but history said nothing about his exploits ('la estoria non cuenta ende nada, desdel tiempo del rey don Alfonso el Casto fasta este rey don Alfonso el Magno,'

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370 *a*). The poets 'dizen en los cantares' that Bernardo went to the royal palace and introduced himself as Timbor or Tiber's son, but that the relationship was denied by another of her sons. Bernardo launched a defiance, but no combat is recorded. Finding his presence in France no longer desired, he accepted Charles' gift of horses and money, and returned to Spain down a lane of devastation (375 *b*).

6. *The Combat with Bueso.* 'Dizen algunos en sus cantares segund cuenta la estoria' that this Bueso was first cousin of our hero's. He led a vast army from France into Spain, and met the forces of Alfonso at Ordejón near to Amaya in Old Castile. On promise of his father's liberty, Bernardo challenged and killed his cousin; the French dispersed, but Alfonso broke his word (371 *a*).

7. *The Wars of Alfonso.* Among the wars of Alfonso three campaigns are conspicuous in the *cantar*, and 'those who listen to this history ("los que esta estoria oydes"—the reference is to the *PCG* itself) ought to know that in all these battles had by King Alfonso against the Moors, in all Bernardo was an excellent knight-at-arms and served the king well; that in all he asked of him his father's freedom; and that the king always promised to surrender him, but, on the return of peace and quiet to the realm, refused to give him to Bernardo' (371 *ab*). Fighting at Benavente with Ores of Mérida, Bernardo gave up his horse to Alfonso 'et cuenta aqui la estoria de como en esta batalla fue Bernardo muy bueno.' (This reference is not satisfied by *L* or *R*.) When the troops collected for this expedition had dispersed, Alfonso was surprised by the prophet Alchaman and had only time to throw himself into the fortress of Zamora. Bernardo collected an army and raised the siege. Again, when Alfonso was hard pressed at the Orbigo, Bernardo set him free by defeating the Moors (370 *ab*). It is less certain whether this last battle was fought, in accordance with the evidence of the *Historia Silense*, both at Polvorera and at Valdemoro (Valdemora, Valdemorilla).

8. *The Queen's Intercession.* Disgusted with the king's perfidy, Bernardo withdrew from court for a whole year, being unwilling to do the king military service (371 *a*). The queen, however, was persuaded by Orios Godos and Tiobalt to request his intervention in a tourney celebrated at Pentecost in León. In reward for his brilliant feats she personally entreated Alfonso for the liberation of the Count of Saldaña, alleging that this was her first request ever made. Alfonso refused to break his oath (372 *a*), and the queen silently returned to her palace.

9. *The Defiance* (*Reto*). Apprised of this refusal, Bernardo went weeping to make the same request. Alfonso refused with fury. Bernardo

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then upbraided him with ingratitude for all his services during the Moorish campaigns, and hurled at him a formal defiance (*reto*). Alfonso countered with a sentence of exile, and Bernardo withdrew in the company of his relatives, Blasco Meléndez, Suero Velásquez and Nuño de León (372 *ab*).

10. *The Siege of El Carpio.* Retiring to Saldaña, Bernardo carried on his war for two years (372 *b*). He received reinforcements from the districts of Benavente, Toro and Zamora, and, when Alfonso decided to hold his court in Salamanca, Bernardo marched to Alba de Tormes, and then down the river as far as Osier Ford. There he left 200 knights in ambush and advanced with 100. Some retainers of Alfonso, returning from the chase, attempted to reach the town, but Bernardo intercepted them; the king then ordered out his troops, and these were drawn into the ambuscade. After heavy fighting Bernardo won, and took as prisoners the Counts Orios Godos and Tiobalt. He then constructed the castle of El Carpio on a hillock nine miles south of Salamanca, and 'segund dize la estoria por el latin' (perhaps *L* or *R*) permitted the Moors to ravage León as far as the capital and Astorga. Alfonso resolved to besiege El Carpio. Bernardo at first tried conciliation: he set Orios Godos and Tiobalt at liberty in the hope that Alfonso would release Count Sancho. When that hope failed he sallied out of the castle, and devastated León. On his return he again defeated the royal forces, though with reverence for the royal person, and plundered the camp. His followers complained that they were recalled too soon, 'et cuenta la estoria' that their complaint was well founded. The war was profitable to Bernardo (373 *a*–374 *b*).

11. *The Release of Count Sancho.* Alfonso's advisers, seeing the ruin of León, urged him to release the imprisoned count. Orios Godos and Tiobalt offered to escort the prisoner. On reaching Luna they found that he was already three days dead. They asked for instructions and were ordered to bring him nevertheless. 'Et algunos dizen en sus romances et en sus cantares' that the king ordered the count to be bathed, dressed and propped on a horse. When the cortège reached León, Bernardo surrendered the keys of El Carpio and advanced to meet his sire. Finding him a corpse, he broke out into laments and into imprecations against the king, who fulminated a last and definitive sentence of banishment (374 *a*–375 *b*).

Appendix. At the conclusion of the tragedy the *PCG* reverts to certain scenes recorded by the *cantares* but not by the *estoria*, as it would seem. The scribes, without citing any authority, identify Bernardo with

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Bernardo de Ribagorza, conqueror of the Canal de Jaca, Ainsa, Berbegal, Barbastro, Sabarne and Montblanque. This Bernardo they marry to a fabulous Galinda or Galiana, daughter of a fabulous (and possibly Moorish) Alardos de Latre[1]; from Galinda the Galíndez family in Aragon is descended. They further treat of the date to be assigned to the battle of Roncesvalles (375 *b*–376 *a*). Later the chroniclers notice the death of Bernardo, reported by the bishop of Tuy (376 *b*), and speculate on his possible return to Spain after a second stay in France. Bernardo's burial in Spain, not expressly stated by *L*, appears to have been a datum of the *estoria* (355 *b*).

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

GLASGOW.

[1] Bernardo of Ribagorza (900–935) married Toda, daughter of the count of Aragón.

(*To be continued.*)

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FERDINAND FREILIGRATH'S DEBT TO ENGLISH POETS

II[1].

In considering Freiligrath's poetry of tropical seas, we have suggested the possibility of his indebtedness to John Wilson and Byron. But we are on firmer ground in the case of Mrs Hemans, in whose works resemblances to Freiligrath in this as in other respects are many and striking. Thus her picture of the foreign waters to be traversed and the marvels to be encountered by 'The Parting Ship' is worth quoting by the side of Freiligrath's verses addressed to 'Einem Ziehenden' and certain stanzas from 'Die Tanne':

Die See geht hoch: tritt deine Wallfahrt an!
Lass von den Raa'n
Die Segel fallen, lass die Wimpel wehn!

Bald senkst du fern
In fremden Kiessand deines Ankers Wucht:
Sei's! keine Bucht,
Kein Meereseiland, keine Küstenstatt,
So nicht für dich ein freundlich Grüssen hat.
(I, p. 22.)

Das Meer sollt' ich befahren
Und fremde Länder schauen.

Ich habe die See befahren;
Meerkön'ge sah ich thronen;
Mit schwarzen und blonden Haaren
Sah ich die Nationen.

Isländisch Moos im Norden
Grüsst' ich auf Felsenspalten;
Mit Palmen auf südlichen Borden
Hab' Zwiesprach ich gehalten.
('Die Tanne,' I, p. 115.)

Go, in thy glory, o'er the ancient sea,
Take with thee gentle winds thy sails to swell;
Sunshine and joy upon thy streamers be,—
Fare thee well, bark! farewell!

...go thou triumphing, while still the smiles
Of summer tremble on the water's breast!
Thou shalt be greeted by a thousand isles,
In lone, wild beauty drest.

To thee a welcome, breathing o'er the tide,
The genii groves of Araby shall pour!
Waves that enfold the pearl shall bathe thy side,
On the old Indian shore.

Oft shall the shadow of the palm-tree lie
O'er glassy bays wherein thy sails are furled,
And its leaves whisper, as the wind sweeps by,
Tales of the elder world.

Oft shall the burning stars of Southern skies,
On the mid-ocean see thee chained in sleep,
A lonely home for human thoughts and ties,
Between the heavens and deep.

[1] Continued from p. 206.

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Blue seas that roll on gorgeous coasts renowned,
By night shall sparkle where thy prow makes way;
Strange creatures of the abyss that none may sound,
In thy broad wake shall play.

From hills unknown, in mingled joy and fear,
Free dusky tribes shall pour, thy flag to mark;—
Blessings go with thee on thy lone career!
Hail, and farewell, thou bark!...(etc.)

In 'Die Schiffe' Freiligrath approaches his theme in a somewhat different manner, the vessels themselves being made to tell him of the foreign countries from which they have come; the essence of the matter, however, remains the same, the author's delight in the exotic regions to which the ocean-going ship makes its way. This is expressed again in the fragment entitled 'Schiffbruch,' the close resemblance of which to Mrs Hemans's 'The Ocean' is too obvious to be called in question:

...wär' ich ein Matrose,
Dann wünscht' ich einen Sturm und eine Wasserhose
Im fernsten Südmeer mir; ...dass mein Schiff
Der zürnenden Gewalt des Trombengeists verfiele,
Dass, mast- und segellos, es sässe mit dem Kiele
Gespiesst auf ein blutroth, thurmhoch Korallenriff.
Des Meeres Arme sind die zackigen Korallen;
Aus seiner Tiefe streckt es sie, wie blut'ge Krallen,
Nach den belasteten Ostindienfahrern aus;....
Die Wände seines Saals—Eisberge! glänzend stehen
An beiden Polen sie!—bedeckt es mit Trophäen:
Der Schiffe Flaggen und zerrissene Segel sind's....
(Südseeinseln) ruhn an der Brust des Oceanes;
Sie lächeln durch den Sturm;...
So lächelnd schlummerte, inmitten von Gewittern,
Der Sohn des Menschen einst auf dem Tiberias.

All the images contained in this piece—the dangers of the deep, the coral reefs of the South Seas, the glittering icebergs of the Arctic regions, Christ stilling the storm on the Lake of Galilee—and practically no others, are to be found in Mrs Hemans's poem, which tells how:

He that in venturous barks hath been
A wanderer on the deep,
Can tell of many an awful scene,
Where storms for ever sweep....
Of icebergs, floating o'er the main,
Or, fixed upon the coast,
Like glittering citadel or fane,
'Mid the bright realms of frost;

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Of coral rocks, from waves below
In steep ascent that tower,
And fraught with peril, daily grow,
Formed by an insect's power....

Let heaven and earth in praise unite,
Eternal praise to Thee,
Whose word can rouse the tempest's might,
Or still the raging sea! (p. 573.)

We cannot be certain that Freiligrath's picture of the emigrants about to leave their native land in search of a new and better home beyond the seas ('Die Auswanderer') is directly connected with Mrs Hemans's 'Song of Emigration[1]' (p. 381), although the idea underlying the two poems, viz., the hope of better times, tempered by grief at leaving old, familiar surroundings, is undoubtedly the same in each case. 'Der Tod des Führers,' however, is obviously an adaptation of the funeral of the old German settler given in Mrs Hemans's 'The Exile's Dirge[2]'; similarly Freiligrath's glowing description in 'An das Meer' of the treasures which lie at the bottom of the sea:

...die Perl'...
Die alten Schätze, die auf deinem Boden ruhn;
Die Horte, die man einst in dich versenkt, die Truh'n,
Die durch das blaue Wasser blitzen;...
Die Städte, die dein Mund in seine Tiefe riss (I, p. 101.)

finds its counterpart in Mrs Hemans's 'The Treasures of the Deep[3]':

What hidest thou in thy treasure-caves and cells?
Thou hollow-sounding and mysterious main!—
Pale glistening pearls and rainbow-coloured shells,...
what wealth untold,
Far down, and shining through their stillness lies!
Thou hast the starry gems, the burning gold
Won from ten thousand royal Argosies!—
...thy waves have rolled
Above the cities of a world gone by! (etc.) (443)

The recurrence of the picturesque touch of the submerged treasures 'shining through the stillness of the depths' ('die Truh'n, die durch das blaue Wasser blitzen') is surely more than a coincidence, although the long list of sea monsters added by Freiligrath shows clearly that his vision of the ocean-floor was by no means entirely compounded of elements derived from Mrs Hemans's imagination.

[1] Translation by Freiligrath ('Lied der Auswanderer,' v, p. 94); published 1846, but made 'in früherer Zeit,' according to preface to *Englische Gedichte aus neuerer Zeit*, 1846 [v, p. 3]; cp. Spink, p. 24.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 389.
[3] Included by Freiligrath in *The Rose, Thistle and Shamrock.*

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Byron[1], too, may have influenced him, and may (possibly) have suggested the inclusion of 'Leviathan' and the other marine monsters:

> Roll on, thou deep and dark blue Ocean—roll!...
> The armaments which thunderstrike the walls
> Of rock-built cities, bidding nations quake,...
> The oak Leviathans, whose huge ribs make
> Their clay creator the vain title take
> Of Lord of thee,...
> These are thy toys, and, as the snowy flake,
> They melt into thy yeast of waves,
> ...even from out thy slime
> The monsters of the deep are made.

It must be conceded, on the other hand, that the sombrely passionate spirit which informs the latter's address to the mighty sea, 'dread, fathomless, alone,' which despises 'the vile strength' of man, is far removed from the boyish enthusiasm with which young Freiligrath constructs his catalogue of the wonders of the deep. One feels that the two men looked upon the sea with different eyes; by the side of Childe Harold's sophisticated musings the rapturous outpourings of the young Amsterdam clerk appear almost naïve. A merely verbal parallel like the one here given can therefore carry little or no weight except on the supposition that a single image or even word accidentally recalled will not infrequently suffice to interfere with or re-direct a train of thought—Byron's 'oak Leviathans' suggesting 'den Leviathan, der den Mond dereinst verschluckt' (I, p. 101).

The macabre description of the treatment to which the bodies of the drowned at the bottom of the ocean are subjected by the inhabitants of the deep ('Die Todten im Meere') will remind every English reader of a well-known passage in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, the resemblance of which to Freiligrath's poem has already been worked out in detail by Spink[2]. Here again, however, it is at least possible that the aspect of the sea as 'ein grosses Grab' may have owed its (temporary) prominence in Freiligrath's mind to suggestions derived from Mrs Hemans, in whose works it is elaborated more than once (cf. 'The Treasures of the Deep[3],' 'The Forest Sanctuary[4],' 'Dirge at Sea[4],' 'England's Dead[4],' and especially 'The Parting Ship'). A stanza in the last-named poem is particularly significant:

> And some, far down below the sounding wave,—
> Still shall they lie, though tempests o'er them sweep;
> Never may flower be strewn above their grave,
> Never may sister weep! (p. 508.)

[1] *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto IV, 179–183.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 26 f.
[3] Included by Freiligrath in *Rose, Thistle and Shamrock.*
[4] Translated by Freiligrath (*Englische Gedichte aus neuerer Zeit*, published 1846, but 'aus früherer Zeit,' according to the preface).

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A verse in 'The Graves of a Household' expresses the same thought:

The sea, the blue lone sea, hath one—
He lies where pearls lie deep;
He was the loved of all, yet none
O'er his low bed may weep. (p. 497.)

Thus Freiligrath:

Ja, unter grüner Meereswell',
Bei Perlen silberfarb,
Da liegt manch rüstiger Gesell,
Der in den Wellen starb....
Er schlummert fern von Haus und Hof;
Keine Blume ziert sein Grab,
Und keine Freundesthräne troff
Auf sein Gesicht hinab (etc.). (I, 118.)

A passage from Bowles[1] is also worth quoting:

Thou, too, dread Ocean, toss thine arms,
Exulting, for the treasures and the gems
That thy dark oozy realm emblaze; and call
The pale procession of the dead, from caves
Where late their bodies weltered, to attend
Thy kingly sceptre....
Lord of the Hurricane! bid all thy winds
Swell, and destruction ride upon the surge,
Where, after the red lightning flash that shows
The labouring ship, all is at once deep night
And long suspense, till the slow dawn of day
Gleams on the scattered corses of the dead,
That strew the sounding shore!

Bowles's 'Lord of the Hurricane' (who figures also in two other poems by the same author)[2] bears an unmistakable resemblance to the 'Gebieter des Sturmes' described by Freiligrath in 'Vor einem Gemälde' (I, p. 18), the spirit of the storm, which wrecks the vessel and drowns the crew. The very first stanza of Bowles's poem 'The Spirit of Navigation' offers a description of the demon which is almost identical with that given by Freiligrath:

Stern Father of the storm! who dost abide
Amid the solitude of the vast deep,...
Thou at the distant death-shriek dost rejoice;
The rule of the tempestuous main is thine (etc.). (I, p. 127.)

The picture is repeated in 'The Spirit of Discovery,' where the 'phantom terrible' which tells Noah of the Flood is painted as follows:

Dark as a storm it stood
Of thunder and of winds, like hollow seas
Remote; meantime a voice was heard: Behold
...the foe of thy weak race! my name
Destruction,...when the flood from off the earth
Before it swept the living multitudes,
I rode among the hurricane; I heard
The universal shriek of all that lived. (I, pp. 236–7.)

[1] 'The Spirit of Discovery,' *Poetical Works*, 1855, I, p. 286.
[2] 'The Spirit of Navigation,' *ibid.*, I, p. 127, and 'The Spirit of Discovery,' *ibid.*, pp. 236, 248.

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Similarly Freiligrath's 'Lord of the Storm' exclaims:

Umsonst das Flehn der Ertrinkenden!
Was dem Dämon das Winseln des Wurmes?
Meine Wellen über die Sinkenden!
Ich bin der Gebieter des Sturmes!

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Freiligrath in this case borrowed (consciously or unconsciously) from Bowles. He may also, however, have been influenced by a somewhat similar poem by Montgomery, entitled 'The Castaway[1],' in which it is 'the Spirit of the Cape' which sinks the ship, and where, too, the tragedy takes place in the Indian Ocean and there is a reference to the doomed vessel never reaching its destination:

On India's long-expecting strand
Their sails were never furled;
Never on known or friendly land
By storms their keel was hurled;...
The Spirit of the Cape pursued
Their long and toilsome way;
At length, in ocean solitude,
He sprang upon his prey;
'Havoc!' the shipwreck-demon cried,
Loosed all his tempests on the tide,
Gave all his lightnings play.

With this should be compared the first stanza of 'Vor einem Gemälde':

Diese Fluten sind das Indische Meer,
Diese Inseln die Sechellen.
Vom Sturme geschleudert hin und her
Thürmen hoch sich Wellen auf Wellen.
Das Schiff ergiebt seinem Loose sich,
Seine Trümmer nur sehn Madagaskar.

A part, if only a part, of the same image also occurs in a poem by Kirke White[2] which describes how

the sailor stands
When all the midnight gaping from the seas
Break boding sobs, and to his sight expands
High on the shrouds the spirit that commands
The ocean-farer's life.

The subject matter of 'Heinrich der Seefahrer' may have been suggested to Freiligrath by the account of the Portuguese voyages to Africa given in William Robertson's *History of America*, a work read by him in the year in which the poem was composed[3], and whose statements tally in several important respects with the actual details included in the poem (Prince Henry's interest in geography, his determination to

[1] *Poetical Works*, London, n.d. (Warne and Co.), p. 324.
[2] *Poetical Works*, Edinburgh, 1856, p. 57.
[3] Cp. his letter to Merckel, dated Oct. 29, 1833 (Buchner, p. 114): 'Meine Hauptlektüre ist jetzt Robertson's History of America.'

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explore the coast of Africa, his residence at Sagres near Cape St Vincent 'where the prospect of the Atlantic Ocean invited his thoughts continually towards his favourite project,' the discovery of Madeira—'a considerable island covered with wood,' of the Azores, of the Cape of Good Hope, of Goa[1]).

Bei dem Vorgebirg Vincent
Steht ein Thurm mit Marmorschwellen;
Eine helle Fackel brennt
Dort, den Erdball zu erhellen.
Karten, Rollen mancherlei,
Sammt Boussolen und Quadranten,
In der stillen Bücherei
Liegen dort um den Infanten....
Über das bewegte Meer
Schweifen lässt er seine Blicke,
Und nach Ländern, die nur Er
Schaut, den Völkern eine Brücke
Schlagen will er. Seine Hand
Streckt er aus nach Negerkronen;
Schiffe hat er ausgesandt,
Zu entdecken fremde Zonen....
Aus der kühn durchkreuzten Flut
Tauchen schimmernd die Azoren....
Milden Himmels, reich an Holz,
Zeigt den Schiffern sich Madeira (etc.). (I, p. 132.)

Here again, however, Freiligrath's favourite English poets had anticipated him; thus Thomson in *The Seasons* alludes to 'the daring Gama labouring round the stormy Cape' and to 'the Lusitanian Prince, who, Heav'n-inspir'd, to love of useful glory rous'd mankind[2],' etc. and Bowles in addition to a canto dealing in general terms with 'The Spirit of Navigation' composed a lengthy and elaborately planned work in five books on 'The Spirit of Discovery by Sea,' the fourth book of which contains a full description of the discovery of Madeira by Prince Henry's sailors and of

the clear cold light of Sagres' battlements
...where Henry watches, listening still
To the unwearied surge, and turning still
His anxious eyes to the horizon's bounds[3]. (268)

The bleak wastes of the Arctic regions which play so prominent a part in Freiligrath's early poems (cp. 'Moos-Thee,' 'Meerfabel,' 'Leviathan,' 'Die Schiffe,' also the Hell-horse fragment) are likewise to be met with in several of his English forerunners. The description of the Arctic in

[1] *Works*, 1840, p. 740.
[2] P. 85. It is worth noting that this passage follows almost immediately on the description of the caravan perishing in the desert which has already been noted as a possible source of certain of Freiligrath's desert pieces (above, p. 200).
[3] It is probable that Bowles, as well as Freiligrath, was acquainted with Robertson's *History of America*.

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Thomson's *Seasons* for instance[1] reads almost like a paraphrase of certain stanzas of the Hell-horse fragment:

nach des Nordens Wäldern zieht mich ein innrer Drang,	snows swell on snows amazing to the sky;
nach seinen bereiften Feldern,... seiner Hügel schneeigem Hang;	And icy mountains high on mountains pil'd....
Wo von tobenden, kalten Stürmen der Erde Angeln zittern,	Alps frown on Alps; or rushing...down,
Wo Berge von Eis sich thürmen und Schiffe wie Schachteln zerknittern;	Wide-rend the deep, and shake the solid pole. (204)
Wo an schwachen, zerbrechlichen Seilen der Insulaner hangt,	[Here the...native...to the rocks
An Klippenwänden, steilen, nach Vogelnestern langt....	Dire-clinging, gathers his ovarious food; (149)]
Dort, wo auf mächtigen Schollen der grimme Eisbär brüllt;	There...the shapeless bear,
Wo Schneegestöber tollen; wo der Himmel die Erde schilt;	With dangling ice all horrid, stalks forlorn. (200)
Dort auf den fernsten Marken der Erde will ich gehn,	Hard by these shores, where scarce his freezing stream
Will die Mannschaft scheiternder Barken mit dem Tode ringen sehn!	Rolls the wild Oby, live the last of men. (205)
	Ill fares the bark with trembling wretches charg'd,
	That, tost amid the floating fragments, moors
	Beneath the shelter of an icy isle,
	While night o'erwhelms the sea.... (207)
Dort wo der Hekla zischend, von Dampf umwirbelt, dräut;	...Hecla flaming through a waste of snow.... (203)
Und Schnee mit Feuer mischend, bis zu den grauen Wolken speit....	

Granted that icebergs, polar bears, and vessels lost in the Arctic, perhaps even the volcanoes of Iceland, will seldom be absent from any picture of the polar regions, it is at least remarkable that 'Leviathan,' a reference to whose 'dreadful sport' completes Thomson's description of the Arctic[2], occurs again in another poem by Freiligrath where two of the touches just paralleled are again repeated:

> Ich wollt', ich wäre, wo das Meer, und wo die Welt ein Ende nimmt!
> Wo krachend in der Finsterniss der Eispalast des Winters schwimmt.
> ('Leviathan,' I, p. 161.)

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 199–208. The extreme length of the passage unfortunately makes it impossible to quote more than a selection of the most striking parallels.

[2] According to C. G. Macaulay (*J. Thomson*, 1908, p. 145): 'Thomson's picture of the sea monsters here alluded to is evidently connected with Milton's *Paradise Lost*, VII, 410:

> part, huge of bulk,
> Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their gait,
> Tempest the ocean; there *Leviathan*,
> Hugest of living creatures.'

We know from Buchner, I, p. 38, that *Paradise Lost* was one of the English works studied by Freiligrath while he was learning English as a youth at Soest. There is nothing, however, to suggest that it made a particularly deep impression on him. His favourite period in English literature in fact appears to have been the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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Even on the assumption that this piece owes its origin to a real rather than to an imaginary sea monster[1] it is at least arguable that there existed some connexion in Freiligrath's mind between the animal's name and the description of its home in Thomson's *Seasons*, at 'the pole itself,' where:

> Thron'd in its palace of cerulean ice,
> ...Winter holds his unrejoicing court;
> And through his airy hall the loud misrule
> Of driving tempest is for ever heard. (203)

It is not impossible, on the other hand, that he was influenced by a similar passage in a poem by Kirke White, who makes Satan fix his consistory

> where the North Pole, in moody solitude
> Spreads her huge tracks and frozen wastes around,
> There ice-rocks piled aloft, in order rude,
> Form a gigantic hall, where...
> ...fixed on his primeval mound,
> Ruin, the giant, sits.... (52)

Similarly the Krake of the 'Meerfabel' (I, 16) may owe its place there to a casual reference by Bowles[2] to

> the vast and desert deeps,
> Where the lonely Kraken sleeps,

or to Montgomery[3], who also[4] gives a description of Hecla coinciding in some points with that of Freiligrath in 'Moos-Thee' and in the Hell-horse fragment (volcano, red flames like legendary birds, molten ore, memories of the Edda) and tells how the Greenlanders are wont

> to assail
> The desperation of the stranded whale,
> When wedged 'twixt jagged rocks he writhes and rolls
> In agony among the ebbing shoals,
> Lashing the waves to foam; until the flood,
> From wounds, like geyser, seems a bath of blood;
> Echo all night dumb-pealing to his roar,
> Till morn beholds him slain along the shore. (164)

[1] See above, p. 204, note 1.
[2] I, p. 167.
[3] 'Greenland,' Canto II (142):

> ...the Kraken, monarch of the sea,
> Wallowing abroad in his immensity,
> By polar storms and lightning shafts assailed,
> ...here...fought and failed;
> Perished,—and...
> ...became an island....

Freiligrath's description of this well-known animal in 'Meerfabel' is, however, somewhat different.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

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Freiligrath's description of the death of his whale is very similar to this:

Sie sehn den Sohn des Oceans, den Leib vom Eisen aufgeschlitzt;
Zerschmettert sehen sie das Haupt, das fortan keine Strahlen spritzt.
Vor wenig Jahren erst gebar den Triefenden der kalte Pol;
Ein Neuling noch, verirrt er sich zu dieser seichten Küste wohl.
Untief' und Bank versperrten ihm den Rückweg in das hohe Meer;
Des jungen Riesen Kopf zerbrach der Herr durch eines Fischers Speer....
Mir war, als rauschte zürnend mir sein purpurroth verrieselnd Blut;
Als murrt' er röchelnd in den Sturm:... ('Leviathan,' I, p. 160.)

If we are justified in assuming that he was acquainted with the works of Montgomery (of the existence of whom at least he must have been aware[1]), it is not difficult to believe that the passages from 'Greenland' just quoted must have made a strong impression on him.

The Prairie

Sie dehnt sich aus von Meer zu Meere;
Wer sie durchritten hat, den graus't.
Sie liegt vor Gott in ihrer Leere,
Wie eine leere Bettlerfaust.
Die Ströme, die sie jach durchrinnen;
Die ausgefahrnen Gleise, drinnen
Des Colonisten Rad sich wand;
Die Spur, in der die Büffel traben:—
Das sind, vom Himmel selbst gegraben,
Die Furchen dieser Riesenhand. (I, p. 149.)

The 'opusculum' of which this fragment was to be the beginning never achieved completion; only a casual reference in a letter to Immermann[2] informs us that it was intended as a chiromantic allegory and that a prairie fire, mounted Indians 'und was weiss ich mehr' were to have figured in the remaining portion. Several other poems, however—'Die Auswanderer,' 'Der Tod des Führers,' 'Florida of Boston,' 'Audubon,' 'Der ausgewanderte Dichter'—show that North America, particularly its still unsettled parts, the legendary home of the bison and the Red Indian, appealed no less vividly to young Freiligrath than to certain other European writers of his time. Rousseau's and Chateaubriand's noble savages, Schiller's 'Nadowessier,' Seume's great-hearted 'Kanadier' and Cooper's 'Leatherstocking' are too well known to require more than passing mention; echoes of the American War of Independence and the 'Amerikafieber' of which Lenau was only one, if a prominent victim, also helped to keep the new continent before the eyes of Freiligrath's

[1] See above, p. 199.

[2] Dated April 14, 1838 (quoted Buchner, I, p. 212). Cp. also a letter to August Boelling dated April 5, 1838 (quoted *ibid.*, p. 266), where two additional stanzas are given. An autograph copy of this poem, signed by Freiligrath himself and dated '1838' (shown to the writer of this essay by its present owner, Prof. Ernst Kapp, of the University of Hamburg, a grandson of the original recipient) was given by the poet to his friend, Dr Ernst Kapp (cp. Buchner, I, p. 273, II, p. 100). Does this justify the conclusion that this child of his muse was a special favourite of Freiligrath?

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generation. Then, as now, voices were not wanting to supply a psychological explanation of this craving for the remote in space; 'Diese moderne Stimmung,' writes Immermann[1] in 1838, 'liebt nun, gemäss der ganzen Verfassung unserer heutigen sittlichen und geistigen Welt, das Unfertige oder heftig Contrastierende der Zustände, die Versenkung in, oder vielmehr den Blick auf die fernste Ferne, das weite Meer, die Wüste, die Wälder Amerikas; wie alles wandert und auswandert, so wird auch die Muse zur Auswanderin....'

Granted therefore that, even had he never learnt the English language, America and its prairies could not have failed to occupy a place in Freiligrath's imagination, have we any reason to suppose that his pictures of American scenery owe anything to those drawn by English forerunners and contemporaries?

We have already seen[2] that two of his poems ('Die Auswanderer' and 'Der Tod des Führers') can be paralleled by similar pieces to be found in the works of a marked favourite of his, Mrs Hemans. In each case theme and atmosphere are the same in the German and the English poem; it would be too much to assert, however, that the resemblance extends to points of detail, unless the reference to the vine trained along the 'white walls' of the settlers' new home and to the 'proud spoils' of the chase which they hope to bring home at night should be thought to have suggested the image of 'des leichten Bretterhauses Wand im fernen Westen' and that of 'the weary Cherokee hunter' in 'Die Auswanderer.' The features of the American landscape here described moreover are such as might be known to any educated European.

The same applies to the vignette of the Ontario and of the Huron canoes in 'Florida of Boston,' as well as to the fragmentary sketch of the as yet unspoiled American wilderness in 'Audubon.' It is only in one other of Freiligrath's American poems, 'Der ausgewanderte Dichter,' that definite borrowings from an English source can be surmised.

The theme of the European poet dying in voluntary exile among the savages in the virgin forests of the new continent is thought to have been suggested to Freiligrath by the American expedition of Lenau, a writer whom he greatly admired, and to whose voyage across the ocean he alludes elsewhere (cp. 'Einem Ziehenden'). Stripped of certain of its accessories, however, and reduced to the essential idea of civilised man escaping from modern life into the wilderness it is surely as old as the era of Rousseau and of the 'return to nature'; Chateaubriand's 'René,' too, who left his countrymen to join an Indian tribe must not be for-

[1] Buchner, I, p. 213.

[2] See above, p. 325.

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gotten in this connexion. The last-named again may have impressed himself upon the mind of Mrs Hemans, in whose works the idea occurs several times, viz. in the poems 'Modern Greece,' 'The Cambrian in America,' 'The Forest Sanctuary,' and 'The Cross in the Wilderness.' In the first of these the exile is a Greek who has fixed 'his sylvan home'

> by some lake, whose blue expansive breast
> Bright from afar, an inland-ocean, gleams,
> Girt with vast solitudes, profusely drest,
> In tints like those that float o'er poets' dreams;
> Or where some flood from pine-clad mountain pours
> Its might of waters, glittering in their foam,
> 'Midst the rich verdure of its wooded shores,...
> So deeply lone, that round the wild retreat
> Scarce have the paths been trod by Indian huntsmen's feet[1].

The 'Cambrian in America' and the Spanish refugee in 'The Forest Sanctuary' are depicted as living in practically the same surroundings, thus anticipating the basic idea of Freiligrath's poem together with several features of its setting (lake, forest, solitude, pine-clad mountain, Indian hunters[2]). The resemblance is more pronounced still in the case of the fourth piece, 'The Cross in the Wilderness,' where 'the grey chieftain's' story of the white missionary's life and death among his tribe supplies almost an exact parallel (*mutatis mutandis*) to the aged Indian's speech to his companions after they have buried the mysterious stranger 'der zu den Rothen sich geschlagen':

> Silent and mournful sat an Indian chief
> In the red sunset, by a grassy tomb...
> And the grey chieftain, slowly rising, said.

Compare:

> Die Indianer sitzen um die Flamme,
> Und schüren düster sie, schweigsame Schürer.
> Da plötzlich—wohl der Älteste vom Stamme—
> Spricht zu den Andern also Einer ihrer.

Mrs Hemans's Indians have erected a cross above the stranger's grave by way of a memorial; those of Freiligrath follow their example: 'Lasst eine Hütt' auf seinem Grab uns bauen.' The German poet no doubt drew freely upon other sources (or upon his imagination) for the elaborate description of his hero's forest home; the latter, too, however, is made to

[1] It may be added that this description of American forest scenery (including details not quoted here) is virtually a paraphrase of that given by Chateaubriand in *Atala*. A passage from this author's *Souvenirs d'Amérique* is quoted by Mrs Hemans in a note to another poem, 'The Stranger in Louisiana,' p. 310.

[2] Cp. Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 82: 'Vielleicht regte...das englische Epos ("The Forest Sanctuary") den deutschen Dichter zu seinem unvollendenten Cyclus "Der ausgewanderte Dichter" an. Der Plan, der ihm dabei vorschwebte, muss jedenfalls ein ganz ähnlicher gewesen sein; spiegelt sich doch die Grundidee des englischen Epos in den vorhandenen Fragmenten wieder.'

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dwell in the forest close to enormous lakes ('Zu meinen Füssen die gewalt'gen Seen') even as the scene of the English poem is laid 'between the forest and the lake.'

The white man in Mrs Hemans's poem dies in the arms of his Indian friend ('he sank upon my breast'). Even so Freiligrath's exile longs for:

ein einzig Wesen,
Um dieses Haupt an seine Brust zu legen.

Is it worthy of mention, finally, that the Indian chief in the English poem tells his tale when 'eve's last splendour shone,' his voice coming from him 'as a wind might stir a withered oak,' while the exiled poet utters his soliloquy '...im letzten Abendstrahle' and the winds rustle through the trees above him?

Whatever value we may attach, or refuse to attach, to the parallels listed above, they at least warrant the assertion that in his American sketches, as in those of the desert and the ocean, Freiligrath had been anticipated by Mrs Hemans.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Beowulf, ll. 168–9.

nō hē þone ȝif-stōl ȝrētan mōste,
māþðum for Metode, nē his myne wisse.

The following striking parallel should go some way towards settling the meaning of these troublesome lines:

'Sona to þæs stefne se unclæna ȝast ȝefor on þa reþȝiendan Lanȝ-beardan, ond hi þa urnon ȝeond þæt land wedende, ond swa lanȝe hi wæron fram deofle ȝeswencte, oþ þæt þa Lanȝbeardas onȝæton, þa þe þær ute wæron, þæt hi ofer þæt ne dorston nohte ȝretan þa halȝan stowe.' (Hecht, *Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, 43.)

For 'ne dorston nohte ȝretan,' MS. H has 'ne dorston þa halȝan stowe dyrstilice hreppan.'

'ȝretan' must therefore mean 'approach' or 'violate.' 'myne wisse' I take to be parallel with expressions like 'eȝe witan,' 'incan witan' and to mean 'work his will upon.'

The lines may then be translated: 'He (Grendel) was not permitted to approach the precious throne, because he was prevented by the Lord, nor to work his will upon it.' Is there not a possibility that the author had in mind a parallel between Satan banished from his 'strang-lic stol' in heaven and Grendel, like a second Satan, excluded from the joy of Heorot? In this case we might translate 'ne his myne wisse' as 'have his pleasure in it.'

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King Alfred's 'Gōtland'

King Alfred, in his English translation of Orosius, interpolates, among other things, an account of certain voyages undertaken by his retainers Ohthere and Wulfstan. The voyagers are represented as telling their stories to the king, who contents himself with repeating what he was told. Alfred emphasises, as strongly as he can, the fact that he is simply repeating the words of other men. His account begins with the statement, *Ohthere sæde his hlaforde, Ælfrede cyninge*, and such tags as *he cwæð* and *he sæde* appear at frequent intervals throughout the narrative. One gets the impression that some scribe, there for the purpose, took down the words of Ohthere and Wulfstan as they were spoken to the king, and that Alfred used the scribe's manuscript in preparing the text

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which has come down to us. At any rate it cannot be doubted that Alfred's report of the voyages is unusually faithful and trustworthy.

My present concern, however, is not with the voyages as a whole but with a detail in one of them. Alfred's Norwegian retainer Ohthere, in the course of his narrative, uses twice the word *Gōtland*. In one passage the *o* of the word is marked long; in the other passage it is not so marked[1]. Long marks are infrequent in the text, and the absence of a long mark in any given case therefore has no significance, but the presence of a long mark warrants the presumption that the vowel is long. At any rate, the scholars who have dealt with the word usually make this presumption, as we shall see. From the context in which our word appears it is clear that *Gōtland* is a geographical term, a name for the region now known as North Jutland. As such, it is a *crux*, and no little has been written about it. In the present note, I will first give the views of a few representative scholars and will then offer my own interpretation of the name.

Let us begin with Björkman, who says:

> Wir müssen uns vergegenwärtigen, dass sein [i.e. Alfred's] berichterstatter Ohthere Norweger war, also Jütland *Jótland* nannte. Die spirans *j*, bzw. den halbvokal *i*, gab Alfred mit *g* wieder: norw. *Jótland* wurde also in seiner orthographie zu *Gōtland* (oder **Gēōtland*).... Ae. *Gōtland* ist also ein neu aufgenommenes, spezifisch westnordisches lehnwort[2].

Chambers, in his valuable volume of *Beowulf* studies, takes essentially the same point of view. He says:

> Old English had no special symbol for the semi-vowel *J*; so, to signify *Jōtland*, Alfred would have written 'Geotland' (Sievers, *Gram.*, §§ 74, 175). Had he meant 'land of the Geatas' he would have written 'Geataland' or 'Geatland.' Surely 'Gotland' is nearer to 'Geotland' than to 'Geatland[3].'

From this we may infer that Chambers takes *Gotland* to be an unorthodox way of putting the O.N. *Jótland* 'Jutland' into English; the proper transliteration was **Geōtland*, but Alfred's scribe, or some later copyist, for some reason or other, left out the *e*. Klaeber, in his edition of *Beowulf*, expresses himself similarly[4]. The most recent contribution to the discussion is that of Gordon, who says:

> Alfred is here giving the words of Ohthere, who would naturally use the form *Jótland* for Jutland, and it is likely that Alfred's *Gōtland* is the English spelling of this form[5].

[1] Here I follow E. Björkman (*Englische Studien*, XXXIX, p. 360, note 1), as the Cotton MS. itself is not accessible to me. Sweet in his edition of the text does not record a long mark over the *o* in either occurrence of the word.

[2] E. Björkman, in *Englische Studien*, XXXIX, p. 360.

[3] R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf, an Introduction to the Study of the Poem*, p. 333, note 3.

[4] F. Klaeber, *Beowulf*, Introduction, p. xlvi.

[5] E. V. Gordon, in *The Year's Work in English Studies, 1925*, p. 78. See also E. Wadstein, *Norden och Västeuropa i Gammal Tid*, p. 25.

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The arguments presented above may be summarised as follows: 1. Ohthere was a Norwegian. 2. Therefore he said *Jótland*. 3. Put into English, this would give **Geōtland*. 4. (*a*) By some mistake, the *e* was left out, whence the extant form *Gōtland*; or (*b*) *Gōtland* as it stands is possible as an English transliteration of O.N. *Jótland*.

Of the points listed, Nos. 1 and 3 are correct, beyond question and beyond the possibility of controversy. I will therefore leave them and begin my discussion with point 4 (*a*). It is of course possible enough that Alfred's scribe or some later copyist should be guilty of a bad spelling or a lapse in copying once in a while. But the theory that *Gōtland* is a case of such a lapse is a theory only; we must remember that *Gōtland*, for aught we know, may perfectly well be a correct spelling. What evidence does the text give us? It gives us a highly important piece of evidence. *Gōtland* occurs twice in the text, and it is spelt the same way both times. It is certainly odd that a bad spelling of this kind (an un-English spelling, a monstrosity of a spelling) should appear twice, while the proper spelling does not appear at all. If the scribe was so bad a speller as that, we should expect the text as a whole to swarm with horrors and illiteracies, but this is by no means the case. The badness of his spelling comes out only in the one word *Gōtland*. We may therefore be forgiven for doubting the plausibility of the theory that *Gōtland*, with its two occurrences in distinct passages, is an example of bad spelling. It is far more probable that the consistency of the scribe's spelling in this case is no accident. And this brings us to point 4 (*b*).

If the scribe's consistency was no accident, he meant to spell *Gōtland* as he spelt it. His spelling was for him the proper spelling. If now we believe that *Gōtland* stands for O.N. *Jótland* we must also believe that our scribe deliberately represented the phonetic sequence [jo], at the beginning of a word, by *Go-*. This would be easy to believe if we had before us a list of parallels, preferably from this text. Unfortunately the advocates of the theory that initial *go-* might stand for [jo] have brought forward no parallels at all. And if we look the matter up in the grammar of Sievers, who has made a special study of O.E. orthography, we learn that an initial palatal *g* ordinarily stands before a palatal vowel only; the one back vowel, it appears, which tolerates before it an initial palatal *g* is the vowel *u*, and even this in only a few words[1]. We must therefore conclude that point 4 (*b*) is hardly better than point 4 (*a*).

Let us now go back to point No. 2. Did Ohthere say 'Jótland'? If

[1] E. Sievers, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, III, pp. 74, 88.

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not, what did he say? I will take the first item first. Whatever Ohthere said, he did not say 'Jótland,' and this for the very good and sufficient reason that there was no such word as *Jótland* in his day. We are apt to forget that Alfred's (and hence Ohthere's) century was the ninth. Now in the ninth century the Norse did not pronounce the first element of *Jótland* as they did in classical Icelandic times. The primitive form of this first element was of course *eut-*, with the stress on the *e*; in other words, the *eu* was a so-called falling diphthong. By the end of the ninth century the O.N. *eu* had become a triphthongal *iau* or *iou*, with the stress on the *i*. Still later the triphthong developed a 'wavering' pronunciation, i.e., it was pronounced with approximately the same amount of stress on its first and last members. Finally the triphthong became the 'rising' diphthong *ió*, with the stress on the *ó*, and from this *ió* grew the *jó* of classical Icelandic times[1]. It is clear that Ohthere, when he made use of the name, said *Eutland* or *Ioutland*, not *Jótland*. These pronunciations of Ohthere's, put into English, would have given **Ēotland* and **Īotland* respectively, with the stress on the first part of the diphthong. But the word which Alfred gives is *Gōtland*. Obviously this word has no connexion of any kind with the classical Icelandic *Jótland* or any of its ancestral forms.

Ohthere, then, did not say 'Jótland.' If not, what *did* he say? He must have said something which would produce an English *Gōtland*, of course. In a previous paper I have pointed out that the needed geographical term is O.N. *Gautland*, which in Alfredian English would be recorded as *Gōtland*, the form which we actually have. To this paper I must refer the reader for a full discussion of the matter[2]. Here I am mainly concerned to show the weakness of the old interpretation.

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[1] See A. Noreen, *Altisländische Grammatik*, IV, §§ 56, 101. Noreen notes that in one Norwegian dialect the rising diphthong perhaps had not developed as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century. Otherwise he does not attempt to date with precision this development. My friend, Professor G. T. Flom, in a paper read at the 1927 meeting of the Modern Language Association of America but not yet published, sets the year 1000 as the approximate date at which the rising diphthong *ió* began to develop in Old Norse. If we may judge from the spelling Iustin (= Jósteinn) in Liebermann (I, p. 220), the stress still rested on the first element of the diphthong in the year 991, about 100 years after the time of Ohthere. See *Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar*, capp. 52 and 94.

[2] 'King Alfred's Geats,' in *Mod. Lang. Review*, XX, pp. 1–11.

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'YOKEL' AND 'LOAF.'

The German word *jockel*, the pronunciation of which in the Franconian dialect strikingly resembles the English, is known all over Germany with slight differences of pronunciation and spelling. The sense is the same as in England: a country bumpkin. Etymologically *jockel* is a diminutive of the proper name *jakob* > **jakobel* (Suabian *jakōble*) > *jaeckel*, *jockel*. I have no doubt whatever that the word migrated to England from America. In the second half of the eighteenth century thousands of poor young peasants from the south-west of Germany were sold and sent as soldiers to America by their despotic rulers. These Germans introduced the word into the United States. H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, mentions it as German-American without saying anything about its origin. At the close of the eighteenth century it must already have been in common use in America, and in the second decade of the nineteenth century *yokel* occurs in an English slang dictionary (J. H. Vaux, *Flash Dictionary*, 1812, first quotation of *N.E.D.*).

N.E.D. is perhaps right in rejecting Lowell's conjecture that the word *loaf* is an adaptation of Ger. dial. *lofen* = *laufen*, but there can be little doubt that *loaf*, verb and noun, does go back to the German etymon *lauf*, the root being Teut. *hlaup* > Gothic *hlaupan*, A.S. *hleapan*, O.H.G. *hlauffan*. The German verb *laufen* not only means 'run,' but also 'saunter.' The *nomen agentis*, *läufer*, Suabian *loafer*, means 'a man who likes lounging about,' 'a vagrant.' *N.E.D.* quotes Leland to the effect that *loaf*, when it first began to be popular in 1834 or 1835, meant 'pilfer.' In this sense the word was already used by Luther. Mencken writes that an American authority said that *loafer* originated in a German mispronunciation of *lover*, i.e. as *lofer*. I should suggest an explanation just the other way round. There was a German dialect word *lofer* which became *loafer* in American. By the way, in the south of Germany, *laufen* sometimes means 'go to see one's sweetheart.' The only difficulty is whether American *loaf*, which, like *yokel*, was introduced into the United States by the German emigrants of the eighteenth century and afterwards migrated to England, is to be derived from the German verb or the *nomen agentis*. The sense of *laufen* (*läufer*) and *loaf* (*loafer*) is so much the same that connexion is not only probable but almost certain. The change of *au*, *oa* in Ger. dial. *laufer*, *loafer* into a long open English *o* is easy and natural: cp. Suabian *loab* (= standard German *laib*) and *loaf*.

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STUTTGART.

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John Fisher's English Sermons.

Fisher has been less fortunate than More of late. There have been modernised reprints of the most famous of his sermons in English, though the only edition now obtainable is that of the Early English Text Society. Of this, however, only the first of two volumes has appeared, edited by J. E. B. Mayor, and this is a bare text with very little critical apparatus—not always are the first editions used, and the collations are incomplete. The second volume, among other things, was to have contained the so-called Hall's *Life*, and although this was announced by the E.E.T.S. to appear in 1915, under the editorship of the Rev. Ronald Bayne, there was published in 1921 only a transcript of one of the manuscripts, with no collations and no justification for the choice of manuscript.' Two at least of his sermons, moreover, seem hitherto to have been overlooked, one of them, in fact, being asserted categorically not to exist.

Professor Mayor's first volume purported to contain all the English sermons and devotional treatises, and biographers have worked from it on that assumption. This leads Father T. E. Bridgett, for example, in his official biography, to say, referring to Fisher's sermon at St Paul's on Quinquagesima Sunday on the retractation of Dr Barnes, that 'the sermon preached on this occasion does not exist' (*Life of Blessed John Fisher*, London, 1888, p. 52), and others have repeated his statement.

But there is in the British Museum a quarto, printed by Berthelet, with the title 'A sermon had at Paulis by the cõmandment of the most reuerend father in god my lorde legate/and sayd by Johñ the bysshop of Rochester/vpõ quīquagesom sonday/concernynge certayne heretickes/ whiche thã were abiured for holdynge the heresies of Martyn Luther that famous hereticke and for ỹ kepyng and reteynyng of his bokes agaynst the ordinance of the bulle of pope Leo the tenthe.' A manuscript note in a sixteenth-century hand is inserted in the title adding 'of which abiured persons freer Barnes was one.' This is undoubtedly, I think, the sermon referred to by Bridgett. The oversight is strange, as according to the *Short Title Catalogue* there are copies in the Bodleian and the Cambridge University Library besides that in the British Museum—all three just in the obvious places.

The sermon certainly does not deserve to be neglected. It is a full-length composition, consisting of an introduction and four 'collections.' There is, besides, 'an Epistole vnto the reder' in which the good bishop quite naïvely gives a reason for printing: 'by the mocion of dyuerse

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persōs I haue put forth this sermon to be redde whiche for ŷ great noyse of ŷ people within ŷ churche of Paules whan it was sayde myght nat be herde.'

There is another quarto, containing two sermons, which does not seem to have been noticed. The *Short Title Catalogue* gives a reference to it as 'Hereafter ensueth two fruytfull sermons. [Both on Matth. v. 20.] 4°. *W. Rastell, sold at Southwark by P. Treuerys*, 1532 (28 jn.).' The only two known copies of this are in private collections.

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Benlowes: a Seventeenth-Century Plagiarist.

'He believes it is invention enough to find out other men's wit.'
(Sam. Butler, *Character of a Small Poet.*)

'Had Benlowes read Milton?' asks Professor Saintsbury[1] as he reads Benlowes' line:

Clear riv'lets edg'd, by rocking winds each gently tost.
(*Theophila*, xii, liv)

and remembers, I think:

While rocking Winds are Piping loud. (*Il Penseroso*, l. 125.)

Dates make possible an affirmative answer, for the minor *Poems of Mr John Milton, compos'd at several times* were published in 1645 and *Theophila or Loves Sacrifice, A Divine Poem, written by E. B. Esq.* in 1652, and a consideration of the following quotations makes it certain.

(1) 'O vermeil-tinctur'd cheek!' (*Theophila*, i, xi). Cf. 'A vermeil tinctured lip' (*Comus*, l. 752).

(2) ...Pass on to bliss,
That with an individual kiss
Greets thee for ever! (*Theophila*, v, lxix.)

Cf.

Then long Eternity shall greet our bliss
With an individual kiss. (*On Time*, ll. 10–11.)

(3) 'At Heav'n's high council table' (*Theophila*, vii, lxv). Cf. 'At Heav'ns high Councel-table' (*On the Morning*, l. 10).

(4) 'Such scramblers at the shearing feasts, I shun' (*Theophila*, xii, xii). Cf. 'Then how to scramble at the shearers feast' (*Lycidas*, l. 115).

(5) 'See list'ning Time runs back to fetch the Age of Gold' (*Theophila*, xiii, xcv). Cf. 'Time will run back, and fetch the age of gold' (*On the Morning*, l. 135).

[1] *Caroline Poets*, vol. i, p. 449.

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Benlowes' poem is indeed a cento of quotations from all the popular poets of his day, which allows us to see what things in poetry were then thought lovely and of good report. 'Seal thou the bill of my divorce' (*Theophila*, XIII, cxvi) is a magnificent line of one of Donne's hymns (*Poems*, 1633). And

> Here martyrs sit enthron'd, who late did bleed
> Sap from their fertile wounds, to feed
> With oil the Church's lamps, and with red dew her seed.
> (*Theophila*, VI, iv)

is obviously based on these lines in Donne's *The Second Anniversary*:

> Up to those Martyrs, who did calmly bleed
> Oyle to th' Apostles Lamps, dew to their seed. (ll. 348–9.)

> Still to be pounc'd, perfum'd, still quaintly drest
> Still to be guarded to a feast. (*Theophila*, XI, xxix)

recalls the pleasing song in Jonson's play:

> Still to be neat, still to be drest
> As you were going to a feast. (*Epicoene*, Act I, 1616.)

The very different tone of:

> ...lo; there
> The queasy-stomach'd graves disgorge worms fat'ning cheer.
> (*Theophila*, II, l)

is caught from Quarles:

> Look, sister, how the queazy stomach'd graves vomit their dead.
> (*Emblems*, III, xiv, l. 181, 1635[1].)

'Death's sergeant' (*Theophila*, X, xiv) may be from *Hamlet* though the image is common, for it is in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (The Fourth Day of the First Week); but 'Gracious silence' (*Theophila*, XI, xxix) surely comes from the noble salutation of Coriolanus:

> My gracious silence, hail! (Act II, Sc. i, l. 192.)

From Sylvester, Benlowes learned the use of compound adjectives and took some hints for his figured poems, and 'conveyed' these lines, as Professor Saintsbury points out in his edition (p. 310):

> Betimes, when keen-breath'd winds, with frosty cream,
> Periwig bald trees, glaze tattling stream: (*Theophila*, IV, lxviii.)

> When periwigg'd with snow's each bald-pate wood,
> Bound in ice-chains each straggling flood; (*Theophila*, XIII, liv.)

Cf.

> To glaze the Lakes, and bridle up the Floods,
> And perriwig with wooll the baldpate Woods.
> *Du Bartas his Divine Weekes and Workes*, 1606, II, i, iv (*The Handy Crafts*).

Professor Moore Smith points out to me that Benlowes was acquainted with Randolph's poems published in 1638.

[1] It may be noted that a Latin poem of Benlowes' *Lusus Poeticus Poetis* is sometimes found bound up with this edition of Quarles.

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The description of the porcupine:

> The porcupine so's quiver, bow, and darts
> To herself alone; has all war's arts;
> Her own artillery needs no aid from foreign parts.
> (*Theophila*, II, lxxiv)

is clearly taken from Randolph's translation of Claudian, *De Histrice* (Hazlitt, p. 542):

> When lo, a little beast we armed see
> With nothing but her own artillery
> Who seeks no foreign aid: with her all go:
> One creature all the arts of warfare knows.

Again:

> I spare t'unlock those treasuries of snow;
> Or tell what paints the rainy bow;
> Or what cause thunders, lightnings, rains; or whence winds flow.
> (*Theophila*, V, xliv)

is based on Randolph's *Eclogue to Master Johnson* (Hazlitt, p. 610):

> he us'd divinely show
> What 'tis that paints the divers colour'd bow
> Whence thunders are discharg'd, whence the winds stray.

It is not necessary to suppose that Benlowes' line 'Who in Love's albo are enroll'd' (Saintsbury, p. 323, 'To My Fancy Upon Theophila') was suggested by Randolph's *Aristippus* (Hazlitt, p. 112), 'have your name recorded in Albo Academia': but the latter shows how Benlowes might have learned the phrase at Cambridge.

Did Benlowes borrow from two other Cambridge poets—Crashaw and Herbert? This question is more difficult to answer—all that can be said is that in reading him we are often reminded of the work of these men. For instance, 'Ne'er-cloying feast, where appetite by food doth rise' (*Theophila*, VII, lxxix) recalled 'Such a feast as mends in length' (*The Call*, l. 7). 'May my first-fruits him please' (*Theophila*, IX, iv) brought into the memory the introductory poem to *The Temple* (1633), 'Lord, my first fruits present themselves to thee.'

'Darts of intolerable sweets her soul did wound' (*Theophila*, IV, lxxxii) and 'Thus to live is in pure flames to die' (*Ib.* xciv) are phrases very similar to those of Crashaw, while 'Music's first martyr, Strada's nightingale' (*Theophila*, VI, lxvii) is the subject of *Music's Duel* (*Steps to the Temple*, 1648).

If, then, the talented writer of *The Five Authors of Shakespeare's Sonnets* would increase the gaiety of nations, let him write us—in the manner of Swift—*The Dozen Authors of Benlowes' Theophila.*

H. J. L. Robbie.

Cambridge.

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Was George Borrow ever in Denmark?

Borrow's attachment to Denmark and to Danish literature is well known. He made frequent reference to it in his works and devoted much of his time and energy to the translation of those Danish ballads which were, as he says in the prospectus for the *Songs of Scandinavia* that he prepared for the press, 'his chief comfort and solace in the course of a short life blackened by trouble and disappointment.' His friendship with the Dane John P. Hasfeldt is also familiar to readers of Mr C. K. Shorter's biography of Borrow. But no evidence has hitherto been brought forward to show that Borrow visited Denmark. True it is that in *The Bible in Spain* he declared that he had heard the ballad of Alonzo Guzman sung by a hind in the wilds of Jutland, but, knowing Borrow's habit of romancing, the sceptical critic has regarded this as a piece of literary mystification.

However, in the above-mentioned prospectus, which was printed for the first time in 1923, in Vol. VII of the Norwich edition of his works, Borrow states definitely that he had been in Denmark. He is addressing the prospective Danish subscribers and referring to Dr John Bowring, who was acquainted with many eminent Danish men of letters, and to himself, then a struggling author, he says: 'Of the two individuals who at present address ye, one ye know and the other ye know not. But we have both sojourned among ye. One ye caressed and led before your prince, for ye had heard of his name. The other was a youth, and is still a youth, and ye passed him heedless by.'

This is an important passage, for what would be a legitimate heightening of the colours in his half-romancing autobiography would be a deliberate lie in a prospectus and one can only assume that Borrow was speaking the truth. There is nothing inherently impossible in his crossing the North Sea to visit the country in which he took so keen an interest. This being so, there arises the question of the date of his journey. As the prospectus was written in 1829, it must have been some time in the years 1826–1829, a period during which Borrow's movements are shrouded in mystery.

Herbert G. Wright.

Bangor.

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Notes on the Poetry of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.

I. Doña Marina de Aragón and Marfira.

Some years ago Morel-Fatio[1] wrote a delightful essay on Doña Marina de Aragón who was celebrated in verse by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Born about the year 1523, the daughter of Don Alonso de Aragón y Gurrea, fifth Count of Ribagorza, and his third wife, Doña Ana de Sarmiento, there were few who could boast of a more exalted lineage. We know that she was a member of the household of the Empress Isabel, but she must have been very young at that time for the Empress died in 1539. We have documentary proof that in 1547 she lost her dowry rights through a promise made to her father to take the veil, which is difficult to reconcile with the evidence that she was engaged to be married shortly before her death, which occurred at the latest in the year 1549. At the very end of a book printed in that year—Bernardino Daza's verse translation of Alciato's *Emblemata*—and as though inserted immediately before its publication, we find two sonnets by Gonzalo Pérez, the Emperor's Secretary, in which he mourns the untimely death of the fair maiden at the age of twenty-six. In guarded terms he alludes to her frustrated hopes of marriage and to a life fraught with trouble. Apparently, Fate was cruel to this Court beauty.

Possibly Mendoza became acquainted with Doña Marina as early as the year 1537, as Morel-Fatio conjectures, although it might be argued that at the age of fourteen she was a trifle young to inspire love in the heart of Mendoza who was twenty years her senior and a scholar and diplomat of established position. It is true that after 1537 he spent many years abroad. Toward the end of that year he was sent from Barcelona to England on a diplomatic mission; some months later he was ordered to the Low Countries, and early in 1539 received the Emperor's appointment as Ambassador to Venice where he remained until 1547. It seems more probable that his acquaintance with Doña Marina was formed between 1539 and 1541 during a brief sojourn at Court in connexion with one of his diplomatic missions.

Five poetic compositions of Mendoza mention Doña Marina by name. One of these, a sonnet of little merit[2], pictures the eternally beautiful lady seated among the Muses. To her he dedicates his *Fábula de Adonis*,

[1] *Études sur l'Espagne*, Troisième Série, Paris, 1904, pp. 75–105.

[2] Sonnet v in the edition of W. I. Knapp, *Obras poéticas de D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, Madrid, 1877, to which all references are made.

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Hipómenes y Atalanta, a graceful version of the tenth book of the *Metamorphoses*, and in three stanzas he celebrates her beauty that holds all men captive. He addresses himself to her in two epistles in tercets, written at Venice, in which he playfully asks one of her serving-women, María de Peña, to intercede with her mistress in his behalf. In one of these[1], written after a silence of four years, he describes himself as melancholy and dispirited, and declares that his lady is playing a dangerous game in forgetting so readily her old friends. As a corrective for her overweening self-confidence, he makes a witty defence of homely women, which recalls only by its subject Giovanfrancesco Ferrari's *In lode delle donne brutte*, and then describes the temple he will some day rear in her honour where, as a victor, he will see her enthroned to receive the world's homage. In the second *epistola*[2], he explains that, just as devout pilgrims to Rome and Santiago do not venture to approach the holy places, but remain outside at a respectful distance, in like manner he prefers to address his lady through a third person. He follows this with a diverting account of the foundation of the Republic of Venice, and then once more solicits the kind offices of María de Peña.

In these compositions he expresses himself with discretion and moderation, but, in the elegy written upon the death of Doña Marina, there is a cry of profound regret. With a sad heart, he says, he left his country to seek glory in foreign lands, but Fate has cut the wings of his ambition so that he is vanquished. It had been better for him to follow her footsteps, to be satisfied with a more humble existence and to have found in her alone his happiness. Now is his grief without remedy. In reading these verses, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the poet had formed a real attachment for Doña Marina, and that his devotion for her had extended over many years.

It will be recalled that a manuscript containing thirty-eight compositions of Mendoza, with corrections in the poet's own handwriting, is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris[3]. The first of these is a sonnet in which the poet, assuming the name Damón, bids his book narrate to Marfira the author's sufferings when it reaches her presence.

[1] Knapp's edition, p. 130.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[3] A. Morel-Fatio, *Catalogue des Manuscrits espagnols et des manuscrits portugais*, Paris, 1892, p. 204. The manuscript contains thirty-nine compositions, but the poet disclaims authorship of one of them. In an important article entitled *Les Œuvres attribuées à Mendoza*, *Revue Hispanique*, XXXII, pp. 1–47, M. Foulché-Delbosc states (p. 28) that the sonnet *Amor me dixo en mi primera edad*, which is included in this manuscript, was published in a slightly different form in the 1591 edition of the works of Hernando de Acuña. The first two lines of these compositions are somewhat similar, but in other respects they have little in common.

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This sonnet is not found in the *princeps* edition of 1610, nor in any other manuscript, and it seems unquestionable that Mendoza prepared this collection of verses to send to the lady, and wrote an introductory sonnet to accompany it.

Among the thirty-eight compositions of this manuscript, five, in addition to the introductory sonnet, are addressed to Marfira. In a single octave[1], he asks Daphne to intercede for him, since in following Marfira he is condemned to a living death. In a canción[2] he declares he had ever been faithful to her; when he left her, she had assured him that her favour would never fail, but now her indifference leaves him comfortless. In a pastoral eclogue[3], he tells of his grief upon her departure, and describes his amazement when he first gazed upon her unearthly beauty[4].

In a second eclogue[5] he writes passionately of her inconstancy, and ridicules the man upon whom she has bestowed her favour. In an *epístola*[6], he vehemently arraigns her for her cruelty, which has brought him to the point of death. The lady is mentioned in one other poem included in the manuscript mentioned above, namely, in a witty *epístola*[7] directed to the historian and diplomatic agent of Charles V, Don Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, in which he describes his ideal of a happy life. It is reasonable to suppose that many of the compositions included in the manuscript were inspired by Marfira, even when not specifically named, and on the other hand, in the edition of Knapp, which includes a large number of compositions ascribed to Mendoza on the questionable authority of various manuscripts, there are only three others in which Marfira is mentioned. One of these is the well-known epistle to Boscán, in which he dreams of happiness with Marfira, which was never to be fulfilled. Possibly it was not included in the manuscript because it had already been published in 1543 in the edition of Boscán's verse. There is also an epistle directed to Marfira[8], and an eclogue[9], the authorship of which is exceedingly doubtful. So far as we know, then, the last composition directed by Mendoza to Marfira was the sonnet that was penned to accompany the manuscript collection of his verse of which the Paris manuscript is a corrected copy.

In this manuscript only two ladies are mentioned by name, Marfira and Doña Marina de Aragón. Of the five compositions directed to the

[1] Knapp's edition, p. 228. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 34. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[4] A reference to Boscán shows that this composition was written at Barcelona before 1542. [5] Knapp's edition, p. 57.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 101. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 175. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

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latter, only the elegy upon her death is missing[1]. It is unreasonable to suppose that, in gathering together some of his verses for Marfira to read, he should have included others in which he openly expresses his admiration and love for Doña Marina unless Marfira and Doña Marina were one and the same person. It would seem probable, then, that the resemblance between these names is more than a mere coincidence, and that the compositions addressed to Marfira form a partial record of the poet's love for Doña Marina. If this identification is acceptable, it follows that all the compositions included in the Paris manuscript were written between approximately 1537 and 1549, the year of the lady's death.

II. The Sources of Five Compositions.

Pagès[2] has called attention to certain borrowings of Mendoza from Auzias March, and to these may be added the quatrains of the thirteenth sonnet:

El hombre que doliente está de muerte
Y vecino a aquel trago temeroso,
Cualquiera beneficio le es dañoso
Y en la causa del mal se le convierte.
Ansí mi alma triste, en sólo verte
Halla daño do busca haber reposo,
Viniendo del bien cierto el mal dudoso,
Del dulce verte, el duro conocerte.

These lines are adapted freely from part of the fourth stanza of the first canto of Auzias March[3]:

Com del pensat plaer me cov'exir,
las! mon delit dolor se convertex.
Dobles l'afany aprés d'un poch repòs,
si col malalt que per un plasent mos
tot son menjar en dolor se nodrex.

The sixteenth sonnet bears in the autograph manuscript the caption, 'A las armas de Aquiles, traduzido de griego.' It has a striking similarity to an epigram in the *Greek Anthology*, book VII, no. 146, from which it is, at least indirectly, derived. The latter is also the source of Alciato's Emblem *Aiacis tumulum lachrymis ego perluo Virtus.*

[1] In all the other amatory compositions that can be ascribed with any degree of certainty to Mendoza, the only name that occurs is Filis, and these undoubtedly belong to a much later period when at the age of sixty-four he was banished from Court.

[2] *Auzias March et ses prédécesseurs*, Paris, 1912, pp. 415–17.

[3] *Les Obres d'Auzias March*, Edició crítica per Amadeu Pagès, Barcelona, 1912, p. 187.

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The seventeenth sonnet, *Al escudo de Aquiles*, continues the same subject:

El escudo de Aquiles, que bañado
En la sangre de Héctor, con afrenta
De Grecia y Asia fué mal entregado
A Ulises por varón de mayor cuenta;
Sobre el sepulcro de Ayax fué hallado,
Que Ulises, levantándose tormenta,
Entre las otras ropas lo había echado
En la mar, por dejar la nave exenta.
Alguno, visto el nuevo acaecimiento,
Dijo, quizá movido en su conciencia:
'¡Oh juez sin razón ni fundamento!
Que el conocido error de tu imprudencia
Vean la ciega fortuna y ciego viento,
Y el loco mar enmienda la sentencia.'

This appears to be a free translation of the following Emblem of Alciato:

Æacidae Hectoreo perfusum sanguine scutum,
Quod Graecorum Ithaco concio iniqua dedit,
Iustior arripuit Neptunus in aequora iactum
Naufragio, ut dominum posset adire suum.
Littoreo Aiacis tumulo namque intulit unda,
Quae boat, et tali voce sepulchra ferit.
Vicisti, Thelamoniade, tu dignior armis.
Affectus fas est cedere iustitiae.

The following sonnet—the thirty-ninth—was included by Knapp in his edition on very questionable grounds[1]:

En cierto hospedaje do posaba
Amor, vino a posar también la Muerte;
O fuese por descuido o mala suerte,
Al madrugar Amor, como lo usaba,
Toma de Muerte el arco y el aljaba:
(Y no es mucho, si es ciego, que no acierte):
Muerte recuerda al fin, tampoco advierte
Que eran de Amor las armas que llevaba.
Sucedió deste error, que Amor pensando
Enamorar mancebos libertados,
Y Muerte enterrar viejos procurando,
Vemos morir los mozos malogrados,
Y los molestos viejos, que arrastrando
Se van tras el vivir, enamorados.

This is a fairly close translation of the following Emblem of Alciato:

Errabat socio Mors iuncta Cupidine: secum
Mors pharetras, paruus tela gerebat Amor.
Diuertere simul, simul una et nocte cubarunt:
Caecus Amor, Mors hoc tempore caeca fuit.
Alter enim alterius male prouida spicula sumpsit,
Mors aurata, tenet ossea tela puer.
Debuit inde senex qui nunc Acheronticus esse,
Ecce amat, et capiti florea serta parat.

[1] See Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca*, etc., I, p. 1009.

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Ast ego mutato quia Amor me perculit arcu,
Deficio, injiciunt et mihi fata manum.
Parce puer, Mors signa tenens victricia parce:
Fac ego amem, subeat fac Acheronta senex[1].

It has already been noted that the first epigram[2] to Lais is a translation from Ausonius, that the epigram[3] 'A los hijos de Pompeyo' is derived from Martial, and that the epigram[4] to Dido is translated from Ovid's *Heroides*[5]. To these borrowings I may add that the epigram to Venus[6] is translated from Ausonius, book II, xliv, of which many versions were made in the Renaissance.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., U.S.A.

[1] Another version of the same emblem is found in a *romance* published in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XVI, pp. 437–8. See a note of Eugenio Mele, *Un 'emblema' dell'Alciato e un 'romance' della fine del Cinquecento, Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, LXXVI, 1920, pp. 187–8.

[2] Knapp's edition, p. 430. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 431. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 432.

[5] The epigram on Hermaphroditus included among the burlesque verse in Knapp's edition, pp. 477–8, is by Castillejo, and is a translation from an epigram of Matthieu de Vendôme.

[6] Knapp's edition, p. 430.

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REVIEWS

The Later Court Hands in England from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century. By HILARY JENKINSON. Cambridge: University Press. 1927. x + 200 pp. and portfolio of 49 plates. 45*s*.

The accumulation of material for the training and equipment of the student proceeds apace, and Mr Jenkinson's book is a noble contribution to the resources now available. 'The dual object of this book,' he writes in his Preface, 'is to provide the essential minimum of apparatus for a student desiring to master the writings used in English business documents (Archives, in fact) of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and at the same time to settle the classification and sketch the history of the nine or ten varieties of writing which existed side by side in England at the zenith of that period.' The first of these is paramount in Mr Jenkinson's intentions, and the purely palæographical interest is subordinate (cf. his Introduction, pp. 6–7). This was, indeed, definitely stated in the preface to the forerunner to this volume, *Court Hand Illustrated*, by Mr Jenkinson and Mr Charles Johnson, in 1915, to which the present book is the sequel, taking up the subject at the point where the first book left it, at 1500, and continuing it up to the time when modern hands became prevalent.

Nevertheless, the palæographical importance of this work can hardly be exaggerated. The classification and history of various types of writing here attempted by Mr Jenkinson, an archivist of the first rank, must serve as a basis for all subsequent work on the subject, as far as English records are concerned, though his views may not command universal agreement at all points (cf. especially the genealogical tree of hands on p. 79).

The student of literature owes much to the bibliographers and palæographers who understand the needs of modern research, and will give the same welcome to this book as to Dr Greg's *English Literary Autographs* and to Dr McKerrow's *Introduction to Bibliography*. There is room enough for what W. P. Ker called 'the reading man,' but the present generation of students of literature is bent on the acquisition of new facts, on the establishment of the true meaning of known facts, and on the fullest enquiry into textual documents, printed or manuscript, with a view to the better understanding of literature. To this end literature has enlisted the services of history, archæology, palæography and bibliography, and these sciences in turn have been humanised by contact with living thought. When we consider such firstfruits of this conception of scholarship as Professor Chambers' *Beowulf*, Professor Manly's *New Light on Chaucer*, and Professor Reed's *Early Tudor Drama*, we may well rejoice at the provision of facilities for the increase of such scholarship, and the further exploitation of the unrivalled public records of England.

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Mr Jenkinson's excellent plates illustrate twenty alphabets and a vast variety of documents ranging in date from 1362 to 1641. Complete and fully annotated transcripts are appended to the text of the book. There is ample material here for the student, who will probably begin with the plates and transcripts, and refer back to the text after familiarising himself with the hands illustrated. I recommend to his attention especially the warnings of long experience in Chapter XXVII. It would be well, incidentally, to have a stronger case made to contain the portfolio provided for the plates.

I am not disposed to hunt for errors of detail in the book. I may, however, save Mr Jenkinson the trouble of pointing out that the second Calendar referred to in a note on p. 167 has not, in fact, yet been published. The transcriptions have been made and printed with the most admirable exactness, and careful collation of several plates has yielded, in errors, only a poor *that* for *thatt* (Plate XXXII, ii [4]), and one or two faintly debateable readings. Ciphers (pp. 91–2), by the way, must have been quite widely used. I have seen a London merchant, John Walgrave, signing even a Chancery Deposition in cipher! (P.R.O. c/24/256/26, 1598).

The Cambridge University Press, as well as Mr Jenkinson, deserve our thanks, not only for a beautiful piece of printing and book-making, but for publishing it at a price which puts it within the reach of persons of moderate means. It is the cheapest book I have seen for a long time, for it is hardly too much to say that it is magnificently produced. It is, in all respects, an honourable achievement.

CHARLES SISSON.

LONDON.

The Place-names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire. By A. MAWER and F. M. STENTON. Cambridge: University Press. 1926. xlii + 316 pp. 18*s*.

The annual publication of the English Place-name Society increases in size and interest yearly. In this volume, which maintains the high standard already set, Professors Mawer and Stenton deal with a geographical rather than an historical entity. The general impression is that the settlement of Bedfordshire was appreciably later than that of Buckinghamshire and was gradual rather than a rapid occupation by a large body of invaders. Names in *-ing* are not common, and traces of ancient personal names are rare. Huntingdonshire was probably settled earlier than Bedfordshire. This small county has four distinctly early names: Gidding, Yelling, Lymage, and Winteringham, whilst the first element of Earith, never found in strictly literary sources, points to an early date. Celtic names are rare, being confined to Lattenbury and Kempston and river-names or place-names containing river-names. A characteristic feature of both counties is the large number of names ending in O.E. *-hoh*. Although both counties were within the Danelaw, the Scandinavian element is smaller than might be expected, being more evident in Hunts than in Beds. Ridgmont is a parish name of Anglo-

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Norman origin, but the feudal names are fewer and on the whole later than in Bucks. The 'Buzzard' of Leighton Buzzard is still an unsolved problem.

The 'Lygeanburg' of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is definitely identified with Limbury in South Beds, but the authors reject the identification of Bedford with 'Bedcanford,' which carries an important historical consequence as it disposes of the only reason for believing that the West Saxons reached the Ouse valley in the sixth century.

There is a detailed discussion of the road-names: Akeman Street, Ermine Street, Icknield Way, and Watling Street, whilst the interpretation of river-names is reserved. An interesting discovery is that of a lost 'Severn' in Beds.

The authors vary in their treatment of certain thirteenth-century forms from the Assize Rolls, in one case ignoring them altogether. For some reason, these Assize Rolls seem, from time to time, to give important clues to etymology not found elsewhere. Their very rarity leads to doubt, but they are more than occasional. For instance, for Kelvedon Hatch (Ess), which has been subject to frequent confusion from early times with Kelvedon (the chief manor in each parish belonged to Westminster before the Conquest), the Assize Rolls alone give such forms as 'Calwedon' which is most likely the true form. In these Rolls, too, for Ridgewell (Ess), we find the only evidence for a diminutive personal name in 'Redeleswell,' and as this and 'Blæccen' are regularly formed, they should probably be accepted. It seems better to adopt this explanation of such forms as 'Blechenesho,' to which the authors' only objection is their late occurrence (p. 28), than to explain them as a combination in one form of both the strong and weak genitive endings.

Lack of space prevents detailed criticism and one or two suggestions only can be given. In Pegsdon (p. 75), the forms 'Pekelesdene' and 'Pikelesdene' are ignored. These point to O.E. 'Pæcgel,' found in other place-names. Cardington is more likely to contain O.E. 'Cenred' than 'Cærda.' For early examples of *ar* < *er*, *v.* pp. 77, 93, 124, 145. The second element of Basmead (p. 55) is probably *-mede*; cp. Hullasey (Gl) < 'Hunlaweshyde' (Baddeley), and Coxtie Green (Ess), 'Cocstede' 1286 Ch. For the early forms in *Waude-* for Wadlow (p. 138), cp. Weybridge (p. 232) and the two-fold development of 'Blancmoustier' in Blamsters (Ess), formerly known also as 'Blansted.'

PERCY H. REANEY.

LONDON.

The Southern Passion. Edited by BEATRICE DAW BROWN. (Early English Text Society. Original Series, CLXIX.) London: H. Milford. 1927. cxii + 124 pp. 15*s.*

In *The Modern Language Review*, XXII, p. 449, I reviewed the separate issue of Mrs Carleton Brown's introduction to her edition of *The Southern Passion*. The treatment and presentation of the text, the notes, and the glossary, are as good as the introduction. MS. Pepys 2344 Magd.

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Coll. Camb. (early fourteenth century) is the basis of the text; variants of MS. Harl. 2277 (*c.* 1300) and if this fail, of MS. Bodl. Tanner 17 (early fifteenth century) are recorded in the footnotes, and some others in the notes after the text. *The Southern Passion* is fluent and lively, and gives us interesting glimpses of English life and of the Jews in England, in the thirteenth century. The additional passages from MS. Bodl. 779 (early fifteenth century) printed on pp. 99–100, are also important. The *Passion* is full of interesting forms, words and rhymes. The following words are worth attention: *abayen* 1869; *acoupement* 1286; *affisschep* 2179; *agrise* a. or pp. 1145; *aueyward* B (p. 100); *alosed* 113 (cp. H); *balled resoun* B p. 100; *bysokne* 1975; *byspeke* 1634; *bytale*; *byþinne* and *byþouse*; *byturn* 1443; *castel* 49, *chesel* 1169; *chymenee* 375; *cokir* a., B. 1978 a.; *debruise* 267; *defoul* 268; *deyȝ* sb. 1692; *domhalle* 1208; *edy* a. 2145; *enclos* sb. 2134; *entempry* vb. 1284; *fere* sb. 1838, 1963, 2169; *founde* vb. 526; *foroldede* 145; *gale* sb. 1961 H; *galoun* = 'pot,' 'vessel' 803; *gar* sb. 520; *gōme*, 725; *-griþe* in *vrþe-g.* 405 H; *hayt* sb. 1959; *holerye* 1970; *honisch* 1458; *ynles* a. 688; *laterede* 2054; *lire* = 'waste' 23; *mey* sb. 424; *mōne* 1532; *morye* vb. 2354 etc.; *muneter* 651; *mylce* 1402; *of al þat* = 'for all the time that,' 'so long' 950 and 953; *outsouȝt* 1526; *Paynyme* sb. 1283 (*v.* text. n.); 2104 *relef* sb.; *rouysouns* 1783; *syde* 524; *some* 461; *stacioun* 14; *stey* sb. 1605; *stede* 1737; *stikelliche* 2484; *swoddry* vb. 562; *to-sprede* 919; *þrow* sb. 1594 etc.; *vnbyleoved* 2141; *vnderstod* 619; *vnhonoure* 1420; *vnymete* adv. 2470; *vpbrayd* 469 H (cp. *wiþbrayd*); *vp þe doun* 1564; *walwy* 1606; *whatlokere* 1901 H.

There are in the poem about 25 possible Scandinavian loan-words (of which 5 are doubtful, and 5 exist already in O.E.); they include *gōme* (:*dōme*) = 'care,' 'heed.' Phonologically interesting forms include: *wost* = *woldest*, 93; *bigunnyng*, *-gunneth*, etc.; *sywe* = 'thou didst sow' 643; *shat* = 'shalt' 2260; *beoldere* = 'builder' 255 (cp. *eolde* = 'age' 2260 and *neoyse* = *nuyse* = 'noise' 766 etc.).

I add a few remarks upon particular passages.

177 f. Do these lines mean: 'But I do not say that the parson, who ought to be in our Lord's place, is (pleased) so [in the same way as our Lord]; for when the offering made to him [the parson] is great, it seems to him that he may fly (for joy)'? cp. *fleo* inf. = 'fly' 1218 (not in voc.). (*Auȝte* may be sb.; 'that is in (wrapped up in) possessions.')

241. *hevede* prob. after *Matt.* xxi, 35 'alium lapidauerunt'; but just possibly after *Mc.* xii, 4 'in capite uulnerauerunt.'

290. 'my boles & my capouns': cp. *Matt.* xxii, 4: 'tauri mei et altilia.' Miss Deanesly in *The Lollard Bible* (1920), p. 454 and n., points out that the Wyclif versions have 'my boles & my volatilis,' through confusion with the correct *altilia*, fatlings. *Capouns* may show us how the confusion, if it be a confusion, arose. The West Saxon version has: 'mine fearras 7 mine fuȝelas': Lindisfarne has 'farras min 7 —'; Rushworth has 'fearras mine 7 foedelfuȝlas' (cp. *Cps. Gloss.* (Hessels), A. 467 'Altilia: foedils,' and Bosworth-Toller s. vv. *fédels*, *fédels-swín*); Tyndale has 'myne oxen & my fatlinges.' *Piers Plowman*, B. xv, 454–7, speaks of calves and 'foules that fram hym nolde · but folwed his whistellynge'

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(and l. 466 'capones in a court · cometh to mannes whistlynge'). *Purity*, 55 ff. increases the feast to 'boles &...boreȝ...fedde foulеȝ fatted with sclaȝt, My polayle þat is penne-fed and partrykes boþe, Wyth scheldes of wylde swyn, swaneȝ and croneȝ.' Is the *Piers Plowman* author thinking of *Purity* when he says: 'He fedde hem with no venysoun · ne fesauntes ybake, But with foules' etc., and then gives a spiritual interpretation of the calves and the fowls?

989. I see no difficulty in *bytwene*: is it not parallel to *among* ȝow in the next line? *bileue* is proper only if the next line be different, as in H it is.

1043. Cp. *Jo.* xvii. 5, 6: 'clarifica,' etc.

1458. I do not understand the note. See *N.E.D.* s.v. *Honish.*

1677. *treo* may be simply 'tree.'

1951–2. *Rote* = *Route*? 'uproar,' 'noisy assembly' etc. See *N.E.D.* s.v. *Rout*, 8. This word is not in the vocabulary.

B 1982 c. I do not understand this line.

Woþ 658 is apparently a misprint for *wop*; cp. 339.

CYRIL BRETT.

CARDIFF.

The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher. An Attempt to determine their respective Shares and the Shares of others. By E. H. C. OLIPHANT. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1927. xv + 553 pp. 23*s.*

In this book Mr Oliphant revises and completes a considerable piece of work, a large part of which appeared in 1890–1892 in the form of articles in *Englische Studien*. He again employs the same methods of analysis which underlay these articles, and other articles, on the Shakespearian canon, which appeared in the *Modern Language Review* in 1908–1909. The solid scholarship of Mr Oliphant commands every respect. But the challenge thrown out in his preliminary pages to those who are sceptical of the method employed must be fairly met by the reader. I, for one, am obliged to confess to such scepticism. Many methods of literary analysis have been recommended, and employed, by various rivals of Mr Oliphant in the art of disintegrating, with excellent motives, Elizabethan plays. These various methods have the fault of being either too mechanical and arbitrary, or too impressionistic and vague. Mr Oliphant himself rightly points out that 'verse-statistics are frequently misleading' (p. 5), and prefers as his fundamental test 'the rhythmic qualities of the verse' (p. 5), with further appeals to 'matters of style, of melody, of turns of phrase, of sentence-building.' In the application of his method, one feels that the first motion towards discrimination is, in fact, an impression, which is thereafter justified as well as may be by various formal tests of this kind.

Mr Oliphant sets an excellent example of frankness, however. For one thing, he attempts to define the characteristics of each author introduced, before applying his tests for that author. The description

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of 'The Tokens of Shakespeare' may serve as an example (pp. 73–75), and should be studied with this in mind. There is no certainty, says Mr Oliphant, except in two things. There is his 'sovereign mastery of words,' in which Middleton, however, we are told, approaches him occasionally. But Mr Oliphant has already referred (pp. 43–4) to Fletcher's 'mastery of language' which 'it is hardly too much to describe as wonderful.' There remains Shakespeare's 'unique condensation of matter.' But this is certainly not characteristic of Shakespeare in all his known plays. Mr Oliphant adds concerning his verse that 'its music is quite individual.' But both Beaumont and Massinger sometimes reproduce 'the cadence' of Shakespeare's verse (pp. 55–6), as he himself tells us.

The proper starting-point for such work, one feels, is a fuller enquiry into a question which Mr Oliphant dismisses in a little over a page, in a paragraph headed 'Method of Collaboration,' which merely summarises, without discussion, certain articles based on divisions made by similar methods and therefore of doubtful value. Admittedly the purpose of collaboration was partly at least to speed up production. The slowest way of writing in collaboration is that which involves joint control at every line. *A priori*, one would anticipate the action to be sketched out jointly, or by one of the authors, and thereafter to be parcelled out between them in the natural divisions of acts, not scenes or parts of scenes. The authors could then work independently and simultaneously, with a maximum speed of production. The only clear evidence on the subject known to me bears out this probability (cp. *The Library*, September, 1927, pp. 244–246, and W. J. Lawrence, *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies*, pp. 340 ff.).

Mr Oliphant's book, however, cannot be read without great admiration for the honesty, the skill, and the acute and fine literary sensibilities of its author. There is excellent proof of the reality of his convictions, and the justified obstinacy of his independence, in his discussion of a certain passage in *The Faithful Friends*. Having attributed this scene to Field, he was informed, on authority which he accepted, that in the Dyce MS. of the play it was written in Massinger's hand. Ready, on p. 363, to confess to error, he finally refuses (Appendix, p. 532) to give it to Massinger, and stands by Field, though it involves transcription by Massinger. Mr Oliphant may be congratulated, for the passage is not in Massinger's hand at all.

CHARLES SISSON.

LONDON.

A Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1620–1800. By R. S. CRANE and F. B. KAYE. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press. 1927. 207 pp. $2.

Messrs Crane and Kaye, with the assistance of M. E. Prior, have made a praiseworthy and useful attempt to provide for students of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whose demands are not completely met by the *Tercentenary Handlist* and the *Union List of Serials*. Their Census is a twofold bibliography, comprising a list of the periodicals accessible in American libraries and a list of those not thus accessible, with a

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chronological index and also a geographical index, referring by number to the items in both lists. Newspapers, reviews, magazines, periodicals of the *Spectator* type, and annuals are included; and the term British covers Gaelic, Irish, Welsh, and French (if published in the Channel Isles) as well as English. The reports of 37 American libraries supplied the entries in the finding-list, which gives the length of run possessed in each case. Thus the user is enabled to locate the sets of periodicals, and by piecing together fragmentary sets in different places can often command the entire issue. The proper complement to this finding-list would be a complete list of the periodicals issued, if such could be compiled. The authors have contented themselves with a list of those not to be found at present in American libraries, drawing upon bibliographies and the catalogues of the Hendon Repository and the Bodleian for their entries. They could hardly expect completeness; but they claim that theirs is the fullest list yet produced, if the finding-list is included. In examining their sources, they have 'laid many ghosts,' i.e., they have shown that many periodicals have been recorded which never had any real existence. They have carried out a piece of most laborious work in a manner that lays historical students, especially those in America, under a heavy obligation. It is a kind of work that cannot pretend to be ever complete, as the authors point out, inviting users to let them have any additions or corrections that may be discovered. It would be worth while in a future edition to give the editor in all instances where the name is important: e.g., Fielding is mentioned in connexion with *The Champion* and the *Jacobite's Journal*, but not in connexion with the *True Patriot*. A revised edition is in preparation.

E. A. Baker.

London.

John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester: His Life and Writings. By Johannes Prinz. (*Palaestra*, cliv.) Leipzig: Mayer and Müller. 1927. x + 460 pp. 32 M.

Interest in Rochester, as Herr Prinz's bibliography shows, has never quite disappeared, but in our own times that interest has gained a new impetus. The Nonesuch Press *Works* has given us the text, and now a German scholar essays to present the biography, the bibliography and the setting. All that man has expressed in the form of prose and verse is, of course, material for the literary historian, and for this reason Herr Prinz's work is to be welcomed, but perhaps it may be questioned whether his attempt to introduce Rochester as a not too disrespectable person and as a man of pre-eminent genius fails somewhat in its mission. That Rochester possessed talent no one will deny; that he is a thoroughly representative figure among the later Caroline courtiers is undoubted; but one may be permitted to suggest that the modern enthusiasm for his writings is sometimes a trifle indiscriminate and that much of his verse is thoroughly bad.

Herr Prinz has provided for us a well-written and amply documented study. He is to be complimented alike for his skill in writing English

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and for his handling of often difficult documentary material. Only occasionally does he seem to err. Several times he draws attention to the poem called *A Trial of the Poets for the Bays*. On p. 70 he states his belief that this has been wrongly credited to Rochester; on p. 73 he treats the poem as 'apparently spurious'; on p. 85 he declares that he 'cannot discover Rochester's hand' in the stanzas. Yet, after thus particularly commenting on the unauthentic nature of the *Trial*, he uses it (p. 77) in order to fill out his account of an episode in Rochester's life. 'And Rochester indignant at the poet's (Otway's) presumption showed small mercy to him. Not only did he promptly discard his audacious protégé, but he also lampooned him in the following extremely sarcastic lines'—a quotation from the *Trial of the Poets* is then given. Inconsistencies such as this, however, are not frequent in the pages of Herr Prinz's work, and his treatment of difficult points of authorship is generally sound. He fully vindicates Rochester's claim to the 'Scaen of Sir Robert Hoard's Play,' which the present writer was once inclined to assign to Dryden, and he seems to have dismissed once and for all that hazy Fishbourne on whom a series of writers had seen fit to father the notorious *Sodom*. As Herr Prinz shows, Rochester cannot be relieved of its authorship. This wretched piece of dramatic verse (for the present writer can in no way accept the commendatory remarks made on it in the course of this study) stands as one great indicting document against Rochester, and, if British Museum practice now makes it 'quite inaccessible' (once it was not), the authorities have some unquestioned reason on their side.

One of the most important sections of Herr Prinz's book is the bibliography of Rochester's writings. This should be of genuine assistance, not only to students of literature, but to all who attempt to wade through the bibliographical, and other, quagmires of Restoration miscellaneous verse. One welcomes, too, the carefully printed text of Rochester's correspondence.

A. Nicoll.

London.

The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination. By John Livingston Lowes. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co.; London: Constable. 1927. xiv + 639 pp. 31*s.* 6*d.*

No one who has wrestled with the alternations of metaphysical subtlety and illumination that make up the *Biographia Literaria* can have thought that what Coleridge failed to make plain was to be made clear as daylight a hundred years later, and that a new *Pilgrim's Progress* was to be written tracing for us with critical security the adventures of the poetic mind that first found the Road to Xanadu. What in Bunyan however is an allegory in Professor Lowes is actuality; and there is no sentence in his astonishing book more significant than that 'the facts which this investigation has disclosed with reference to *The Ancient Mariner* and *Kubla Khan* counsel caution in the prevalent pursuit of so-called Freudian complexes in everything.' That *Vis Creatrix*, the 'shaping

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spirit of imagination,' whose operations led Coleridge into mazes of analysis, is now shown at work; and, by the way, an old bogey, the Coleridgian distinction of the imagination and fancy, is laid once for all.

> I have long had the feeling, which this study has matured to a conviction, that Fancy and Imagination are not two powers, but one. The valid distinction which exists between them lies not in the materials which they operate, but in the degree of intensity of the operant power itself.

But how, it may be asked, does one come to grips even in two poems with the working of this faculty? One must read the *Road to Xanadu* and discover for oneself the overwhelming conspiracy of recorded fact that has enabled Professor Lowes to chart this most exciting journey.

The road begins in the Manuscript room at the British Museum in a Note-Book kept by Coleridge from the spring of 1795 to the summer of 1798, 'a catch-all for suggestions' assembled chaotically from his 'absorbing adventures among books.' Professor Brandl printed it in *Herrig's Archiv* in 1896. Here we make contact with the reading habits of a man of genius who afterwards claimed without immodesty 'to have read almost everything,' and to whom reading was indeed everything. But during these years he had a definite purpose in his reading. He proposed to write a series of Hymns to the Sun, the Moon, and the Four Elements, and was bringing grist to the mill. Two things become clear: that Coleridge's reading ramified amazingly as he worked his way from footnotes to their sources, and that he was storing his memory all the time with phenomenal images for his Hymns. These were never written, but out of the welter of images tumbling in what Professor Lowes calls the 'Well' of Coleridge's mind there arose almost everything that arrests us in concrete phrase or image in *The Ancient Mariner* and *Kubla Khan*. Guided by the Note-Book and by his own discoveries of Coleridge's reading habits, Professor Lowes has read almost everything that the poet read, and he has demonstrated to us by what processes the images held in his memory came to be transmuted into poetry. For nine-tenths of the poetic stuff of the two poems, their phraseology and imagery, is exposed to us by Professor Lowes in its literal and original form in his 'sources.' This in itself is an astonishing achievement. He has read, for example, eight hundred pages of Priestley's *Opticks* because he was sure that Coleridge had done so; and he was rewarded by finding how a passage from Franklin had slipped into the Note-Book. A footnote of Priestley's then sent him to the *Transactions of the Royal Society* to learn about luminous fishes, and in this way he reached the Jesuit Father Bourges' account of the 'luminous track' in the wake of a ship; while the same volume of *Transactions* refers to a 'tradition that in November 1668 a star appeared below the Body of the Moon within the Horns of it.' So, never losing his thread, he was carried to Cook's *Voyages*, Bartram's *Travels through North and South Carolina*, Dampier's *New Voyage round the World*, Leemius' *De Laponibus* (which via *Joan of Arc* provided an episode for the poem, *The Destiny of Nations*), Falconer's *Ship-wreck*, Purchas's *Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins*, and so on. One clue has led him to another until he has been able to show us a

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poet's memory steeped in travel lore and its vivid phraseology and illuminated with 'ocular spectra' registered for use in the spectral Hymns—a reservoir on which the shaping spirit of imagination was to work; for the *vis creatrix* must have material to work on.

This explosive mixture of crude poetic matter was fired innocently enough at a moment of high compression. Dorothy Wordsworth says that on Monday, November 13, 1797, she, William and Coleridge set out from Nether Stowey on a walking tour, and that the two men employed themselves in 'laying the plan of a ballad.' Coleridge had in mind an 'old navigator' and a dream of a skeleton ship; but it was Wordsworth who produced the necessary spark. He suggested the shooting of the albatross, the consequent 'spectral persecution' and the navigation of the ship by the dead men. Thereafter it was solely Coleridge's affair; and 339 pages of *The Road to Xanadu* supported by 130 pages of closely printed notes are devoted by Professor Lowes to a fascinating series of demonstrations of the processes by which the fruits of the reading of a poet who had never been on a ship became *The Ancient Mariner*. The *vis creatrix* had found a form, the structural conception of the voyage, and upon this it had fastened with intense concentration, summoning up to consciousness the dormant visual memories and 'streaming images' that were to have gone to the making of the impossible Hymns. On March 23, Dorothy wrote: 'Coleridge dined with us. He brought his ballad finished....A beautiful evening, very starry, the *horned moon*.' Four months of the closest application had gone to the making of the poem, and when afterwards in a misguided moment Coleridge called it —in the second edition—a 'Poet's Reverie,' his best critic, Lamb, was justly indignant. For the poet of *The Ancient Mariner* was no 'somnambulist in a subliminal world.' His poem was perfect in form; and that form was the headwork of a directing intelligence and the sweat of a forging brain.

In the seventeen chapters devoted to *The Ancient Mariner* and the influences human, literary and local that went to its making there is not a dull page; to read them is to be caught up into a great adventure. But to illustrate the wealth and variety of new material they contain is to run the danger of obscuring the skill and insight with which Professor Lowes has assembled his facts. They all fall into place as points on the road. Some of them, however, we must refer to.

We are shown, for instance (p. 44), a pretty blending of his memories of Boccaccio and Dante in Chaucer's bead-roll of ladies and knights. Dryden expounds (p. 63) the creative processes of poetry. In a footnote (p. 77) we meet that rare bird, the 'metaphysical bustard'—the *avis tarda* of Coleridge's uninspired years. Chapter VI will be applauded by all who know the difference between poetry and 'joiner's work.' Chapter VII opens with an inspired essay on the poetry of 'remote horizons,' and books of wayfaring, amongst which we would have added (p. 114) More's *Utopia*. Here we reach the Antipodes and meet the Anthropophagi, the Troglodytes and other inhabitants of the Southern Seas. We learn further that, regarded as a voyage, the basic structure of *The*

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Ancient Mariner is 'as true to fact as an Admiralty report.' We agree that Coleridge was wrong in changing 'the breezes' (*les brises* = Trade Winds) into 'the fair breeze.' We see in Chapter IX how Coleridge met the 'snowy clifts' and their 'dismal sheen.' There are priceless references in Chapter XI to Dorothy Wordsworth and in this chapter (p. 180) the astronomical critics of the 'horned moon' are confounded in an explanation that, one may add, is applicable also to the O.E. Riddle beginning: 'Ic wiht geseah wundorlice horn*um* betweonum hu*þ*e lædan.' There is of course an admirable section on the albatross and this is followed by a remarkable study of Coleridge's knowledge of the neo-Platonists and therefore of Dæmons. We meet the Wandering Jew in Chapter XIV, with Cain and all the other doomed wanderers that went to the making of the Mariner; we meet the 'glittering eye,' Svengali's hypnotic eye. We are referred to *Der Tod Abels* and the curse that follows the death of an inoffensive victim. Was the mark of Cain a cross like the mark of the Wandering Jew?

> Instead of a cross the Albatross
> About my neck was hung.

The mystery of the figures 'Death' and 'Life-in-Death' are solved for us in a chapter that not only offers a new explanation of the word 'weft' and unexpectedly introduces us to Keats, but also connects the 'troop of angelic spirits' with a jotting in the Note-Book on the Law upon Wrecks—an exciting chapter in which we meet Paulinus, bishop of Nola, and are reminded that Ulysses, like the Ancient Mariner, reached home in a deep sleep. The charge that Coleridge spoilt his poem by moralising is dealt with in Chapter XVI, and Chapter XVII shows how much Coleridge's diction owed to the vivid, simple phraseology of the travellers—a debt which has never been fully recognised until now. Ballad-diction was in the air; and it is obvious that Coleridge felt the danger of its facile *clichés*. Thus, his first draft ('I looked upon the *eldritch* deck') was significantly improved by the substitution of the word 'rotting.' I wish there had been a clue to the 'silly buckets.'

To pass to *Kubla Khan*. Professor Lowes accepts Coleridge's own explanation that the poem had its origin in a dream that came to him on falling asleep as he was reading in Purchas how in 'Xamdu did Cublai Can build a stately palace.' He then sets to work once more to explore the reservoir of Coleridge's reading. First we meet Aloadine, the Old Man of the Mountain, and from Purchas's account of him ten lines of the eighteen beginning 'A damsel with a dulcimer' are accounted for, but not Abyssinia, Mount Abora, the dome in air, the caves of ice, the sacred river Alph, its caverns and its sunless sea. How these had come into Coleridge's mind we learn with the aid of the Note-Book, which sends us first to Bartram's *Travels*, to Bruce's *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile*, and to Maurice's account of Cashmere. We read of the four mysterious rivers of Eden, and in Burnett's *Theoria Sacra* reach the 'caverns measureless to man.' The Nile and Alpheus become commingled, nor are the 'ancestral voices' left unexplained.

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The conclusion of the matter is this. That 'in *The Ancient Mariner* a conscious will was intent upon the execution of a complex structural design'; '*thinking* was imperially present'; in *Kubla Khan* it had abdicated its control. More than this in the limits of space permissible in a notice it is not possible to say. Professor Lowes rejects Mr J. M. Robertson's description of the poetry of Coleridge as 'an abnormal product of an abnormal nature under abnormal conditions.' That *Kubla Khan* is an abnormal product he admits, but not for a moment will he allow that this is true of *The Ancient Mariner*. He has done a great service for the cause of literary research and criticism. No one now, surely, will venture to explain the workings of the mind of a poet who is not uncommonly well equipped for the task and who is not prepared to take a long and arduous journey. Is it too much to ask of Professor Lowes that he should follow up his work on Coleridge's two poems with a volume on Keats? Meanwhile may I suggest to him as a subject for a lecture, afterwards to be published, Coleridge's little poem *Time, Real and Imaginary*.

A. W. REED.

LONDON.

The Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson with the Wordsworth Circl (1808–1866). Edited with Introduction, Notes and Index by EDITH J. MORLEY. Two Volumes, pp. xii + 904. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927. 42*s*.

It is six years since Professor Morley gave us the firstfruits of her work on the mountainous Crabb Robinson *Remains*, in her invaluable selection, *Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Lamb*, etc. Now she has produced these two rich volumes of correspondence, 671 letters, of which little over 100 have ever been printed before even in part. It is difficult to say whether Miss Morley has put us more in her debt for the new matter or for her correction of the old. The earlier editors of letters used their authority without scruple: Mr Davidson Cook has recently shown what liberties Lockhart took with the text of Scott's letters, and Knight, in his *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, was thoroughly untrustworthy. He divided letters, as a comparison of his Nos. CCCXCII and CCCCIII with Miss Morley's No. 64 will show; inserted sentences from one letter in another, as in his No. DXCIX (Miss Morley's No. 220), which includes without warning a sentence from Miss Morley's No. 213, not otherwise printed by him; omitted without sign, and occasionally put dots of omission where there was no omission and even the curious Wordsworth punctuation does not justify them; and altered the text itself where he found it difficult to read or thought it capable of improvement. Comparison shows that the two texts differ for every letter, and there is no question as to which editor is unfaithful. It would be easy to multiply examples, but best of all is that which Miss Morley herself, with all her restraint, could not resist giving on p. viii of her Foreword—the passage in which Wordsworth's 'abuse' has been transformed by Knight into 'a bust,' with surprising results. It is impossible to help wondering where else Knight

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has led us astray. Miss Morley has given us a true text for eighty letters of his edition: who will examine the extant and accessible originals of the rest?

Miss Morley's own editorial work is not confined to a careful reproduction of the text, including peculiarities of spelling and punctuation. Besides this evidence of painstaking labour she has given us an admirable Introductory Essay on the Wordsworth circle and full and careful notes. There are a few obvious misprints which can easily be set right, e.g., No. 66 is printed by Knight (No. CCCCII) but is not so marked in the Index, and No. 306 was evidently addressed to M. W., not W. W. In the footnote on p. 407 'Non-Jurors' must be a slip for 'Non-conformists': the reference is to the ministers of 1662, not the non-jurors of 1689. *The Improvisator* (p. 597), which the Wordsworth family were reading in 1845, is probably Mary Howitt's translation of Hans Andersen's novel. It is a bold thing to differ from Miss Morley, but surely No. 429, which is set down in the Index and referred to in the Introduction as addressed by Harriet Martineau to Crabb Robinson, was actually addressed to Elizabeth Barrett. It is printed not in full nor from the original, but from an extract taken by Crabb Robinson; the following letter, written by him a fortnight later, refers to one received by Miss Barrett which he has been permitted to see, and the description of which fits No. 429; and there is one expression in it which applies rather to Elizabeth Barrett than to him—'Sometimes he [i.e. Wordsworth] flows on in the utmost grandeur, that even you can imagine.' Miss Morley may have other reasons which she does not give for supposing Crabb Robinson to have been the recipient, but the evidence seems to be the other way.

The first of Crabb Robinson's letters in these volumes was written from Germany on June 6th, 1802, and is full of enthusiasm for the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*. Six weeks later he had decided that Wordsworth was 'our first living Poet.' He never wavered in that opinion to the end of his life, and his reasoned Selections of Wordsworth for beginners appalled at the mass of material before them (Nos. 649 and 657 in this edition) could hardly be bettered. It was not until 1808 that he met Wordsworth personally, but from that date their friendship grew and strengthened until Crabb Robinson was a member of the Wordsworth family rather than of the Wordsworth circle.

Comparatively few of these letters are in Wordsworth's own hand; Knight's censorship obscured what is here revealed more fully, the extent to which Wordsworth's poetic activity was crippled by the inflammation of his eyes, which hindered not merely reading and writing but the exertion of composition. His temper was not soured, and his mind always remained open to literary and political discussion. 'Wordsworth and I manage to differ without acrimony,' Crabb Robinson writes here in 1836, and ten years later Harriet Martineau adds her testimony to that given by many others to his essential liberality. When it appeared in matters of morality, she mistook his wide tolerance for something else, complaining of his unawareness in his old age of the 'sensual vice... drunkenness, quarrels and extreme licentiousness' which abounded in

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the Grasmere district. The explanation is—as she might have seen in his poems—that he was aware of them but, like other prophets, was more lenient to these sins of the flesh than to the meaner vices. With this indifference to the standards of the respectable went his high but not arrogant estimate of his own powers—Crabb Robinson noted the distinction at their first meeting, when he was not altogether favourably impressed—and his acceptance of friendly criticism, and tolerance, more amused than contemptuous, of attacks. No. 102 gives a clear example of his attitude in this matter. The gentler side of his character is shown more by his actions than his words. As Rogers once remarked, 'Few know *how* he loves his friends'—or, it might be added, what pains he took to serve them. An odd little instance of thoughtfulness comes out in Nos. 208 and 215: he took the trouble, when in Rome, to get some 'chapelets' blessed by the Pope and sent them to the Baudouins. Crabb Robinson was the intermediary in this as in other details of the Wordsworths' correspondence with their French connections. It is interesting to discover from Nos. 552 and 565 that Dr Wordsworth's silence on that matter in his *Memoir* was due not to prudishness but to consideration for the Wordsworth sons, who through some accident did not know the story which their father had taken no pains to conceal and which was perfectly well known to comparative strangers. The sons do not make any notable figure in these volumes, though their brother-in-law Quillinan stands out as a person and, after his wife's death and even before, is one of the principal correspondents. But most of his letters would be gladly exchanged for one by Dorothy, Mary or Dora. There is no risk that Dorothy Wordsworth will fail to receive her due, and Dora was worthy to bear her aunt's name. After her death the only real comfort which Wordsworth had was in tending Dorothy, and it is touching to see how in turn the necessity of relieving others during his last illness revived Dorothy for a brief while in her pitiful decline. As for Mrs Wordsworth, even Harriet Martineau's obituary notice of her (No. 655) does not do full justice to the woman of strong practical sense and humour who could admire and sympathise with the travails of the imagination, and the latest letters are only saved from being a sad catalogue of decay and death by the recurring evidence of her serene courage in her blind old age. The last survivor of the household was James Dixon, the old servant whose letter here (No. 663) deserves remembrance beside his words (quoted in No. 481) after Dora's death. Crabb Robinson did well to preserve that final testimony to the beauty of the Wordsworths' life.

EDITH C. BATHO.

LONDON.

The Ettrick Shepherd. By EDITH C. BATHO. Cambridge: University Press, 1927. xi + 234 pp. *7s. 6d.*

Though not a large, this is necessarily a rather laborious book. Aware how much has already been written on Hogg, Miss Batho's effort is

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directed to 'a general critical study,' bringing out the minutiae at points where discussion has focussed, at the same time stringing her points on a sufficient though by no means full life, and crowning the whole with a voluminous bibliography of 39 pp. of small type. It is this last, as we judge, that constitutes the chief utility of her book; though before it the reader's spirit faints and quails as he realises the enormous and harassing toil it must have cost, and only scholars will understand its value. To their approbation, however, the volume is addressed; and it is gratifying to know that her patient labours, before they reached this final form, were awarded a special prize by the British Academy.

Indeed the circumstances of hurried production and widely-scattered publication which Hogg's pecuniary needs imposed have been the great barrier to any previous survey of his whole output; and, now we have it, the result is rather a complicated puzzle. The pieces (save a few admitted *negligenda*) are all here; but so numerous, and so often reproduced by Hogg himself, that the total effect is rather that of a phantasmagoria of mist on Ettrick Forest through which an indomitable and impish Shepherd emerges vividly at moments. Miss Batho presents with clearness the intricate question of the authenticity of *Auld Maitland*; she adds to our knowledge of Hogg's share in the 'Chaldee MS.' by an examination of the corrected proof-sheets in the British Museum, though some difference of chapter-arrangement there as compared with the reprint in Professor Wilson's *Works* (vol. IV, pp. 291–318) confuses the result; she prints with relish the amusing parodies of Coleridge and Wordsworth in *The Poetic Mirror*, and the most irresistible of the 'prayers' in *The Brownie* or the *Shepherd's Calendar*, with that for 'Cow Wat'; and her own estimate of the many songs or poems she quotes, if not widely different from that of others, is temperate and guarded. We should have liked some comment on Professor Saintsbury's remarkable suggestion in *Macmillan's Magazine*, Sept. 1889, of Lockhart's possible share in the famous *Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, probably Hogg's best prose-tale. Saintsbury's unshackled essay after Miss Batho's strict discipline is as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land, and reminds us that we have a real grievance. She, like Professor Saintsbury, refers to Hogg's *Autobiography*. In him one easily identifies it with the *Memoir* appended by Hogg to *The Mountain Bard*, 1807, and repeated with large additions in 1821: but appearing in a work that is nothing if not bibliographical, it may give great trouble, compelling repeated search through those 39 pp. which show nothing but the *Autobiography of the Spy*, 1811, and that can hardly be meant. At the first mention of the *Memoir* (p. 9) a brief footnote was required stating when and where additions were chiefly made. 'Z' (p. 10) also requires a reference to p. 224, and several autobiographic passages quoted near the beginning of the book might similarly have been allocated. These oversights add to the difficulty of a useful piece of scholarship.

R. Warwick Bond.

Nottingham.

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The Oxford Provençal Chansonnier. Diplomatic Edition of the Manuscript of the Bodleian Library Douce 269 with Introduction and Appendices. By WILLIAM P. SHEPARD. (*Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures*, XXI.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France; London: H. Milford. 1927. xx + 251 pp. 13*s.* 6*d.*

MS. Douce 269, known to students of Provençal poetry as *chansonnier* 'S,' fully deserved the honour of a diplomatic edition. It is an anthology of 164 pieces, nearly all love poems, executed in northern Italy (probably Venetia) about 1300. As the poems are mostly good specimens of the work of the better-known troubadours such as Peire Vidal, Bernart de Ventadorn, Peirol, Gaucelm Faidit, etc., the collection is more valuable than its size might suggest, and supplies indispensable material to makers of critical editions. The legibility of the text and the absence of any musical notation make a facsimile edition unnecessary. Professor Shepard's handsomely produced publication will therefore be welcomed. A compact and competent account of the history of the manuscript, its scribal characteristics, and its relation to other *chansonniers*, forms the Introduction; while the Appendices supply the necessary indexes, with references to Bartsch's *Grundriss* and to critical editions, when they exist.

The editor has obviously taken considerable pains with his task; yet his reproduction of the texts has not quite attained the standard of accuracy which is expected, and in fact is essential, in a publication of this kind. As he himself states (on p. xix of the Introduction), the edition was prepared from photographs only, without reference to the manuscript. In these days of reliable photographic facsimiles such a procedure is probably defensible; but it is unfortunate, to say the least, that no attempt was made to have even the doubtful readings collated with the actual manuscript. The consequence is that the palæographical footnotes, fortunately not very numerous, are frequently incorrect or misleading; while many minor details such as erasures, corrections of letters, differences in the ink, and insertions by later hands have passed unnoticed. In order that students may be able to use the book with greater confidence, I have collated all the texts with the manuscript, paying particular attention throughout to those points which would not be clearly brought out by the camera.

A few details may be added to the description of the manuscript given on pp. vii–ix. The volume is made up of sheets of parchment folded two by two, each pair thus forming eight pages. The first page of every set is numbered at the top, from *p'mus* on p. iii to *sextusd'cimus* on p. ccxli; it is clear from this that the fragmentary first folio was not originally an integral part of the manuscript. The last twelve pages (ccxli–cclii) are formed exceptionally of three sheets folded together. At the bottom of the eighth page of each set, except the last, is a catchword, consisting of the first word or words of the next page, always enclosed in rectangles of red and black ink; these catch-words are not mentioned in the edition. After the name of the author written in red

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at the head of each poem, letters or Roman figures have usually been added in faint ink, viz. *p.* (= *primus*) for Peire Vidal, *s.* (= *secundus*) for Folquet de Marseilla, *t.* (= *tertius*) for Bernart de Ventadorn, *q.* (= *quartus*) for Peirol d'Alvergne, then the figures *v.* to *xlii.* for the remainder; these correspond to the table of authors at the end of the manuscript, and are doubtless by the same hand. In the edition they have been reproduced only from poem 64 onwards, and then not consistently; figures should be added to the rubrics of nos. 89, 91 and 92 (viiij), 94, 95 and 97 (x), 105 (xj), and 110 (xij).

The transcription of the texts must be amended as follows; the figures in bold type refer to the poem (not the page), the others to the line of the poem. It may be mentioned that, thanks to the exceptional clearness of the handwriting, even *n* and *u*, *t* and *c* respectively are always distinguishable.

1. A few more letters could have been deciphered in this and the following piece. Above the *Q* in *v.* 1 the lower part of a large capital *N* is visible. 1 *m.*] *me*; 2 *nost..*] *nostre*; 3 *comunelm...*; 7 *Cil de chaill z cil de perseran*, the whole line is legible.

2. Above *cobrir* in *v.* 1 the final *ir* of the preceding line can be read. 2 *..mblanza*; 30 *pois*] *pes*, the supposed *o* and *i* are two small holes in the parchment, the lower part of *e* is visible.

3, 4 *mai...*] *mais cobrir*, the parchment is torn, but the edges of the tear can be fitted together; 21 *Plaicss et aitals*] *Plaics* (*h*)*oc aitals*, *ic* corrected from *ch*, *s* written in fainter ink (like the preceding *ch*), *h* very faint (imperfectly erased) and crossed by an oblique stroke which separates *plaics* from (*h*)*oc*, *oc* corrected from *et*, two or three letters erased between (*h*)*oc* and *aitals*, *ai* of *aitals* written on an erasure, one letter erased after *aitals*.

6, 2 *bon*] *ben*, a blot of darker ink gives *e* the appearance of *o*; 20 *naire3*] *naure3*, the second stroke of *u* is hidden by a fold in the parchment; 37 the scribe wrote *me*, the apparent correction of *e* to *o* is probably a blot; 46 *o* of *fao* corrected from *i*.

7, 54 *uiresson*] *iuresson*, the *i* bears an accent.

8, 13–21 the manuscript is not rubbed or difficult to decipher, but there is a brown patch due to the spilling of some liquid. The second letters of *vv.* 17–21 are partly hidden by a fold; the readings *Et*, *Sos*, *Don*, *Es*, *As* are correct.

10, 15 the manuscript is not rubbed, but the stain has come through from p. xv; there is no letter after *Lei*.

11, 27 *hom*] *lom*.

13, 29–33 bracketed and marked by *no* on right margin.

14, 9 *fallimen*.

17, 27 *chous*, not *qious*, *c* corrected in darker ink from *q*, but the downward stroke of *q* not erased; a letter erased between *chous* and *er*.

18, 9–12 the last word of the gloss is *úl*° (= *virtus*); 18 *seus*] *sens*; 36 *Qareires*.

19, 1 *moira* is not blurred, but partly hidden by creases.

20, 20 *fuzir*; 30 *Qis*, no correction, on the upper part of *s* is a dark ink-spot, cp. the catch-word *Qis uai* at the bottom of p. xxxii.

21, 26 *ma faz* written on an erasure.

22, 46 space for one letter left after *e*.

25, 3 *solihom*, *h* inserted above the line, *m* corrected from *n*, both corrections in very faint ink.

31, 35 *so*] *soi*; after *de* there is no erasure, but a hole in the parchment, the same hole that separates *au* from *sels* in *v.* 3; 50 *altretal*.

33, 58 *son*] *sa*.

35, 31 *posc*, *sc* written on an erasure.

37, 52 the gloss is *.i. Amor*; 57 *uei*, a blot beneath *i*.

40, 1 the correction of *e* to *a* is in lighter ink, and probably by the same hand as *vv.* 37–8.

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41, 18 one letter (undecipherable) erased before *sauiamen*, *sa* written on an erasure; 41 *qi ue* is by a different (not smaller) hand, which also wrote the preceding *rs* on an erasure.

46, 8 the *u* of *nul* is not blotted, but there is a hole in the parchment; 36 *i* of *forseis* corrected from a letter partly erased, final *s* on an erasure.

50, 15 the supposed abbreviation is a hole in the parchment.

51, 5 *m* of *Bem* corrected in faint ink from *n*.

52, 15 second *e* of *pene* corrected from another letter, perhaps *o*.

54, 8 a letter erased before *am*; 13 *form damic* written on an erasure; 26 a letter erased after *fai*.

58, 51 *cābaitanȝ*, bar and second *a* added in paler ink.

59, 16 *en* inserted probably by a different hand.

60, 51 *ouraȝ*; 55 *a* of *laor* added above the line in fainter ink by a different hand, without an insertion sign.

63, 61 is in lighter ink and by a different hand.

64, 24 *mi*] *ni*.

67, 25 *lonors*; 48 *ceran*] *teran*.

68, 16 *c* of *percasai* corrected from ȝ, second *a* on an erasure, *i* added probably by the scribe; 18 *n* of *gen* corrected from *s*; 21 final *s* of *chascus* corrected from *n*; 24 *nen* is correct, second *n* written on an erasure; 28 ȝ erased after *midon*; 34 the *a* and inserted *e* of *Belaegentil* are both in lighter ink; 36 a letter erased after *desmenta*, perhaps *r*; 41 *agr̄a*, followed by an erasure of one letter; 43 *s* of *deus* added probably by the scribe.

69, 4 *a* of *pugar* added above *g*, not by a different hand; 4 *p̄ȝ*; 8 *p̄ȝ*; 11 *p̄ȝador*; 13 *s* of *nos* added probably by the scribe, like *s* of *dōpnas* in *v.* 9; beneath 25 there is no erasure, but the writing shows through slightly from the other side of the parchment.

70, 20 *plaser*.

72, 12 *bestan*; 21 *eu* written on a word of four letters imperfectly erased, illegible except final *s*; the word erased after *far* consisted of two letters at most.

73, 6 a letter erased after *ai*, probably *s*; 7 the *i* of *Mais* and the upper part of final *s* in *sis* (not *sil*) are written in lighter ink, but probably by the scribe and not as corrections; 8 the bar and *nd* of *p̄nd* are written in lighter ink, *nd* on an erasure; 37 *Mostr̄a*, the bar in lighter ink, the word followed by an erasure of one letter.

74, 1 a letter erased after *ualor*, probably *s*.

76, 11 *d* of *destei* written on an erasure; 29 the first *s* of *lausors* is written as a capital, perhaps a correction.

77, 5 a letter erased after *donon*; 31 a letter erased after *Seuals*.

78, 3 *n* of *Can* corrected from *m*.

81, 13 final *r* of *meillorar* corrected from ȝ.

82, 20 *im* of *simdes* written on an erasure; 50 a letter erased after *d'u*, perhaps *s*; 51 *engui* written on an erasure.

83, 15 a letter erased after *iauȝi*; 20 *c* of *Anc* and *tost* added by a different hand; 21 *eu* of *Qeu* and *ins* of *esteins* written on erasures, and there is an erasure after *for*; 24 *m* of *mesforȝ* written as a capital, corrected from a partly erased letter; 53 *n* of *sabon* corrected from *r*; 71 *Et uberȝ*] *Ecuberȝ*, *c* and ȝ added in lighter ink by a different hand.

86, 32 the supposed *o* above *pros* is a small hole in the parchment; 36 *f* of *serf* corrected in lighter ink from some other letter or letters, perhaps *ia*, partly erased.

89, 5 *conqes*.

90, 25 *naurei*] *maurei*.

91, 43 a letter erased after *se*, probably *s*; 53 *nom*] *non*.

93, 14 *preȝ*; 17 *t* of *Cant* expuncted.

94, 1 *do* of *dona* written on an erasure; 5 *i* of *sidon* corrected from *a*; between *sidon* and *a* there is a single vertical stroke; 18 *dechausimen*; 19 a letter erased before *uas*; 20 a letter, probably *m*, erased between *de* and *eu*; 25 *t* of *partia* corrected from *r*; 29 final *i* of *ioi* corrected from *r*, accent added in fainter ink; 36 *u* of *graȝidaus* corrected from *n*; 38 *cobreȝ*, *r* on an erasure, the *r* and upper part of *e* are in faint ink.

95, 1 *e cū er* written on an erasure; 21 stop after *nos*, not after *dos*.

99, 14 *an*] *ab*.

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100, 8 *Poiat*, *t* written upon *d*, but *d* not erased.

102, 6 *u* of *uai* corrected from letters partly erased, perhaps *is*; 33 *e* of *dels* corrected from some letter imperfectly erased; 40 *fe* of *fes* written on an erasure.

103, 1 a letter erased after *amor*, probably *s*; 13 *cuies*] *euies* (quite clear).

105, 8 first *ster* cancelled by a horizontal bar.

107, 6 *s* erased after *El*, *s* erased after *bel*, one letter erased after *senblan*.

108, 1 the marginal addition has *dinz*, not *dins*.

110, 29 *dis*] *dic*.

114, 8 *b* of *ben* corrected from *r*; 60 *saluegart*.

117, 21 *s* erased after *Salei*; 22 *en*] *el*; 29, 31, 37 *s* erased after *lei*; 32 *s* erased after *ioi*.

118, 16 second *s* of *baissan* expuncted; 21 two letters erased after *caia*; 32 *nf* of *enfesta* written on an erasure; 36 *t* of *retomba* corrected from *c*.

120, 12 *nenir*] *uenir*; 38 *zaut*] *zant*.

121, 8 the gloss is quite legible: *.A. īt'iettō vn d°utz esga'd el cor. sūt utī* (= *sunt venuti*).

122, 46 *dit*, *i* corrected from *e*, the *i* bears an accent; *eschernir*, *h* added above line, rather faint.

123, 26 the gloss is *.i. odit*.

124, 26 *plasen*.

125, 30 *ia* of *fuziria* written on an erasure.

127, 27 *auer* written on an erasure.

128, 25 second *e* of *deseiadamen* corrected from a letter partly erased.

129, 12 *part*] *pert*; 39 *ses*] *sen*.

130, 20 *Qun*] *Qim*, the *i* bears an accent; 45 *e* of *molten* corrected from *o*.

131, 15 *c* of *tenc* written on an erasure.

132, 44 the ink is not faded, but the line is written on an erasure, *non uoll amors* very indistinct; 45 *nollo*] *nello*; *mala*] *mal*, followed by *la* in very faint ink, perhaps erased.

133, 1 the bar above *pro* is horizontal, not vertical; 10 in the gloss for *q.* read *q̄*.

136. The author's name is spelt *Jolseram*. The Roman figure in the same line is *xxvj*.

137, 23 first *e* of *Menten* corrected in lighter ink from *i*, final *n* on an erasure; 27 *dōpneran* (not *-am*) preceded by an erased *d*; 37 a small *n* in lighter ink inserted after *tota*; 39 *en* of *enparuenz* written on an erasure.

138, 8 the gloss runs: *i noli dic'ē m^i tātū.i c^t.* (= *id est noli dicere mihi tantum, id est cui*); 27 no bar before *ohc*.

140, 13 *j* of *duzamija* corrected from some other letter.

144, 6 *qaleis*; 26 *is* of *pois* corrected from *n*.

145, 8 a letter erased before *irais*, probably *s*; 30 *meiller*.

146, 36 *anz*] *antz*.

147, 22 *p̄nda*; 37 *p̄nd*.

148, 7 *deserer*] *descrer*.

149, 6 *chantar*] *chaniar*, the *i* bears an accent; 39 *tǒz* (= *torz*), there is no correction.

150, 22 *guida*] *girida*, *ri* on a crease in the parchment.

151, 1 *aria* of *faria* underlined, *era* written above it, the correction is in the same hand and fainter ink as the addition on the right; *en* of the original *souen* still visible.

152, 3–5 the tear in the parchment is the same as that on p. ccxxxiii; 3 the original *z pr* still partly visible after *ualenz*; 5 the original *uen* of *iouen* still partly visible; 9 *a* inserted between *car* and *mas*; 45 *maneia*] *mancia* (quite clear); 49 the small letter inserted is *t*, not *c* or *o*.

153, 32 *affans*.

155, 5 *e* of *belle* corrected from some other letter, perhaps *ç* or *z*, partly erased.

156, 28 the *B* of *Bien* is not blotted, but has a red stroke down the centre like other capitals, it cannot be *N*; 39 *grans*] *graus*.

160, 23 *c* of *Doncs* corrected from *e*.

164, 43 *surdeior*.

Table of contents (on p. 232 of the edition). From I to XIV the numerals are written in Latin (*p^i m^o* to *quatuor* [*decimus*]), thereafter in Roman figures. In line 4 read *da'uergna*, in line 5 *uāchera*, in line 10 *cofenolt*.

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It has not been thought necessary to point out the many instances in which the division of words does not agree with that of the manuscript, or is interfered with by holes in the parchment, or in which the use of capital letters is not indicated (e.g., the second letter in each poem, immediately following an illuminated capital), such details being of no practical consequence.

Finally it must be pointed out that many insertions in the text by a later hand, using a very fine pen, have been overlooked by the editor, viz.:

(*a*) Insertion signs. These are used not only for actual insertions (e.g. **12**, 20; **59**, 16; **152**, 9) or glosses (e.g. **108**, 1; **121**, 3), but often for the purpose of separating words: *nois*$_\wedge$*er* **29**, 26, *luos*$_\wedge$*er* **30**, 47, *soaus*$_\wedge$*a dui* (=*soau s'adui*) **37**, 37, *no*$_\wedge$*3a* **43**, 35, *er*$_\wedge$*ai* **52**, 12, *Dō*$_\wedge$*maus* **75**, 22, *desment*$_\wedge$*en* **111**, 43, *pusc*$_\wedge$*als* **114**, 51, *molt*$_\wedge$*en* **130**, 45, *er*$_\wedge$*ai* **143**, 8, *maior*$_\wedge$*at* **152**, 30. It is not clear what is the function of this sign in *so*$_\wedge$*auet* **15**, 14 and *nagen*$_\wedge$*cs* **83**, 48.

(*b*) Interlinear addition of letters. In **20**, 38 *a a b c c* are thus inserted over the first five words (cf. the numerals inserted in **133**, 1–4). Several times *h* has been added above the line to the indefinite pronoun *om*: *Qanc*[*h*]*om* **12**, 20 and 29, *perd*[*h*]*om* **19**, 11, *soli*[*h*]*om* **25**, 3, *uen*[*h*]*om* **130**, 44.

(*c*) Vertical or oblique strokes introduced as a form of punctuation, separating words which might be incorrectly run together by the reader. Many of the oblique strokes, especially those which indicate the cesura, were certainly written by the scribe; but others, and most of the vertical strokes, have the appearance of later insertions. The presence of these strokes has been indicated sporadically in the edition, but a great many have been overlooked. Seeing that they are a distinctive feature of the manuscript (cp. p. ix), and are regarded as a sign of its relationship to *chansonnier* P (cp. p. xv), it was desirable that they should be regularly reproduced. To give a list of instances here is out of the question. Occasionally a vertical stroke has been introduced in order to separate words wrongly written as one, e.g. in *sidon*|*a* **94**, 5, *noil*|*ausa* **94**, 7.

E. G. R. Waters.

Oxford.

E. Gros. *Philippe Quinault: sa Vie et son Œuvre.* Paris: H. Champion. 1926. xii + 825 pp. 75 fr.

Philippe Quinault. *La Mère coquette, ou les Amants brouillés.* Édition critique par E. Gros. Paris: H. Champion. 1926. xxviii + 159 pp. 60 fr.

Students of French literature have long felt the want of a comprehensive and reliable work on Philippe Quinault, and they will be thankful to M. Gros for having chosen him as the subject of his principal thesis for the French state doctorate. Quinault began his career as a playwright, at the age of eighteen, with a comedy entitled *Les Rivales* (1653), closely modelled on Rotrou's *Les deux Pucelles*, which shows

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clearly that he had little aptitude in that direction. His other comedies reinforce that impression, except perhaps *La Mère coquette* (1665), of which M. Gros has prepared a critical edition as his secondary thesis, and which a certain liveliness in the dialogue, absent in Quinault's other comedies, enabled to keep the stage as late as the beginning of last century. Stendhal assisted at one of the representations and has recorded the favourable impression it made on him. More typical and noteworthy are Quinault's tragi-comedies and tragedies proper, of which he composed some half dozen of each (*Amalasonte*, *Stratonice*, *Astrate*, *Pausanias*, *Bellérophon*, etc.). Then, in the closing period of his dramatic career, he turned to opera (with Lulli), for which he wrote fourteen libretti, the first being *Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus* (1672), and the last *Armide* (1686). These various aspects of Quinault's literary activities are all examined by M. Gros in great detail and with patient thoroughness. He rejects Boileau's ruthless criticism, by which Quinault has been for so long almost exclusively judged; and is at pains to show that Vauvenargues was nearer the truth when he wrote that 'les beautés que Quinault a imaginées demandent grâce pour ses défauts.' Perhaps the truth lies half way. There is no denying Boileau's general indictment: Quinault's heroes *are* insipid, and mechanical to boot. They know by heart and repeat with wearisome monotony the *Douze Tables d'Amour*, and the sentimental geography of *La Carte de Tendre* has no secrets for them; in fact they come straight from the pages of *Le Grand Cyrus* and of *Clélie*. Well might Perrault, siding with Boileau, and with Quinault and his emulators in mind, exclaim that playwrights 'ont mis tous les héros de l'antiquité à la sauce douce.' It was this 'sweet sauce' which Boileau could not stomach. He saw that, by pandering to a large and influential class of society, Quinault, an *arriviste* if there ever was one, was debasing the theatre; and that is why Boileau was so severe on him, and not for personal reasons, or because the two men had nothing in common. The striking success of several of Quinault's tragedies, notably *Astrate*, was setting a deplorable example; and even Racine, we know, could not wholly resist the new attraction. Quinault's women, on the other hand, with a less thankless rôle to play, are more natural, and often express themselves with an easy elegance, contrasting agreeably with the mawkish sentimentality of the men. But it is chiefly in the depicting of nascent love and its various manifestations that Quinault can lay claim to some originality. This side of his talent, recalling Marivaux and on which M. Gros rightly lays considerable stress, is sufficient in itself to warrant a revision of Boileau's sweeping verdict, though few will agree that it is marked enough to secure many readers for Quinault nowadays, when the 'actuality' of his plays, the delight of the *précieux* society of his time—with their elopements, disguises, incognitos, letters lost and found again, and what not—can no longer make any appeal. As for Quinault's operas, I am inclined to side with M. Lanson, who sees in them little more than a prolongation of the tragedies; and, as one of the essential rules of lyrical tragedy in the seventeenth century was that it should satisfy the eye as well as the

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heart and the mind, the extravagantly romantic character of the action is still more pronounced than in his other dramatic productions.

M. Gros' voluminous thesis closes with a chronological table of the works of Quinault, a very full bibliography, an index, and a table of contents. By this time one has reached the eight hundred and twenty-fifth large royal octavo page, and one is left wondering whether a better and more useful book would not have been the result if half the material, a good deal of it quite unnecessary, had been jettisoned. Personally I have no doubt about the matter; and I agree with those who think that a good many of the theses for the French state doctorate, admirable in other respects, are too long. Be that as it may, M. Gros' book remains an indispensable guide to those who are interested in the work of a man who, though no great figure in himself, certainly deserves to be better known, were it only for the part he played in helping to establish opera as a permanent European *genre*.

L. E. KASTNER.

MANCHESTER.

MYSIE E. I. ROBERTSON. *L'Épithète dans les œuvres lyriques de Victor Hugo publiées avant l'exil*. Paris: H. Champion. 1927. 559 pp. 50 fr.

In this modest and scientific form, Miss Robertson has really given a most important study of Victor Hugo's psychology. The full importance of studies in vocabulary is thus vindicated once more, and the methods of Ferdinand Brunot receive yet another successful application. Of course, the subject is favourable to the method. If this sort of analysis were to be applied to some other writers, it might achieve merely bulk and no very interesting results. But the richness of substance of Hugo's language makes practically every page of this big book of interest.

In a first part, Miss Robertson, basing her study on M. Brunot's ideas, gives a definition of epithet and considers the uses it has been put to before Hugo. The second part of the book analyses Hugo's use of epithet, the influences he has been under, and the contents of his epithets: what his epithets tell us of his conception of the external world, form, matter, colour, taste, hearing, etc.; and of the internal world, imagination, ideas, feelings. A third and last part, 'Déductions esthétiques,' summarises the results of Hugo's practice, and indicates the totally different rôle played by epithet in French poetry owing to Hugo's influence.

Perhaps one or two of the most important results of Miss Robertson's work are as follows. First of all, Hugo's sense of colour, which has been discussed in the abstract with various results, is shown to have been both extensive and precise. After fifty pages of classified examples of Hugo's use of colour in his epithets, Miss Robertson concludes:

> Tout nous mène à croire que Mabilleau a beaucoup exagéré en essayant de détruire la 'tradition littéraire' de Victor Hugo coloriste. Il en est de cette théorie comme de beaucoup d'autres: l'étude approfondie des œuvres rétablit et justifie la

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première impression; et si certains auteurs ont employé la couleur plus libéralement que Victor Hugo, aucun n'en a fait un usage plus heureux.

A very similar result is obtained as to Hugo's value as a psychologist. The legend that Hugo is 'unintelligent' receives a hard blow from the close study of the texts. Miss Robertson shows that a very delicate power of discrimination between shades of feeling and of ideas is evidenced by the poet's use of epithet in 'intellectual' circumstances. But perhaps the most important achievement of Miss Robertson is on the philosophical side. She has proved conclusively—and this without any theorising at all, but merely as the unavoidable result of the accumulation of documents—that Hugo carried potentially the whole of his philosophical and religious ideas in his mental and sentimental dispositions, even when he was not writing on or thinking of philosophical subjects. In the early lyrical poems studied by Miss Robertson, the whole of Hugo's later philosophy is potentially included. Miss Robertson's results are fully confirmed by the philosophical analysis of Hugo's later work.

Miss Robertson's book will help considerably to put Hugo in his place as a very great 'instinctive' thinker, whose whole temperament tended to the production of ideas, and whose religious philosophy, based not on abstract thought, but on the organisation of his personal perceptions, feelings and desires, is one of the richest *ensembles* produced by the human mind. Miss Robertson is to be unreservedly congratulated on her achievement.

DENIS SAURAT.

LONDON.

BRUNO MIGLIORINI. *Dal nome proprio al nome comune.* (*Biblioteca dell' 'Archivum Romanicum,'* Serie II, vol. XIII.) Geneva: Leo S. Olschki. 1927. 357 pp. L. 75.

The subject dealt with in this book is new, and the author was consequently forced to clear up several preliminary points in the course of his investigation. It is easy to say 'a proper name'; but what is a proper name? A meaningless 'label' which draws its reality from the person (Professor Migliorini keeps mainly to personal names) it indicates, and from the history of its first creation or choice. There are labels, however, that are only 'labels,' and others, such as nicknames, that possess a semblance or an echo of a meaning. These questions Professor Migliorini has had to solve for himself before he could grapple with the central part of his work, for he looks upon them from a historical angle and could not rest satisfied with the rigid classification and definitions of logical grammar. His difficulties were increased owing to the lack of comprehensive works on his subject, as well as owing to the number of publications which deal with but a section or an aspect of this part of semantics; and Signor Migliorini is too accurate and too generous a scholar to overlook any of his forerunners, or to omit to mention any work he has made use of, however slightly. Thus his notes provide a very comprehensive bibliography of this subject, besides showing the

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truly remarkable extent of his reading in many and often unexpected directions.

His historical investigation he has refrained from pushing further back than the Roman age and beyond the Romance field, though he frequently avails himself of parallels and illustrations drawn from ancient Greek, Oriental, Germanic, Slav and Hungarian sources. Having established the concept of 'proper name' as it is determinated by usage and legislation, distinguishing it from the descriptive denominations (nicknames, etc.), he passes to the principal section of his work, in which he studies a frequent, if strange, linguistic habit, of the extent of which few could have had even an approximate idea before perusing this book. It happens that a name such as Pecksniff, from being a mere 'label' adopted by Dickens, acquires a meaning of its own; so that, if anyone says 'that fellow is a Pecksniff,' at first all those who are familiar with *Martin Chuzzlewit* understand what is meant, and by degrees the moral or immoral implications of the name become established, so that the word (no longer a proper name) is understood also by people who do not happen to have read *Chuzzlewit*. It is this transition and its progress in the Romance field that Professor Migliorini has investigated, breaking a ground that had only been trodden upon by Krüger, Bandisch and Kölbel in connexion with French. It is partly for this reason that he has been impelled to give copious examples, many among which are so interesting, complex and unexpected as to cause the reader's attention to stray from the point they are meant to illustrate. It was necessary for the author historically to describe the tendencies which he intended to define, and the amount of reading that the collection of so many examples must have entailed is stupendous; but the essential part of this work far transcends in importance the limited subject he has undertaken to investigate, for it throws much light on some of the psychological processes which underlie the study of semantics in general. Apart from the entertainment provided by some of the examples, all who are interested in language must feel in Professor Migliorini's debt for having shown that the transition of proper names into nouns occurs in a variety of ways which he groups under different headings, such as the metaphorical or metonymical use of the proper name (*traslazione*), the calling of persons and things by proper names that allude to, or call forth certain ideas, seem phonetically symbolical of them, or are taken, through a popular misunderstanding, to be linguistically kindred to them. Finally there occur semantic shifts which depend on changes in the social and intellectual environment. It would be impossible to enter upon a closer examination of this book without taking up a great deal of space; and it may be enough to add that the vast material under consideration is marshalled by the author with masterly ease, and that the analysis of the several processes here classified, which all tend to merge into one another, shows so mature a judgment and so acute a discrimination as to mark out Professor Migliorini as a scholar of the first rank.

CESARE FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

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Italy in the Renaissance. A Sketch of Italian Life and Civilisation in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. By MAUD F. JERROLD. With 12 illustrations. London: Methuen. 1927. xii + 292 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Mrs Jerrold's volume modestly 'proclaims itself as being nothing but the merest sketch.' Nevertheless it stands on a considerably higher level of scholarship than some of the more pretentious studies of the Italian Renaissance with which we are familiar in England. It is a popular survey, intended for the general reader rather than for the professed student, but inspired by first-hand knowledge as well as enthusiasm for the subject.

Leaving the political history of the epoch aside, the book deals with some characteristic aspects of life and civilisation during the two centuries under review, beginning with the humanists at Rome in the Quattrocento. There is a particularly interesting chapter on 'Educational Ideals,' studied especially in Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona, the writer justly remarking that 'the Humanist conception of education is one of the most illuminating features of the fifteenth century.' Other chapters are concerned with Artists and Humanists in Florence, Women in the Renaissance, 'The Unique Position of Venice' (where there is an unfortunate misprint on p. 123 as to the date of Titian's death), 'Life and Letters at Naples,' the Courts of Ferrara and Mantua, 'Court Life at Urbino,' 'The Late Renaissance,' 'Poets and Novelists.' It ends with what Mrs Jerrold calls the 'aftermath,' the Counter-Reformation in the various Italian cities, but more particularly in Rome itself, regarded as 'a quickened sense of religion and a great increase of spirituality,' with Michelangelo's dome rising over St Peter's as a symbol.

It is naturally not a part of the design of the book to attempt even a summary of the literature of the Renaissance, but merely to include, within a general picture of the epoch, some of the typical forms of literary expression and introduce the more significant writers. Mrs Jerrold does well in allowing adequate space to letters in the South, where literary conditions under the short-lived Aragonese dynasty sometimes offer curious analogies with those that had prevailed in the days of Frederick II—a new Pier della Vigna, though not himself a poet, appearing in the person of Antonello Petrucci. Full justice is done to the commanding figures of Pontano and Sannazaro—the latter more fascinating as a man than even as the author of the *Arcadia* and the *De Partu Virginis*.

> Tu saltem, bona posteritas, ignosce dolori;
> Qui facit, ut spreto sit mea fama loco:
> Musarum spolierque bonis, et nomine claro
> Vatis; et hæc ultro credar habere mala.
> Prosit, amicitiæ sanctum per sæcula nomen
> Servasse, et firmam regibus usque fidem.

Sannazaro was indeed an almost unique type of simple-hearted and unshakable loyalty in an age deeply tinged with private and political duplicity, and Mrs Jerrold well notes of his patriotism: 'This quality in

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him was something finer and rarer than what men usually mean by it —something that was rooted in his religion, that flowered in his poetry and coloured his whole relation to life' (p. 147). We are given an admirable translation of his once famous sonnet, 'Icaro cadde qui, queste onde il sanno,'—a sonnet somewhat unfairly eclipsed by the two masterpieces in this kind that Tansillo afterwards based upon it. It is good, too, that the attention of English readers should be drawn to the fine political canzoni of the third member of the Neapolitan triumvirate, Charitео (pp. 248–250). Most of the poets, even some of secondary importance, receive adequate treatment and are illustrated by translations. Here and there points invite criticism. I should not, for instance, quite agree that Lorenzo de' Medici, in the *Nencia da Barberino*, 'achieved a long humorous poem in *rispetti*' (p. 236); the humorous element is unquestionably there, but the main purpose of the poem is the idealisation of, the giving literary form to, the actual popular poetry of the Tuscan countryside. Antonio Cammelli (p. 144) is best known for his political sonnets on the state of Italy after the battle of Fornovo—forming, indeed, a grimly satirical pendant to the stately music of Charitео's canzone to Ludovico Sforza. Perhaps, in virtue of his position in the history of sixteenth-century Petrarchism, something should have been said of the poetry of Giovanni della Casa. There is an excellent sketch of the growth of the pastoral drama. With the exception of Machiavelli and Castiglione, the prose writers are dealt with more slightly. The scope of the book no doubt precludes a study of the historians, otherwise Guicciardini could hardly have been so lightly dismissed. But we miss Benvenuto Cellini, who appears only in a few incidental references.

The omissions are, however, less remarkable than the amount of matter which has been included in so comparatively small space, without any sacrifice of vividness of presentment and with much effective detail. I have alluded to one of the translations. Mrs Jerrold has altogether exceptional gifts as a translator of verse; her versions are among the very best that I know, combining poetical charm with a close fidelity to both the letter and spirit of the original. The book as a whole must rank as the best popular introduction to the study of the Italian Renaissance that has appeared in English.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Die altgermanische Dichtung. Von ANDREAS HEUSLER. (*Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft.* Lieferungen 11, 12, 16, 17, 21, 24.) Berlin-Neubabelsberg: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion. 1927. 200 S.

Wer in Hoops, *Reallexicon der germanischen Altertumskunde* (1911–19), Prof. A. Heuslers Artikel 'Dichtung,' 'Heldensage,' gelesen hat, in dem wird der Wunsch rege geworden sein, er möchte das hier in tunlichster Kürze gebotene recht bald in ausführlicherer Gestalt, in Buchform, als

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erste in sich geschlossene Darstellung altgermanischer Dichtung erscheinen lassen. Dieser Wunsch hat sich durch die vorliegende Veröffentlichung, die leider von dem Verlag nicht separat abgegeben wird, erfüllt und zwar, wie zu erwarten war, in ausgezeichnetster Art. Man muss sich die gewaltige Schwierigkeit vor Augen halten, der es Herr zu werden galt, um dem zeitlich und örtlich weit getrennten und zudem höchst lückenhaften Material das gemeinsame, d. h. den dauernden altgermanischen Geist abzugewinnen und anderseits der Um- und Weitergestaltung der Formen und Inhalte, bedingt durch die innere Anlage der einzelnen germanischen Stämme oder durch äussere Beeinflussung, ihre Erklärung und Bewertung zu geben; ferner dort, wo Denkmäler ganz fehlen oder nur höchst spärlich sich einstellen, aus den keineswegs immer eindeutigen 'Zeugnissen' das richtige oder doch stets diskutierbare herauszulesen; und über all den mannigfaltigen literarischen, stilistischen, rhythmischen Fragen das Individuum—den altgermanischen Menschen, den Dichter—nicht zu vergessen, im Gegenteil, wo immer es fassbar wird, es in scharf umrissenem Bilde vorzuführen (vgl. §§ 94, 95, 105, 119 f., 150). Mit der Darstellung der kulturellen Zustände Alt-Germaniens als Hintergrund, ruhend auf solidesten Kenntnissen und einem feinen Gefühl für Dichter-Individualität und dichterische Form, erhebt sich dieser Neubau, nicht mehr, wie bisher üblich, eine blosse Vorhalle zum Hauptbau einer althochdeutschen, angelsächsischen oder nordischen Literaturgeschichte. Mögen andere Hände im Laufe der Jahre hie und da etwas daran ändern, es wird, meine ich, nichts wesentliches sein.

Eine kurze Angabe des Inhalts der Kapitel, woran gelegentlich die eine oder andere Bemerkung geknüpft sei, mag den Aufbau und den reichen Gehalt des Werkes veranschaulichen. Altgermanisch, das von einem engeren ur- und gemeingermanisch geschieden wird, fasst Heusler (Kap. 1, S. 8) als einen zeitlich nicht bestimmten Kulturbegriff, als 'das von Kirche und antiker Bildung nicht greifbar bestimmte Germanentum, dessen dichterische Spuren bis tief ins Mittelalter herabreichen.' Daraus ergibt sich zugleich, dass die sprachlich, zeitlich und örtlich so getrennten Denkmäler—Fragmente von Fragmenten—aneinander gerückt werden müssen, um das Gemeinsame herauszuschälen, und daher empfiehlt sich für die Gesamtdarstellung eine Einteilung nach Gattungen, nicht nach dem örtlichen oder zeitlichen Verlauf. Aus obiger Definition geht aber auch hervor, dass als altgermanische Dichtwerke im vollen Sinne nur solche zu gelten hätten, die, von Weltlichen verfasst, von der Kirche oder irgend einer römischen Kunstart unbeeinflusst sind, die, ohne aus Büchern zu schöpfen, für den freien Vortrag bestimmt sind, und denen endlich das formale Merkmal, der Stabreim eignet. Doch wird über diesen engsten Kreis hinaus ein weiterer herangezogen, Dichtungen, denen ein Teil dieser Eigenschaften zukommt: so alle kleineren Stabreimdichtungen weltlichen Inhalts, wenn auch ihre Verfasser Geistliche waren (ags. *Flursegen*, Rätsel des *Exeterbuchs*, etc.), dann kirchliche Buchdichtung, entweder nach Stoff und Form (Versstücke in den ags. Annalen; *Beowulf*, *Waldere*) oder nach Form, d. i. metrisch-sprachlichem Stil (ags. geistliche Epen, *Heliand*); des Stoffes wegen fällt auch ein

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gelegentlicher Ausblick auf lateinische Denkmäler. Mit diesen Ausführungen über Stoffumfang und seine Abgrenzung verbindet sich ein Überblick über das so verschiedene Verhalten der einzelnen Literaturen hinsichtlich ihrer Ergiebigkeit an Hauptquellen (Gründe für den Reichtum an solchen in England und besonders auf Island, S. 3–5) und über die Nebenquellen: Zeugnisse und Wortschatz, die im Laufe der Darstellung ausführlichere und durchaus vorsichtige Behandlung finden. Angemerkt sei gleich hier als ein Beweis, wie Heusler früher gesagtes (*Reallexikon*, I, S. 443 f.) neu durchdacht hat, die Bestimmung der Begriffe *þulr* und *þularstöll* (S. 106 f.) gegenüber den gleichzeitigen Ausführungen Neckels in *Die altnordische Literatur*, 1923, S. 84 f., und Heuslers Ansicht über die Prägung des Wortes *scáld* (< ir. *scélide*) in Hofkreisen gegenüber Neckel a. a. O., S. 104. Ehe die Denkmäler selbst zu Worte kommen, zeichnet Heusler in den Kapiteln III–VI in knappen, bedeutenden Zügen ihren Hintergrund: die Gesittung der Germanenstämme, die Sprache (Schallwirkung und Tempo, frühe Lautbildverkürzung, was auf die Sprache als Versstoff abfärbt, Reichtum an Zusammensetzungen) und die fremden Einflüsse auf die Germanen, für deren Abstammung und Sprache er sich die bekannte Theorie von Feist und Braun zu eigen macht: römischer, seit dem 4. Jahrhundert römisch-christlicher; keltischer, der in vier Wellen die Germanen trifft; russisch-byzantinischer, doch erst vom 9–11. Jh. in vereinzelten Erzählstoffen auf den Norden; in Südosten auf die Goten um 200 griechisch-(orientalische) Einflüsse, die in Eigenschöpfungen (Runenschrift, Tierornament) zu stammverwandten und anderen Stämmen wandern. Freilich will es mir scheinen, dass wir bezüglich des Tierornaments, des 'in Zierat umgedachten Tieres,' noch immer nicht klar sehen; welche Rolle spielten da die Kelten? Von den Ostgoten, wohl erst zur Zeit Attilas und Theoderichs, gelangte ihre mutmassliche dichterische Neuschöpfung, Preislied, Heldenlied zusamt dem Hofdichter—Heusler lässt die Frage nach etwaigen Vorbildern offen, vgl. auch S. 110 und 149—zu den West- und Nordgermanen in mündlicher Vererbung, in Schriftlosigkeit, was ja von altgermanischer Dichtung überhaupt gilt. An dieses wichtige Moment sowie an die zufällige oder bestenfalls durch philologisch-historische Interessen herbeigeführte schriftliche Aufzeichnung knüpft Heusler (S. 22–24) lichtvolle Bemerkungen, die mit Recht die gang und gäbe Ansicht von der Feindseligkeit der Kirche gegen *alle* Gattungen dieser weltlichen Dichtung einschränken.

Von dem Rhythmus der altgermanischen Dichtung handelt das VI., 'Verskunst. Vortrag' überschriebene Kapitel (S. 30–44), dessen Inhalt Heusler seither ausführlich dargestellt hat in seiner *Deutschen Versgeschichte* (1925), I, S. 86–314. Wenn er später (S. 46) nach Müllenhoff u. a. den Ursprung des Stabreims mit dem taciteischen Losorakel (*Germania*, c. 10) in Verbindung zu bringen sucht, so hat dem gegenüber kürzlich H. Naumann, *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*, XV (1927), S. 263 mit m. E. beachtenswerten Gründen diese Bewertung des Losorakels abgelehnt und will der urgermanischen Zeit bestenfalls nur unpaarige, in sich selber stabende Verse zuerkennen. Übrigens sieht auch

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Heusler das Gebiet der durchgeführten, vierhebigen, zwei- bis dreimal stabenden Langzeile erst in der höheren Dichtung der Völkerwanderungszeit (vgl. *Deutsche Versgeschichte*, I, § 333. 340–1).

Nach Erledigung dieser Grundfragen wendet sich Heusler mit Kap. VII der Karakterisierung der altgermanischen Dichtung nach Gattungen zu, deren Zweiteilung in niedere und höhere, sowie bei der west-nordischen Dichtung in eddische (objektive) und skaldische (subjektive) er schon in Kap. V (S. 26–29) näher begründet und erklärt hatte. Bis einschliesslich Kap. XII, S. 44–108, werden die niederen Gattungen besprochen: Ritual-Dichtung (Opfer; die Völsi-Strophen; Weissagung; Losorakel; Völvaritual und -seidr (Zauber)); Hymnus: Stück des ags. *Flursegens*, *Heilgruss* der von Sigurd erweckten Walküre und neben ein paar kleinen versprengten Resten im Norden noch wenige inschriftliche Weihformeln; rituales im Rechtsleben: vornehmlich die hochpoetischen westnordischen Urfehdesprüche (*tryggdamâl*); Hochzeits- und Totenlieder, wofür freilich nur beschreibende Zeugnisse und die bekannten alten Namen wie *hîleich*, *licsang* u. a. Die Beisetzung Attilas, also auch den *cantus funereus* hält Heusler mit E. Schröder (*Zs. f. d. Altertum*, LIX, S. 240 ff.) für hunnisch—anders H. Naumann a. a. O., S. 270 f.—meint jedoch, die Goten könnten den Brauch von den Hunnen erlernt und an die West-Germanen (*Beowulf!*) abgegeben haben, was freilich eine unbeweisbare Möglichkeit bleibt. In der Klage um Beowulf möchte er eine kunstlosere Vorstufe des Preis- oder Erbliedes erblicken, aber ob im Chor oder im ablösenden Einzelgesang der zwölf Krieger vorgetragen, lässt sich nicht entscheiden. Endlich Schlachtgesang und -ruf (*barditus*).

Es folgt Kap. VIII: 'Zauberdichtung,' worin mit trefflichen Bemerkungen über Stil, Metrik und Vortragsweise dieser Gattung die bedeutendsten ahd. und ags. ein- und zweiteiligen Sprüche—frühnord. fehlen ja—berücksichtigt werden. Man sieht gern, dass Heusler sich zu denen stellt, die von dem unkirchlichen Ursprung der *Merseburger Sprüche* überzeugt sind, und dass er dem Wurmsegen *Pro nessia* (M.S.D.^{3}, I, 17, 5) nach Form und Inhalt ein in idg. Zeit reichendes Altertum zuspricht. Der S. 59 angezogene ags. *Geschwulstsegen* ist vielmehr sicher eine Alpdruckbeschwörung (s. J. H. G. Grattan in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XXII (1927), S. 4 ff.).

Anschliesst Kap. IX: 'Die Spruchdichtung,' für die der Norden und England (hier jedoch Geistlichenwerk mit altertümlichen volksläufigen Einsprengseln) fast allein—in Deutschland etwa das Rätsel von Schnee und Sonne S. 75—Denkmäler stellen; beginnend mit einfachen Zwillingsformeln besonders in der Rechtssprache bis hinauf zu den umfangreichen Spruchgedichten (darunter als bedeutendstes die S. 73 vorzüglich karakterisierten Strophen der *Hâvamâl*), hochentwickelten Sprossformen der niederen Gattungen, wie unter der Merkdichtung der *Widsith*.

Dieser Merkdichtung ist das Kap. X (S. 77–94) gewidmet, dem man es ansieht, wie sehr sich der Verfasser für diese Gattung der Kleinkunst erwärmt. Er scheidet einfache, bloss vokabularienhaft herzählende Merkverse (*Merkthula*), die sich im Norden, vielleicht unter irischem Einfluss häufen, und Merkstrophen, einzeln oder in Gruppen, bedeutsam als Gefässe des germanischen Mythus (Beispiele: die Weltschöpfungs-

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strophen im *Grimnirlied*; die Quelle der Urzeitstrophe der *Vǫluspâ*, vielleicht zugleich auch die der deutschen Verse des *Wessobrunner Gebetes*). Als lehrhafte Merkverse, die Sache und Namen kurz verknüpften und sich in wenigen Zeilen erschöpften, will Heusler die taciteischen *carmina antiqua* von dem Gott Tuisto und seinem Nachwuchs—*Germania*, cap. 2—ansehen, was zum mindesten überlegungswert ist. Einen Wotan-Merkvers, auf den einmal eine nun zertrümmerte Besegnung aufgepfropft worden wäre, möchte ich hinter der ersten Langzeile des *Wiener Hundesegen* erblicken, vgl. *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XVII, S. 80 ff. Als weltliche Merkversreihen gelten Heusler neben den besonders auf nordischem und englischem Boden belegten Ahnenreihen die *carmina*, auf die Jordanes sich im 4. Kap. der *Getica* beruft; unsicher bleibt die Einreihung der hübschen Anekdote von der Namengebung der Langobarden (S. 80 f). Merkverse verdanken ihre Existenz auch dem Wissen von den Runen: Runenlieder auf nordischen, englischen und deutschen Boden (S. 84–86). Umfangreiche Sprossen hat die Merkversgattung getrieben (*a*) im ags. *Widsith*, in dem sich noch drei von einander unabhängige Merkversreihen erkennen lassen, die ein geistlicher Dichter, unter Einführung eines *Scop* alter Zeit als Rahmenfigur, verbunden und erweitert hat (aus der Abwesenheit des ostgotischen Theoderich im Heldenkatalog—was freilich nicht sicher feststeht, s. R. W. Chambers, *Widsith*, S. 41–44—schliesst Heusler auf das 7. Jh. als untere Grenze dieser Merkversreihe); (*b*) in dem norwegischen *Ynglingatal* des Skalden Thjôdolf, wohl unter irischer Beeinflussung, und in sechs grossen isländischen Merkdichtungen (*Vafthrûdnirlied*, *Hyndlalied*, etc.), in deren Karakterisierung das reiche Kapitel ausläuft.

Kap. XI: 'Klein- oder Gesellschaftslyrik,' d.i. leichte, nicht an Stand oder Geschlecht oder gar an Berufsdichter gebundene Alltagsware, wofür der Süden nur Zeugnisse, der Norden wohl wegen ihrer vornehmen 'skaldischen' Gewandung auch einen Strophenreichtum (*lausavîsur*) stellt: (gesellige) Chor- und Tanzlyrik—beides im Norden fast unbezeugt—Arbeitsliedchen, Einzelvortrag beim Mahl (Beda über *Caedmon*), Spott- und Scheltstrophen, die sich auf Island zu den köstlichen Scheltgedichten des *Graubartslied* (*Hârbardsljôð*) und der *Lokasenna* auswachsen—s. ihre prächtige Karakteristik S. 101–104; Liebes- und Buhlenlieder (*mansöngsvîsur*; *winileod* S. 97. 99).

Kap. XII (S. 104–108) schliesst in einem 'Rückblick auf die niedere Dichtung' diese Gruppe ab. Herausgehoben sei nur die Ablehnung der Müllenhoffschen These von der Herrschaft chorischer Poesie in urgermanischer Zeit (S. 107 f.) und im Zusammenhang damit die Warnung, die altgriechische Lehre vom Tanz- und Gesangsursprung des musischen Rhythmus auf die Germanen zu beziehen (vgl. auch S. 43 und 95).

Kap. XIII–XVII (S. 109–190) wenden sich zu den höheren Gattungen, dem Preislied mit seiner Abart der Elegie und dem Heldenlied nebst einem Ausblick auf das *Epos*. Voransteht (Kap. XIII) die Karakteristik des Hofdichters, des südgermanischen *scop*, in dessen Bezeichnung Heusler eine Widergabe des lat. *joculator* (vgl. ags. *gléoman*) sieht, und des westnordischen *scâld*, beide nicht zünftig und trotz der Ähnlichkeit ihrer Stellung sehr verschieden in Vortragskunst und Programm. Es

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fällt mir schwer, mit Heusler (S. 115, vgl. S. 154), vom Repertoir des Skalden am Hofe das eddische Heldenlied auszuschliessen, weil es sich 'dem kostbaren Stil nicht bequemte, den man seit Harald Schönhaars Zeit (870–930) für die höfische Kurzweil verlangte,' so dass die Pflege des Heldenliedes vom Hofe weg den Landwirten zugewiesen wird. Das Schweigen der Quellen über seinen Vortrag am Hof könnte sich doch daraus erklären, dass man von diesen namenlosen Liedern kein Aufsehen machte, wobei der Skalde ja nur ihr Sprecher, nicht ihr Schöpfer war. Die Quellen schweigen ja über so vieles, z. B. auch über die Lehrmeister der Dichter. S. 117 f. (und schon S. 28 f.) betont Heusler die Möglichkeit irischen Einflusses auf die Formsteigerung in der Dichtungsweise der Skalden, wie er später (S. 125) einen solchen auf das nordische Schildpreislied, S. 130 auf die *Kehrverse* (*stef*) der *Drâpa* und S. 144 auf das die ags. Elegien durchdringende Naturgefühl erwägt.

Die Karakterisierung (Kap. XIV) des Preisliedes (Zeitgedichts) führt auch (S. 120) zu einer Auseinandersetzung mit dem taciteischen *Arminiuslied*. Vorform des kunstgerechten Preisliedes (kurzes Gemeinschaftspreislied nach Naumann) oder Rituallied? Sicher scheint wohl nur die Negierung eines kunstgerechten Heldenliedes. Ausführliche Behandlung (S. 124–136) wird dem norweg.-isländischen Preislied nach dreifacher Gruppierung: eddisches Preislied, Stammbaum- und Bildergedichte (dazu *Götterdrâpas*); anschliesst (S. 130–137) eine treffliche Darstellung des Skaldenstils, darin die beherzigungswerte, fein durchdachte Beobachtung über die Berührung des Skaldenstils mit dem Tierornament gegenüber der landläufigen Ansicht, die diese Zierkunst der stabreimenden Dichtung im allgemeinen gegenüberstellt.

Den Schluss des Kapitels bildet die Musterung und Beschreibung der klagenden Abart des Preisliedes—der Elegie, deren ags. Produkte scharf von den nordischen Texten und Anspielungen auf diese Gattung abgehoben werden. *Sängers Trost* (*Deor's Complaint*) lässt einen Fachgenossen des erfundenen, in die heroische Welt gesetzten *scop*, also selbst einen *scop* als Urheber vermuten, bei den zwei Frauenklagen kann man die Möglichkeit weiblicher Verfasserschaft offen halten. Alle diese ags. Elegien sind Rollengedichte mit lebhaftem Naturempfinden, Weichheit und Schwermut, die klassischen und keltischen Einfluss wenigstens mittelbar erfahren haben, also nicht rein in den Kreis der altgerm. Dichtung gehören im Gegensatz zu den skaldischen *Erbliedern* (*erfikvædi*, *erfidrâpa*).

Die Darstellung steigt mit den Kap. XV, XVI zu dem Edelgut altgerm. Dichtung an, dem die nachhaltigste Wirkung ausstrahlenden Helden-(Erzähl-)lied. Heuslers an vielen Orten niedergelegte Ansichten, die bald den ganzen Gegenstand, bald den einen oder den andern formalen, quellengeschichtlichen oder inhaltlichen Punkt erleuchten, sind so bekannt und so Gemeingut der neuesten Literaturgeschichten und Monographien geworden, dass sich eine ausführlichere Analyse dieser Kapitel erübrigt. Erwähnt sei nur, dass er festhält an seinen alten Thesen: Heldensage ist Heldenlied; bewusstes Entstellen und bewusstes Erfinden nebst bewusstem Einführen anderen Erzählgutes machen das unge-

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schichtliche des Heldensangs aus; ein Liedinhalt ist eine ganze Sage, gelegentlich vielleicht mit Zuhilfenahme einer schlichten Prosaeinführung (S. 155 f., 159); ebenso gegen Neckel und Genzmar an der Selbständigkeit des Heldenliedes gegenüber dem Preislied. Ein Prachtstück Heuslerscher Synthese bildet die Darstellung des Stils der Heldensage nach Karakteren, Stoffbegrenzung und sprachlichem Stil nebst trefflichen Erörterungen des Begriffs und der Bedeutung der Formelhaftigkeit des germanischen Erzählstils. Persönliches Neuformen nicht Einbauen der Handlung in die überlieferten Formeln des stabreimenden Stils ist die Tat des Heldenlieddichters (S. 156–166).

Die nordische z. T. eigenartige Entwicklung des Erzähllliedes überblickt Kap. XVI (S. 166–182): das doppelseitige, dem Süden entlehnte Heldenlied (altes *Atlilied*, altes *Sigurdlied*, etc.) und nach seinem Muster das Götterlied (Typus: *Thrymlied*), in dieser Weise (Unterhaltungspoesie) nur im westnord. belegt; das jüngere, einseitige Ereignislied (Redelied) nach dem Typus: *Skirnirs Fahrt, Hortlied, Helgis Tod und Widerkehr*; es liegt in der Richtung der Verstärkung des dramatischen Elements; die rückblickreichen Ereignislieder, wie das grönländische *Atlilied* (*Atlamâl*), das jüngere und das grosse *Sigurdlied*, deren Kunst auf die Verstärkung des lyrischen Elements, der Ausmalung seelischer Vorgänge zielt, die im übrigen aber dem doppelseitigen Erzähllied anzureihen sind. Ein naheliegender letzter Schritt, die isländische Nachblüte der Heldendichtung, wobei gelegentlich Frauen als Verfasserinnen in Betracht kommen mögen, war der Ichbericht, das Situationslied, die heroische Elegie, teils doppelseitige, teils einseitige Lieder, Typus: *Odruns Klage, Brynhilds Helfahrt*.

Mit Kap. XVII (S. 182–190) löst Heusler sein S. 6 gegebenes Versprechen ein, auf das engl.-niederdeutsche Buchepos einen Blick zu werfen. Man darf sich einen Ausblick gern gefallen lassen, der wie dieser die Arbeitsweise der englischen Geistlichkeit (besonders ausgeführt am *Beowulf*-dichter (S. 184–188)) und des von ihrer Kunst abhängigen *Heliand*dichters so lebensvoll und klar zu karakterisieren versteht. Wenn ein Leser dieser Dichtungen unvoreingenommen auf diesen Abschnitt stösst, wird er m. E. aus diesen paar Blättern grösseren Gewinn ziehen als aus so mancher dickleibigen Abhandlung: es wird ihm ihre Einheit bei aller Gradverschiedenheit, ihre Lebensbedingungen—hie Virgil, hie Scopkunst!—deutlich entgegentreten, ob sie nun geistlichen oder weltlichen Inhalt haben.

Zum Schluss—Kap. XVIII (S. 190–196), 'Rückblick. Germanischer Stil' überschrieben—beschert uns Heusler mit kostbaren Ausführungen über germanisches Formgefühl und findet da Gelegenheit den Kunsthistorikern gegenüber (und wohl auch jenen Literaturforschern gegenüber, die allzu willig mit deren Resultaten arbeiten) zu betonen, dass germanischer Dichtstil keineswegs eine so einfache und einheitliche Sache sei, um sich schlankweg in das von ihnen gefundene Bild von germanischer Art als bestätigende Componente einzufügen.

Die sichere Linienführung und der inhaltliche Reichtum des Werkes machen den Wunsch rege, es möge sich bald die Gelegenheit zu seiner

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Übersetzung ins englische ergeben. Ich kann mir's schliesslich nicht versagen im Zusammenhang mit dem Werk auf Heuslers seither erschienene Abhandlung: *Altgermanische Sittenlehre und Lebensweisheit* in H. Nollaus *Germanische Wiedererstehung*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter, aufmerksam zu machen.

R. PRIEBSCH.

LONDON.

The Weavers in German Literature. By S. LIPTZIN. (*Hesperia*, XVI.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1926. 108 pp. 4 M. 20.

Lyric Pioneers of Modern Germany. By S. LIPTZIN. New York: Columbia University Press. 1927. 187 pp. $2.75.

These two volumes are studies in the relations between literature and society, and as they contain much the same material, practically one whole chapter being common to both, without even change in the wording, it would have been better to make one book out of them. The first volume, after a preliminary chapter on German literature and the rise of industry, discusses the weavers in poetry, fiction and drama. It is useful mainly for its synopses of a few plays and novels which may not be very accessible, and as a compilation which will save a certain amount of spade-work to later researchers in the same field. It is difficult to understand why, in books of this kind, German poems should not be quoted in the original, but in any case it is a pity that the author prints such utterly inept versions of Heine's *Die Weber* and 'Sie hatten sich beide so herzlich lieb' as those by Untermeyer, though, it is true, he describes the former as 'the only successful rendering in English' and the latter as 'masterly.' If these books are written for the general public, the scope is too restricted, if for other scholars in the same field, there is too much padding with elementary matter.

In the second volume, however, some interesting points are touched on. Dr Liptzin records that earlier social literature in Germany was occupied with the conflict between the aristocracy and the bourgeois, while that of *Jungdeutschland* was interested in the conflict between the bourgeois and the proletariat. Though the writers of the Romantic movement championed the aristocracy and those of the succeeding generation the working classes, they had in common their antipathy towards the Philistines of the middle classes. There are two further points which are worthy of investigation. The first of these is the attitude of the Romantic poets and of the *Jungdeutschland* generation to technical progress, as exemplified in the introduction of machinery and the coming of the railways, and it is an enquiry which could be pursued to the days of the post-war Expressionists, with their hostility to mechanical forces and the expansion of the great towns. The second is the development from the state of mind known as *Weltschmerz* to a keen sympathy with suffering humanity, the transition to social poetry with the growth of a social consciousness. As Dr Liptzin well says, 'Perhaps the same rela-

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tion may be seen to exist between the early *Wüsten- und Löwenpoesie* of Freiligrath and his later social lyrics as exists between Byron's poems of heroes who roam over land and sea and those that chant of liberty and equality.' That is important. To what extent is the concrete pity for the proletariat, as expressed in the social lyrics of the 'thirties and 'forties of the nineteenth century, psychologically an advance on the more universal but also more vague sympathy which we see in the *Weltschmerz* of Byron, and which is itself a development of the narrower, egoistic pity for themselves that lives in the writings of German poets before the French Revolution? The fourth stage is the pessimism of the years which followed the abortive revolt of 1848. Dr Liptzin's chapter on 'Weltschmerz and the Social Lyric' is suggestive; an investigation on the lines indicated would be of great value for the understanding of the German mind, and would form a fresh and useful contribution to the study of the development of German literature in the nineteenth century.

WILLIAM ROSE.

LONDON.

The Post-War Mind of Germany and other European Studies. By C. H. HERFORD. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927. vi + 248 pp. 10*s*.

German After-War Problems. By KUNO FRANCKE. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press; London: H. Milford. 1927. 134 pp.

Professor Herford himself regards his latest collection of essays under a twofold aspect: they 'are concerned in the first place with international affinities and relations' and 'in the second place, with what may be broadly called culture in its relations, on the one side with poetry, on the other the problems of politics and national life.' Four of the six essays deal with the past: 'Dante and Milton,' 'Shakespeare's Influence on the Continent,' 'Alexander Puschkin,' and 'National and International Ideas in the English Poets'; and two with the present: 'The Mind of Post-War Germany' and 'The Culture of Bolshevist Russia.' Obviously no single reviewer could do justice to such rich and varied fare. But even the cursory reader who takes up this volume with the intention of reading only what 'interests' him, soon sees that its author will not let him off so easily; he finds himself fascinated; he cannot lay the book down until he has read every page. The secret of this fascination is not only its style, which it would be superfluous to praise, its vivid and arresting presentation of ideas, but also Professor Herford's conciliatory and harmonising outlook on men and letters; he shows us the silver lining of clouds that still hang ominously on the horizon, whether it be as subversive political or subversive literary doctrine; he brings his wise 'théodicée' to bear on a world where, for most of us, optimism is difficult.

The two essentially 'comparative' studies, those on 'Dante and Milton' and on 'Shakespeare's Influence,' represent opposite poles of what we like to call comparative literature. The first is comparative criticism in the old and in the end most productive and helpful sense;

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it is not concerned with borrowing and influences, for points of contact between the two poets virtually do not exist; but the placing of them side by side opens up new vistas on the problems of the imaginative interpretation of the last mysteries. This is the kind of criticism which brings us nearer to real understanding. The second study deals with more concrete things: Professor Herford's lucid account of Shakespeare's fortunes on the Continent—to which so many workers in every land have in recent years contributed their quota—brings us a step nearer to that great chapter in the literary history of Europe which has still to be written. But he never lets us forget what the younger generation of 'comparative' students too often forget, that facts and documents are not in themselves vital and vitalising knowledge. Not the mere record of the Continent's recognition of and borrowings from Shakespeare is the thing that matters, but the spiritual reaction of foreign minds to Shakespeare. The longest essay of the volume is devoted to contemporary Germany, and bears testimony to the intellectual grit of the German people which saved them in their great crisis from altogether losing their stability, and has led to such marvellously rapid recuperation in the after-years. The essay is concerned rather with ideas in the wider sense than with any systematic survey of the literature of the period; but towards that literature, in spite of its seeming break-away from the guiding lines and traditions which the old Germany held sacred, Professor Herford's attitude is one of trust and confidence.

Post-war Germany is also the theme of Professor Kuno Francke's little volume. Like the English critic, Professor Francke is deeply impressed by the recuperative forces in the Germany of to-day; but the disaster that overwhelmed the Empire is still too near to him to allow him to look into the future with unperturbed hopefulness; the more dubious strains in the intellectual and imaginative of our time are more painfully present to him. From the welter of contemporary literature he singles out as a 'voice of hope,' Graf Keyserling, a writer who appears to enjoy peculiar favour in America where he stands less under the suspicion of dilettantism than on this side of the ocean; and he finds promising strength in novels like Franz Werfel's *Verdi*, and Thomas Mann's *Zauberberg*. Of the drama he has less to say, perhaps less than might have been said. Professor Francke is too mindful of the inexhaustible treasure-house of Germany's past to look very sanguinely on the literary production of the present. Nor, indeed, is its promise to be seen so much here as in those still inchoate ideas which hover, as an invisible presence, behind the contemporary lyric and the drama, and will surely ultimately liberate the German literary spirit from the formlessness, expressionism and extravagance into which the confusion of the war has thrown it. If 'somehow good' is to be the end of all the ill, it is, as even Professor Herford feels, in this promise we must seek it rather than in anything the present generation has yet to its credit.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

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SHORT NOTICES

Wyld's *Short History of English* has already established itself as indispensable to all serious students of our language, and a very cordial welcome must be given to the revised edition now issued by John Murray (viii + 294 pp. 10*s*. 6*d*.). The revision has been very thorough, especially in chapters VI and VII on the Middle and Modern English periods where the work of Professor Wyld himself and his pupils and that of Professor Zachrisson is fast putting out of date much of the older work on these periods. In this volume we have embodied the results of the recent work of Miss Serjeantson on the West Midland dialects and that of Miss Mackenzie on the London dialect. For the more modern period much of the material first presented to us by Wyld himself in his *History of Colloquial English* has been used, with rich supplements of fresh examples. The last-named book has always been a bit difficult to find one's way in, and it is pleasant now to have its important conclusions set forth in clear and well-ordered form. This is specially noteworthy in the treatment of the vowels of unstressed syllables (§§ 272–80) and in the chapter on 'Consonants in the Modern Period.' Some important additions have been made to the 'Historical Sketch of English Inflexions,' a chapter which had already laid us under great obligations in its treatment of certain aspects of Middle English which have hitherto hardly received their fair share of attention. The book is admirably and carefully printed. A. M.

The Early English Text Society's editions (1866 and 1901) of *Floris and Blancheflour* gave us the Trentham, Cotton Vitellius, and Cambridge MSS. of the poem. It is a good thing that the Auchinleck MS. text is now readily available for students. Till the edition by Professor A. B. Taylor (London: H. Milford. 1927. 108 pp. 4*s*. 6*d*.), it has not been printed since 1857. The editor gives us a useful introduction of 25 pages upon the story and its wanderings in Europe, and its probable Eastern origin. In the text (pp. 29–68) those lines and words not found in the Auchinleck MS. are printed in italics; but I do not know what the editor means by his words on p. 28: 'it [A] is reproduced in full, including even a few passages (printed out in the notes) which appear to be additions to the original poem.' The notes (pp. 69–88) are commonly useful and not too full. All editions of M.E. texts should reproduce one or more MSS. exactly; all changes, however plainly right, should be in footnotes; so only can consistency within a given edition, and uniformity of treatment among editions, be assured. Further, if a text has an extant original in French or any other language, that original should be included in the edition. I may notice a few particular points in this book:

p. 70, l. 46. The note on *deed*, sb., is interesting.

p. 74, l. 226. The natural meaning of the text, which may not suit the context, is: 'he pays no attention, attaches no importance, to answer of any kind.'

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l. 411. *alþrest* if not simply due to the next word *fairest*, is probably popular, like Rogue Riderhood's *totherest*.

p. 82, l. 710 f. For *Alasman* read *Alasnam*.

p. 84, ll. 893–4. The rhyme is both possible and well known; cp. Sisam, *Fourteenth-Century Verse and Prose*, p. 278; and MS. T (E.E.T.S. ed. p. 96): 'And, or y it ere wyst, An Otter fleyȝ a-geynst my brest'; and Hall's *King Horn*, p. 111.

l. 720. The interesting use of *daunger* should be recorded in the glossary. *Barbican* and *won* in the glossary need correction or, rather, explanation and amplification.

p. 96. The frequency of assonance and the *-n-* and *-m-* rhymes might have been mentioned.

pp. 90 and 94. The remarks on the present participle in *-yng(e)* should be fuller.

To the Select Bibliography might be added Hibbard, *Mediæval Romance in England* (1924), pp. 184 ff. C. B.

One is always glad to have Blake printed on good paper, with attention to typographical considerations. The *Poetical Sketches* are so printed by the enterprising Scholartis Press (London. 1927. xxiv + 86 pp. 9*s*.). The only fault I have to find with the excellent and handsome printing is a narrowness of inner margin in the later pages. The register, for example, is as nearly perfect as one could hope to see, except on pp. 33–34, and 69–70. And the binding has distinct charm. There is a general Introduction on Blake, and a special Introduction on Blake's metrics. Neither adds greatly to the scholarly interest of the book, and both are full of questionable views. Blake is not to be adequately appreciated or conveyed in terms of preciosity, the antipodes of his genius and spirit. Words like 'intrigue' (p. x), 'intriguing' (p. xix), in the sense of arousing curiosity, 'sparsity' (p. xxii), 'view-point' (p. xi), 'gigantesquerie' (p. 12), and phrases like 'tremblingly-alive honeydness' (p. 19), 'the antithesis of the tom-tom or Pope' (p. 4), or 'made mere automata of a husk of style' (p. 4), would offend Blake as much as any reactionary lover of classical language or clear thought. I do not see why the second half of 'Scholartis' should oppress the first. Certainly the delightful production of the book fulfils one-half of the ideal suggested, and that at a reasonable price. C. J. S.

Numbers nineteen and twenty of the *Elliott Monographs* (Princeton, U.S.A., University Press) are both devoted to the elucidation of certain points concerning two continuations of *Le Roman d'Alexandre*. In *The Authorship of the Vengement Alixandre and of the Venjance Alixandre* (1926. xii + 55 pp. $1) Professor Edw. C. Armstrong discusses the question as to whether the author of the *Vengement* is identical with the Gui de Cambrai who composed the interminable poem of *Barlaam and Josaphat*. By establishing the genealogy of the Marquais family, to two of whom the latter work was dedicated, he determines approximatively the date of this poem, which he assigns to the last decade of the twelfth century. He then makes a detailed study of the language and style of the *Vengement*. A comparison between the rhymes and forms of this poem and those of *Barlaam and Josaphat* leads him to the conclusion that both poems are the work of the same author, that they were com-

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posed at approximately the same date and each in turn was dedicated to a Picard vavasour. Professor Armstrong then turns his attention to the *Venjance Alixandre*. He notes in this poem the absence of certain dialectal traits which mark the other two. The forms and rhymes in the *Venjance* would point rather to the Central region and, added to this, is the fact that the work is dedicated to Henri of Champagne. There seems therefore no reason to doubt the independent origin of the *Vengement* and the *Venjance*, although both poems constitute an exposition of the same theme. Both seem to have shared the popular favour pretty equally. In seven out of fourteen manuscripts containing the *Roman d'Alexandre*, this poem is followed by the *Vengement*; in the remaining seven the *Venjance* forms the sequel; in a fifteenth manuscript the continuation consists of a fusion of the two. It is this fusion in the Parma MS. of the *Roman* that Mr Bateman Edwards studies more particularly in his *Classification of the Manuscripts of Gui de Cambrai's Vengement Alixandre* (1926. vi + 50 pp. 80 c.). He comes to the conclusion that it is of little value for the establishment of the text. The eight manuscripts of the *Vengement* seem to Mr Edwards to fall into the traditional two groups and, after considering their respective values, he selects H (Paris, B.N.F. 786) as the basic manuscript for the edition of the text which he has in preparation. J. C.

The edition of the complete works of Jean-François Sarasin, 1614–1654 (*Œuvres de J.-Fr. Sarasin*. 2 Tomes. Paris: H. Champion. x + 488 pp. and 568 pp. 45 fr.), prepared and edited by M. Paul Festugière, will be gratefully received, in spite of its deficiencies, by all those who have felt the attraction of this versatile and gifted writer, of whom his friend Pellisson could write with justice:

> Pour écrire en style divers
> Ce rare esprit surpassa tous les autres,
> Je n'en dis plus rien, car ses vers
> Lui font plus d'honneur que les nôtres.

Hitherto, apart from the original editions not easily accessible and moreover incomplete, they have had at their disposal only the very unsatisfactory and also incomplete editions of Trébutien (Caen, 1824) or of Octave Uzanne (Paris, 1877). In the first volume of his edition, devoted to the poetical works, M. Festugière has gathered together for the first time all the poems which can safely be attributed to Sarasin, including some which had so far remained in MS. Though the editor warns us expressly that he is not an expert in such matters, the text of the poems is sufficient for general purposes and the notes are really helpful. The text itself is preceded by the *Discours sur les Œuvres de Monsieur Sarasin* by Pellisson, a fairly full Bibliography (with a reproduction in facsimile of the title-page of the early editions, very neatly executed), a life of Sarasin, and a short 'avant-propos,' in which the attempt is made to give a critical appreciation of Sarasin's talent as a writer. This is the most disappointing part of the work, and leaves

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altogether out of account Sarasin's indebtedness to Spanish literature, an important factor to which M. Lanson drew attention some years ago and on which I do not think the last word has been said. The life of Sarasin—M. Festugière acknowledges it frankly—is based on A. Mennung's elaborate study (*Jean François Sarasins Leben und Werke, seine Zeit und seine Gesellschaft*, Halle, 1902–4), to which, however, the French editor has added several not unimportant *pièces justificatives* from various departmental archives. The second volume brings together the scattered prose works. Of these the most interesting perhaps are the *Discours de la Tragédie* and the dialogue, *S'il faut qu'un jeune homme soit amoureux*, which shows that Sarasin was widely read in Italian as well as Spanish literature. I ought to add that M. Festugière has given us, facing the title-page of his first volume, a fine reproduction of the portrait of Sarasin engraved by Nanteuil (1649); and also a very welcome aid to future investigators, a facsimile of Sarasin's handwriting, facing p. 476 of the second volume. L. E. K.

Professor Lanson's *Esquisse d'une Histoire de la tragédie française* (Paris: H. Champion. 1927. 194 pp.), which now appears in a revised edition (the first edition published in the United States being practically unprocurable), is most welcome. This summary of the lectures delivered by him at the University of Columbia during the session 1916–19, on the evolution of French tragedy from the origins to the plays of Paul Claudel inclusive, is so well known and has already pointed out the right road to so many investigators, that it would be irrelevant to dwell on the wide scholarship it displays and the masterly way in which this intricate subject is mapped out. The material, much of which is original, is all there for that History of French Tragedy, which we are all hoping M. Lanson will one day give us, and for which no scholar is so well equipped. L. E. K.

There is something attractive in the leisurely copiousness of the little book entitled *The University of Chicago Manuscript of the 'Genealogia Deorum Gentilium' of Boccaccio*, by Ernest H. Wilkins. (*The Modern Philology Monographs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Cambridge Univ. Press. 1927. xiii + 81 pp. and 14 tables. 15*s*.) Under different circumstances a single manuscript of a mediæval treatise of purely erudite interest would have scarcely occasioned a more extended treatment than a detailed description in a learned review; we are granted instead an excellently produced monograph that collectors will be glad to possess. Professor Wilkins has made his description of the manuscript the occasion (and he has found a publisher forsooth!) for assembling information from different sources about, among other things, the compiler of the index, the first owner and the illuminator of the manuscript; and he has added some extracts of the text and a painstaking description of the vellum, the ruling, and the penning of this codex. He has also discussed with much learning the genealogical trees with which it is adorned, and given some interesting details about the Greek words occurring in the

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text. Apart from this latter information, I should single out two points as having particular interest: the corroboration of the view expressed by Mr Voynich that this manuscript was penned for, and owned by Coluccio Salutati, and the very probable suggestion that the foliated initials are due to the school of Don Simone of Siena or to the master himself. The manuscript appears to have been written between 1377 and 1395; its history is obscure; it was purchased in 1911 by Mr Voynich who had bought up a mysterious, if possibly identifiable dump of manuscripts, which had been removed from some Italian library in order to protect them against the predatory habits of the French revolutionary armies at the end of the eighteenth century. C. F.

We have received from the Departments of Modern Languages of Smith College the first instalment of the text of the *Città di Vita*, the supposed heretical Florentine poem of the Quattrocento: *Libro del Poema chiamato Città di Vita composto da Matteo Palmieri Florentino* edited by Margaret Rooke (Northampton, Mass. 1927. xxvi + 241 pp. $1.50). Even to those who have not read his prose *Libro della Vita Civile*, the name of Matteo Palmieri is familiar from the Assumption in the National Gallery, there attributed to Botticini, which fell under the same suspicion of heresy as did the poem. Miss Rooke does not attempt to construct a critical text, but reproduces the Laurentian MS., XL, 53, 'the definitive copy of the *Città di Vita* made under Palmieri's own direction,' with collations from the Magliabechiano II, ii, 41. It is, in fact, a diplomatic copy of the former manuscript. The publication is of considerable interest to every student of the Quattrocento, and we shall hope to speak more fully of it when completed. E. G. G.

Professor Santorre Debenedetti sends us an interesting pamphlet, *Nadriano e Caedino* (Lucca: Scuola Tipografica Artigianelli. 1927. 10 pp. Extract from the *Miscellanea Lucchese di Studi Storici e Letterari in onore di Salvatore Bongi*). It deals with that perplexing poem, the *Mare amoroso*, indicating some of its French and Provençal sources. Professor Debenedetti does me the honour of referring to my note on the subject in this *Review* (XX, p. 333), and shows conclusively that my conjecture as to the identification of *Nadriano* with Andriano or Driant, the brother of Lamorat, cannot be sustained, but that the person intended by the poet was unquestionably *Andrieus*, whose name is frequently cited by the Provençal troubadours as 'il tipo del cavaliere morto per amore.' I am grateful to the writer for his correction. E. G. G.

From Bandello to Gaspare Gozzi! Professor Letterio di Francia, having proved the chief novelist of the Cinquecento a plagiarist of the deepest dye, now applies the same method to the elder Gozzi, in *Le novelle orientali di Gaspare Gozzi e la loro origine* (Turin: Chiantore. 1928. 63 pp. Extract from *Giorn. stor. della let. ital.*, XCI), showing that the Venetian count's once popular *Novelle orientali*, professedly 'tradotte da diversi manoscritti arabi,' are in reality merely an Italian rendering of stories

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in Cardonne's *Mélanges de littérature orientale*. The discovery has a certain piquancy, in that Gozzi himself, in the *Osservatore*, had made severe reflections on the practice of plagiary. However, as has been wisely said, there is no courage in throwing stones unless you live in a glass house. E. G. G.

With the publication of an Index volume, *Vorspiel*, the collection of Professor Konrad Burdach's essays, reviews and addresses, published in the series of monographs of the *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* (vols. I–III, III *a*) now lies complete (Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1925–27. I, 1. Mittelalter. xii + 400 pp. 16 M. I, 2. Renaissance und Reformation. iv + 282 pp. 14 M. II. Goethe und sein Zeitalter. xii + 583 pp. 22 M. 50. Registerband. 76 pp. 5 M. 50). Of these essays all but three items in Vol. I: a lecture on Walther von der Vogelweide (1902), two long and important studies on 'Nachleben des griechisch-römischen Altertums in der mittelalterlichen Dichtung und Kunst' (1895) and 'Die Entstehung des mittelalterlichen Romans' (1897), and two smaller items in Vol. II, have already appeared in print; but in such very widely different and, especially for the foreign student, often inaccessible sources, that the present collection is a welcome gift. The somewhat odd title of the collection is justified by the author as expressing the fact that they represent preludes to his greater works, and show his thought in its growth and gradual formation. This preludial character is particularly apparent in the second volume which contains paralipomena to his great works *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation*, *Deutsche Renaissance* and *Reformation, Renaissance und Humanismus*. The last volume deals with the Goethe period, and contains as its most significant constituent, Professor Burdach's studies on the *Westöstliche Divan*, in all a matter of over 180 pp. and our most important monograph on this work of Goethe's. These volumes form a magnificent monument to the scholarship of a leader who has had a deep and fertilising influence on the course of German scholarship; and in these days they are doubly welcome when traditional methods are being displaced and the old 'Historismus' discredited. These essays, says Professor Burdach in his Preface to Vol. I, 'haben keinen Teil an jenem spekulativen Subjektivismus, der heute die geschichtliche Forschung entnerven, das Streben nach Wahrheit entthronen und durch Irrationalismus und die mythologische Gnostik einer oft seltsam scholastisch erstarrenden Phantasie ersetzen möchte.' J. G. R.

In his *Germanen und Kelten in der antiken Überlieferung* (Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1927. 75 pp. 4 M.) Dr S. Feist holds that for Greek and Roman writers the terms 'Germania' and 'Germani' had none of the racial and linguistic implications they have for us. His admission on a later page that Tacitus imagined the Germans as possessing cultural unity, or rather an 'einheitliche Unkultur,' somewhat modifies his previous declaration that for the ancients 'Germania' was a purely geographical expression, signifying the lands on the right bank of the Rhine.

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He has, however, no difficulty in proving that the Germans of the first century B.C. were partly Celtic, i.e., those immediately beyond the Rhine, and partly 'Germanic' in the modern sense, i.e., those further east. He designates them 'Kelto-Germanen' and 'Suebo-Germanen' respectively, taking the Suebi as marking the dividing line. The former were in time displaced, but their successors inherited the name of Germans, e.g., the Franks (as in Procopius), but the Goths are not so called, because they did not occupy that geographical area. Dr Feist would explain the late appearance of the Runic alphabet in Western Germany by the delay due to the Germanising of the Kelto-Germanen. He also tries to define the position of the Celto-Germanic speech relatively to that of the Western Celts in Gaul and that of the Suebo-Germans to the East. He suggests, for instance, that it marks an earlier stage of the development of Celtic than the speech of the Gauls, and had therefore kept the 'ei' of 'Reinos' as the name of the river, and that the 'Suebo-Germanen' took over that sound when they replaced the 'Kelto-Germanen' in Western Germany; hence while the classical writers have 'Rhenus,' we know the river as 'Rhein.' J. H. M.

Two more numbers of the *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*, published by the Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, have appeared. Number XXIV, *Eine ostdeutsche Apostelgeschichte des* 14. *Jahrhunderts* (iv + 106 pp. 3 M. 20) is edited by Walther Ziesemer. By an analysis of the vocabulary and syntax of this work, and a comparison with an Upper German translation of the same period and with Luther's translation made 150 years later, Ziesemer shows that the language of his text is very similar to Luther's and to Modern German, and very different from Upper German, thus giving further support to the conclusion of K. von Bahder, viz., that from the fourteenth century there was built up in East Middle German prose a vocabulary closely related to Modern German. Some of these comparisons are very striking. The Upper German translator renders *passio* by *marter*, *minister* by *ambechter*, *salvator* by *behalter*, the Königsberg MS. has *liden*, *diner*, *heilant*, and Luther translates *leyden*, *diener*, *heyland*. Ziesemer's text occupies the last 60 pages of the Königsberg MS., A 191, and the translator's name is not stated. The first 420 pages of the MS. contain a translation of parts of the Old Testament by Claus Cranc. Ziesemer shows that there are similarities in style in the two works, but postpones a more detailed investigation until the edition of the first part of the MS., on which he is now engaged, is finished.

Number XXV, *Die Gandersheimer Reimchronik des Priesters Eberhard* (xlii + 79 pp. 3 M.) is edited by Ludwig Wolff. The introduction contains a description of the manuscript and a full discussion of the language, rime and metre of the poem. This detailed analysis shows that the poem, written about 1216, is Low German in language, style, and metre. Eberhard is free from all High German influence. Avoiding the uniform succession of stressed and unstressed syllables of the High German poetry of his time, he distributes his stresses in the varied way

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usual in early Middle High German verse, and uses assonance as well as rime. Eberhard wrote for a small local audience, not for court circles. Thus at a time when High German influence prevailed on Low German soil Eberhard produced a Low German work. And in this lies its importance. A. C. D.

With *The Romantic Movement in German Literature* (Cambridge: W. Heffer. xliii + 505 pp. 7*s*. 6*d*.) Professor Karl Breul has provided English students with an anthology from the writers of the Romantic period which is much fuller and more representative—the text extends to some 400 pages—than what is to be found in general anthologies of German literature; and it has for educational purposes an advantage over such anthologies in so far as it is provided with about a hundred pages of useful explanatory notes. The Introduction is all too brief. Probably it had to be brief owing to the size of the volume; but I should have liked to find in it a more organic presentation of the rise and fall of Romanticism; and more precise definitions of what the 'Romantic idea' stood for in the eyes of its successive champions would have helped to knit the extracts together. Professor Breul has, no doubt, judged rightly in not darkening counsel in a book intended for young students, by entering into twentieth-century speculation on the nature of Romanticism, which has again thrown the history of the movement into the melting-pot: the more especially as unanimity and finality in the thorny problem seem as far off as ever. But he has provided an excellent bibliography of works to which the student who seeks more knowledge can turn. His book is a welcome addition to the texts available for English students. J. G. R.

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March—May, 1928

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MORE'S 'HISTORY OF RICHARD III'

CONSCIENCE, when pleading before Edward III in the third passus of *Piers Plowman*, took occasion to mention the lady who, in her Biblical reading, came, at the bottom of a page, to the Pauline injunction, *Make trial of all things*:

> And that pleased her heart:
> For that line was no longer, at the leaf's end.

Had there been a cunning clerk at hand to turn over the leaf for her, she could have read *Hold fast that which is good*. But there was no cunning clerk 'who could the leaf have turned.'

Perhaps the anecdote told by Conscience is not less appropriate to-day than it was about the year 1378. We make trial of all things: nothing is too certain to be questioned. All members of the Malone Society will have received recently a book of nearly four hundred pages attributing *Hamlet*, *Julius Cæsar* and *Othello* to Henry Chettle: and to Chettle, assisted by Dekker, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Antony and Cleopatra*. And this kind of thing is having its effect, especially among people who pride themselves on being too intellectual blindly to follow tradition. Mr Edward Carpenter, in his *Pagan and Christian Creeds*[1], invites us to reflect 'how the figure of Shakespeare, dead only three hundred years, is almost completely lost in the mist of time, and even the authenticity of his works has become a subject of controversy.' Much more therefore, he argues, may we dismiss as legendary any figures which come to us from a period six times more remote than that of Shakespeare. And we have all of us met with a similar view of Shakespeare in lawyers and men of science or of business: even in people otherwise quite reasonable; they are not convinced by the arguments that Bacon wrote *King Lear*, but the fact that such arguments have been brought forward at all is sufficient to shatter their belief in William Shakespeare; they are too open-minded to be dogmatic.

It is easy to laugh at the naïve credulity of those who assume that, because the authenticity of all Shakespeare's work has been disputed, therefore it is disputable. Yet there are few of us who have not been

[1] Page 210.

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at fault in much the same way. If the stern order went forth, 'Let him that is without sin cast the first stone,' Mr Edward Carpenter would probably escape unscathed. I claim no right to hurl stones at anyone: but I do submit that it is time that all of us scrutinised our own conduct in this matter rather more severely. It is easy to avoid a decision by the formula, 'Professor A holds this view, Dr B the other,' and to leave it at that. So the history of English Literature tends to become a series of notes of interrogation. And people have come to expect it. It is difficult now to give a straightforward lecture on Dryden without wasting time, because, since the pages of this *Review*[1] have been used for an argument that not Dryden, but Oldham, wrote *MacFlecknoe*, students ask to be assured that Dryden really did write his own satires.

Surely we have all been following *Omnia probate* long enough: it is time that we attended to *Quod bonum est tenete.*

An obvious case where theory has been allowed to obscure the facts of literary history seems to me to arise from the *History of Richard III*, 'sometimes attributed to Sir Thomas More.'

In the *Cambridge History of English Literature* Dr Lindsay deals with Sir Thomas More, and he expels *Richard III* from the canon of More's works[2]. The rejected treatise has to take refuge anonymously among a group of histories discussed later in the volume by Mr Charles Whibley. Mr Whibley admits that the work has been ascribed to More 'on hazardous authority.' But 'where the evidence is thus scanty, dogmatism is inapposite[3].' The *Dictionary of National Biography*, in the article on More (written by Sir Sidney Lee), decides against More's authorship, and thinks that the theory that Morton wrote the work in Latin and that More merely supplied the English version 'deserves careful consideration.' The *Dictionary* article on Cardinal Morton then carefully considers this theory, and declares Morton's authorship of the Latin version 'probable.' The late Mr Kingsford agreed with the *Cambridge History* in entirely suspending judgment: 'Mr Whibley admits that the case is not one which admits of dogmatism. In this admission all must, I think, concur[4].' Kingsford permits himself to use the name More, but only 'as a matter of convenience,' and then only for the writer of the English version[5].

Where authority thus favours a suspension of judgment, and where a historian like Mr Kingsford feels that 'all must concur' in this un-

[1] *Mod. Lang. Review*, XIII, pp. 26–34.
[2] III, p. 17. [3] III, p. 334.
[4] C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, 1913, p. 186. [5] Page 187.

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certainty, it seems insolent to demand decision. But I submit that the following facts are demonstrable:

(*a*) There is a body of witnesses, all of them More's younger contemporaries, who agree in speaking of the work as More's: no doubt as to More's authorship has ever occurred to any of them. One of them was More's nephew and most intimate fellow-worker; a second was addressing the son-in-law who knew of More's doings, 'no man living so well'; others were of all living men those most interested in English history and literature. It is not the case that 'the evidence is scanty.' Quite the reverse. Nor are the authorities 'hazardous.' If it be objected that the witnesses are twenty or more years junior to More, and write after his death, still More's habit of living with, working with, and confiding in people twenty years or more junior to himself must be kept in mind.

(*b*) The suggestion of Morton's authorship is first given as a piece of hearsay, more than sixty years after More's death and nearly a century after Morton's. We can account for such a rumour, because there is a reason why, at that date, the work should have been conjecturally and erroneously attributed to Morton rather than to More.

(*c*) On grounds of internal evidence, the attribution to Morton of either the English or the Latin version of *Richard III* is absolutely ruled out.

(*d*) The contemporary evidence of More's authorship is supported by many pieces of internal evidence, and there is nothing which tells against it.

(*e*) At no time has the work been attributed to anybody except More and Morton. Therefore, unless the arguments precluding the attribution to Morton can be refuted, and unless some third name can be suggested, the attribution to More stands.

No one of course doubts that much of the information contained in the *Life* was derived from Cardinal Morton: conversations are recorded which can have no authority but his. But this in no way counts against More's authorship. We know how More was brought up in Morton's household, and how the Cardinal 'would often say of him unto the nobles that divers times dined with him, "This child here waiting at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man."'

It was perhaps four or five years after the Battle of Bosworth that More entered Morton's household, with chances of listening to all the tales of the unhappy doings of Richard's reign. Then Morton sent him to Oxford. At the age of about seventeen, More entered New Inn, to

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study law. When Morton died, More was a rising young lawyer, either in his twenty-third or (more probably) his twenty-fourth year. There is nothing intrinsically improbable in Morton having encouraged More to make a history out of what he had heard. There is some evidence that Morton left with More something in writing, in Latin, which More used as material.

The question of the authorship of *Richard III* is of more importance to literary than to political history. Whoever wrote it, its main facts come ultimately from Cardinal Morton, as the main facts of Chaucer's *Troilus* come (chiefly through Boccaccio) from Guido delle Colonne and Benoît de Sainte More. But, just as in Chaucer's *Troilus* a new method of story-telling in verse is attempted for the first time in English literature, so we get a new way of handling prose narrative, alike in the Latin and in the English versions of *Richard III*. It was with very sound feeling that Roger Ascham noted that in *Richard III* there was narrative which depicted 'the inward disposition of the mind.' It was also with very sound feeling that he compared it in this respect with Chaucer's stories. It is a question of importance to the history of prose narrative in England whether we owe this innovation to the fifteenth or to the sixteenth century: to Morton or to More.

There is no *a priori* objection to More's authorship. The writer planned his historical work to cover the reigns of Edward V, Richard III, and even, in whole or part, Henry VII. Such a work More, after his entry into the king's service in 1518, would hardly have had opportunity to finish and publish. It is true that More published many long treatises against the heretics; but this was only under a sense of public duty; he refused a reward of £4000 or £5000 for these writings: 'I would not,' he said, 'for so much and much more, have lost the rest of so many nights' sleep, as was spent upon the same.' Of More's great works three others were left unfinished; yet another, though finished, remained unpublished.

During the dozen years between More's execution and the death of Henry VIII no work of his was printed in England with his name. He was, in every way, ignored. It was not merely that any mention of him would have been painful for Henry, who had loved him as much as it was in him to love anyone. But, further, the death of Fisher and More had caused an outburst of indignation against England through Europe. English propaganda had vainly tried to damp down this indignation by circulating libels upon More, the last echoes of which have hardly died to this day[1]. Another reason for silence was that More's 'School,' as

[1] See Friedmann, *Anne Boleyn*, 1884, II, p. 87.

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Erasmus called it, had been broken up. His son and his three sons-in-law were imprisoned for longer or shorter terms: one son-in-law was later hanged at Tyburn. According to the tradition of the More family in early Stuart times, More's eldest daughter, Margaret Roper, was also imprisoned. 'Mine aunt Roper,' Cresacre More records, 'was...threatened very sore, both because she kept her father's head for a relike, and *that she meant to sett her father's workes in printe*; yet for all that, after a short imprisonment, she was at last sent home to her husband[1].'

According to Stapleton (whose authority ranks much higher) Margaret Roper replied to the Council that she had hardly any unprinted papers of her father, except some familiar letters[2]. And it may well be that the unprinted books had already been handed over to the safe keeping of More's nephew, William Rastell. They were certainly in his hands later.

Therefore, there is nothing surprising in the fact that when a garbled version of the *History of Richard III* was incorporated by Richard Grafton in his continuation of Hardyng's *Chronicle*, in 1543, it was without mention of any name. There is nothing surprising, that is to say, if the author were Sir Thomas More, who had suffered a traitor's death in 1535. But if the author were Cardinal Morton, who had died full of years and honours in 1500, why was the name suppressed?

With the death of Henry VIII things changed. There was no longer any powerful man who would be much offended by a reference to More's 'incomparable wit,' although in the reign of Edward VI it was well to temper this phrase with a reference to his 'wilful and stubborn obstinacy' in resisting God's holy truth. The year after the death of Henry VIII (1548) Grafton brought out Hall's *Chronicle*, with the same *History of Richard III* which had already been appended to Hardyng's *Chronicle*; and here, against the reign of Edward V, appears the note:

> This kynges tyme w^t^ some parte of kyng Richard y^e^ iii as shall apere by a note made at that place was written by syr Thomas More.

And against the account of the murder of the princes:

> From the beginning of King Edward the fifte: hetherto is of sir Thomas Mores penning.

Two years later (1550) a new edition appeared, with the same notes. Now Grafton was a strong Protestant, whilst More's reputation was one of the great fighting assets of the opposite party. Grafton would not have claimed for More credit which he did not deserve.

[1] Cresacre More, 1726, p. 281.
[2] Stapleton, *Tres Thomæ*, 1588, pp. 348–9; 1612, p. 359.

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Two years later still (1552) Roger Ascham, in his letter to John Astley, sketches the ideal historian: he must narrate facts, not only truly but in a critical spirit 'wherein Polybius in Greek and Philip Comines in French have done the duties of wise and worthy writers.' He must indicate character, 'the inward disposition of the mind,' as Thucydides or Homer or Chaucer had done. 'The style must be always plain and open, yet sometime higher and lower, as matters do rise and fall.' Then Ascham continues:

> Sir Thomas More, in that pamphlet of Richard the Third, doth in most part, I believe, of all these points so content all men, as, if the rest of our story of England were so done, we might well compare with France, or Italy, or Germany, in that behalf.

Now Ascham was as likely to be well informed as any man in England. He knew something of the More circle personally. More's step-daughter, Lady Alington, lived near Cambridge, and it was at her house that Margaret Roper met Ascham, and invited him (in vain) to become tutor to More's grandchildren[1]. Ascham's testimony to the general recognition of the merit of More's narrative is to be noted: it 'doth content all men.'

In the same year (1548) that Grafton first published the *History* as More's, John Bale had brought out the first issue of his catalogue of English writers[2]. This gives a list of twenty works of Sir Thomas More, and a brief biography, which is a savage attack upon their author[3]. But there is no mention of the *History*. Bale's autograph note book[4] contains an entry which makes it probable that he first learnt of More's authorship of the *History* from Grafton's edition of Hall[5]. Later Bale learnt further details about More from at least three different sources[6]. When Bale brought out the final edition of his *Scriptorum illustrium Catalogus* in 1557, it contained the statement that More was the author of the *History of Richard III*, or, as Bale called it, the *Life of Edward V*.

Now Cardinal Morton had been the greatest churchman of his time, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor alike of the realm of England and of the University of Oxford. Suppose such a man had been the author of a work which, equally in the Latin and English, shows in its

[1] Ascham, *Epist.* 1703, p. 270.

[2] *Illustrium scriptorum summarium ad annum* 1548.

[3] 'Hoc nos nouimus, quod pontificum & pharisæorum crudelitati ex auaricia subseruiens omni tyranno truculentior ferociebat, immo insaniebat, in eos qui aut papæ primatum, aut purgatorium, mortuorum inuocationes, imaginum uenerationes, aut simile quicquam diabolicarum imposturarum negabant.' There is much more to the same effect.

[4] Ed. R. Lane Poole, Oxford, 1902.

[5] He quotes the opening words in a Latin translation of the opening as given by Grafton.

[6] 'E domo domini Monioij, Londini: Ex collectis Edwardi Braynewode: Ex officina Gilberti Stoughton.'

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constructive power and tragic intensity the influence of the masterpieces of classical literature, so as to 'content all men,' and so as to find no equal in England for more than a century. Would it be likely, in that case, that Bale, with all his research, would never have heard of Morton as an author at all? Any hint would assuredly have set Bale to work with quite exceptional industry. Imagine his joy had he been able to prove that this treatise, for which More was receiving the praise of all Englishmen, had really been filched by him from his patron and benefactor. 'Bilious Bale' concludes his diatribe against More, *a Papistis pro novo martyre colitur*: it would have been meat and drink to him if he could have added, *fur tamen nefandissimus*.

Bale issued his *Catalogus* abroad in 1557: *apud Germanos pro Christi professione peregrinus*; meantime the survivors of More's 'School[1]' were gathered in London, after imprisonment or exile, enjoying their brief respite during the reign of Mary. These young people—now become middle-aged—were determined at last to do justice to the memory of their hero. The alterations which Grafton (or scribes before him) had made in the text of *Richard III* seemed to More's circle intolerable liberties, which rendered the text 'corrupted and vitiated.' More's disciples would not allow such treatment of the man who 'had such a wit as England never had nor never shall have,' as they were fond of saying, quoting Erasmus' phrase. The existence of this 'School' makes it unreasonable to argue as if there had been no one to give accurate information about More's writings, or to demand accuracy from others.

It would have gone hard with the man who had made any slovenly statement about More in the hearing of Margaret Clement, that 'learned lady,' as the *Dictionary of National Biography* defines her, whose learning in Medicine and Mathematics had not spoilt the thoughtful face which the pencil of Holbein has recorded, and the beauty which Leland has praised[2]; and who added to that learning and that beauty a courage at once reckless and dogged which gives her rank with the most high-spirited heroines of the world's history, and a devotion to the memory of More which led her to treasure personal relics of him, and to hand them down to those who have handed them down to our own day.

William Roper, the eldest member of the 'School,' entrusted to Nicholas Harpsfield, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, the task of writing the official Life of More. Harpsfield incorporated the whole of

[1] For More's 'School' see Erasmus' letter to Faber (1532), *Opus Epist.* 1538, p. 1073; 1642, col. 1506.

[2] Ballard, *Memoirs of Several Ladies*, 1752, p. 150.

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the notes with which Roper supplied him, but he added a great deal of further information derived from various sources: personal details about More's relations with Roper, which Roper himself had omitted: stories about members of the 'School,' which More had told long before in his writings, published or unpublished, without mentioning any names, but which are here attributed to the right persons. The biography was dedicated to Roper:

> Ye shall receave, I will not say a pigg of your owne sowe (it were too homely and swinish a terme) but rather a comely and goodly garlande, picked and gathered even out of your owne garden.

Still, Harpsfield claims credit for his additions: 'We have gleaned, I trust, some good grapes.' These additions, whenever they can be controlled, are trustworthy.

Harpsfield added an elaborate section on More's writings: this is what he says about *Richard III*:

> He [More] wrote also most elegantly and eloquently the life of kinge Richarde the thirde, not onely in Englishe, which booke is abroade in print, but corrupted and vitiated, but in Latine also, not yet printed. He did not perfect and finish the same booke, neyther any sithens durst take upon him to sett his hande to the penne to finishe it, either in the one or other tonge, all men being deterred and driven from that enterprise by reason of the incomparable excellencie of the saide worke; as all other painters were afraide in the olde time to supplye and perfect the image of Venus painted, but imperfectly, by Apelles, for his excellent workmanshipp therein.

This was written some twenty years after More's death: and it *is* certainly remarkable that no attempt had been made to imitate the historical style of *Richard III*; the chroniclers had merely filled in the facts from Polydore Vergil. The absence of any attempt to write 'the rest of our story' in the manner More had introduced, strikes Harpsfield as it had struck Ascham. What is even more remarkable is that, despite the universal admiration of the method of *Richard III*, there was destined to be no further attempt at writing English history 'above mediocrity' till quite the end of Elizabeth's reign. Bacon notes 'the unworthiness of the history of England in the main continuance thereof'; he planned a history of the Tudor period, and left it, twenty years later, with only the history of Henry VII completed. We can but echo the wonder of scholars, from Ascham and Harpsfield to Mr Charles Whibley, that the chroniclers of England 'one and all failed to profit by so fine an example of artistry and restraint[1]' as the *History of Richard III*.

We have lost a good deal by the fact that Harpsfield's Life has never yet been printed. It is an important document in the history of English narrative prose, and it is the official statement of their case by one party

[1] *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, p. 335.

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which has not always had a fair hearing. It is a good thing that an edition, from a collation of the eight manuscripts, by Dr Hitchcock, will be published in a few months by the Early English Text Society.

The passage in question, relating to *Richard III*, has indeed been printed, but not as the work of Harpsfield. It was appended to the Life of More written by his great-grandson, Cresacre More, in early Stuart days, long after everyone was dead who had first-hand knowledge of More and his writings. Its value has therefore been overlooked. It is the contemporary protest of English scholarship and of the official family historian against the inaccuracy of Grafton's edition. Addressed as it is to William Roper, the senior representative of that group of men and women who had lived a life of study and piety with More in the Great House at Chelsea, it is about as authoritative as evidence can be.

But it was not only More's 'School' who were annoyed by Grafton's inaccuracy. Outside the 'School' the man who knew most of More was William Rastell, his nephew. Of the voluminous works in English prose composed by More, and printed during his lifetime, William Rastell had printed *all*—amounting approximately to a million words[1]. When the task of printer grew perilous, William Rastell abandoned typography for law, and entered Lincoln's Inn about the time that his uncle entered the Tower. But Rastell did not abandon his interest in his uncle's books. Better days might come. The account of his stewardship, which he subsequently gave to Queen Mary, tells how he considered with himself how his 'dear uncle' had written works 'so many and so well as no one Englishman (I suppose) ever wrote the like': and how he further considered that being either unpublished, or published only in odd volumes, there was danger that these works 'should in time percase perish and utterly vanish away.' 'For these causes,' he continues,

I dyd diligently collect and gather together, as many of those his workes, bokes, letters and other writinges, printed and unprinted in the English tonge, as I could come by, and the same (certain yeres in the evil world past keping in my handes, very surely and safely) now lately have caused to be imprinted in this one volume... finished the last day of Aprill, 1557.

Here for the first time appeared a strictly correct text of *Richard III*, *printed from More's own manuscript*:

The history of king Richard the thirde (unfinished) writen by Master Thomas More than one of the undersheriffis of London: about the yeare of our Lorde 1513. Which worke hath bene before this tyme printed, in Hardynges Cronicle, and in Hallys

[1] There is a short story in verse, 'A mery gest how a sergeaunt wolde lerne to be a frere,' printed by Julian Notary about 1516: and a translation of the life of Pico della Mirandola, printed by John Rastell, William's father, and apparently pirated by W. de Worde (Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, p. 8).

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Cronicle: but very muche corrupte in many places, sometyme havyng lesse and sometime having more, and altered in wordes and whole sentences: muche varying from the copie of his own hand, by which thys is printed.

William Rastell must also have had access to a copy of the Latin version, for three passages, wanting in the English, are supplied from the Latin with the note[1]:

This that is here betwene thys mark ‡ and this mark * was not written by M. More in this history written by him in englishe, but is translated out of this history which he wrote in laten.

Rastell's text is a model of scrupulous editing: beyond the copy before him, in English or Latin, the editor will not go. There are gaps for dates and names to be supplied: supplied they had been in Hall's *Chronicle*, as Grafton had printed it: Rastell will have none of these supplements. Take the famous episode of Richard asking Cardinal Morton for a mess of strawberries from his garden in Holborn, an hour before he arrests and slays Hastings. The story is dated, 'Friday the — day of —.' We can see why the narrator remembered Friday, though he remembered no other detail of the date: it was a fasting day, and Richard meant to have something good for the dinner which he would not eat till Hastings' head was off. The actual date[2] (and Hall had given it) was Friday, June 13, which confirms the story, for we must adjust the calendar by adding some ten days, and this brings us to the middle of the strawberry season. But Rastell does not even add the date in the margin, so little truck will he have with Grafton's editing.

At the end of Mary's reign Rastell became a judge; early in Elizabeth's reign (January 1562/3) he withdrew to Louvain, where he died on August 27, 1565. In the same year the first complete edition of More's Latin works was issued at Louvain by two publishers, with a copyright for six years. It seems probable that William Rastell had supplied the Louvain editors with the copy of the Latin *Richard III*, which appeared for the first time in this Louvain edition.

A comparison of the Latin and the English text confirms the statement of Harpsfield and Rastell, in so far as they speak of both versions as the composition of one man. In a paper published in 1856[3] Mr James Gairdner suggested that the Latin was the original, and that it was written by Morton, More being only the translator into English. Theories once put forward have a curious way of living on, and though Gairdner on further examination believed that both versions were the work of

[1] Pages 50, 52, 66.
[2] Hall's date is confirmed by other evidence: see *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1891, VI, p. 454.
[3] *Notes and Queries*, Sec. Ser., Vol. I, p. 105.

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the same author, and that that author was More[1], he was never able to overtake his first theory. Yet a comparison of the two versions makes it fairly clear that neither is a mere translation. For there are passages in the Latin which are not in the English, and in the English which are not in the Latin, and these passages have the authentic ring. Against the theory that Morton wrote the Latin and that More merely translated it into English, it may be pointed out that the passage which most clearly must derive from Morton—the account of his secret conversation with Buckingham—is found in the English version alone.

It is not necessary to trace the reputation of the *History of Richard III* through Elizabeth's reign. It was reprinted by Grafton in 1568 and again in 1569, and it is to be noted that Grafton meekly accepted Rastell's criticisms of his 'muche corrupte' version, and amended it according to Rastell's copy. In Holinshed (1578) Rastell's copy was reprinted verbatim, even to a reproduction of the gaps, merely with the necessary information supplied in the margin. The work was again printed as More's in Stow's *Chronicle* (1580), and in the second edition of Holinshed (1587) from which Shakespeare drew his plot.

Then in 1588 the first biography of More was printed at Douai by Thomas Stapleton: here it is stated that More wrote the English version first and then the Latin[2]. Stapleton may have got this information from More's secretary, Harris. For Harris's wife (that Dorothy Colly who attended Margaret Roper at her father's funeral) after her husband's death had handed over all his documents concerning More to Stapleton. On the other hand, Stapleton may have derived this information from Rastell, to whom also he admits indebtedness.

But it is not till 1596, after half a century, during which *Richard III* had been nine times printed, either in English or Latin, as the work of More, with no expression of doubt, that we come for the first time upon the problem of authorship. In *The Metamorphosis of Ajax* John Harrington writes:

> Lastly the best, and the best written part of al our Chronicles, in all mens opinions, is that of Richard the thirde, written as I have heard by Moorton, but as most suppose, by that worthy, & vncorrupt Magistrate, Sir Thomas More, sometime Lorde Chancelor of Englande...(Part I, *sub fin.*).

[1] When he wrote his book on Richard III Gairdner seems to have had no doubt as to More being the author of both versions. In 1891 he wrote in the *English Historical Review*: 'if the one version was a translation of the other, it is hard to say which is the original, for they have very much the appearance of proceeding from the same pen' (VI, p. 446).

[2] 'Scripsit porro eodem fere tempore [as *Utopia*] historiam Richardi Regis Angliæ ejus nominis tertii Latine, quam etsi exercitii tantum gratia conscriptam & imperfectam & non relectam reliquit, sermonis tamen elegantiam & nitorem vix in ea desideres. Anglicè illam multo ante & plenius & elegantius descripsit' (Stapleton, *Tres Thomæ*, 1612, p. 186).

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John Harrington had heard many things. It is curious that his 'I have heard,' written nearly a century after the death of Morton, should be taken as outweighing the evidence of Rastell, one of More's closest intimates, to say nothing of Grafton and Ascham and Bale and Harpsfield. Yet even if we were to dismiss all these, and judge the matter on Harrington's evidence only, there could be no doubt. For Harrington admits that 'most' suppose More to be the author, and we have only to turn to the internal evidence to find the attribution to Morton quite impossible and that to More confirmed.

In the opening paragraph of *Richard III* there are allusions, both in the Latin and the English, to Katharine of York as still living and as having been relieved by King Henry VIII. This marks the date of composition as between 1509 and 1527[1]. Then there is an allusion to Thomas Howard as Earl of Surrey, which dates the passage between February 1, 1514, and May 21, 1524. Both these allusions fit in excellently with the facts stated by Rastell: that the *History* was written about 1513, and by Sir Thomas More when he was Under Sheriff (1510–1519). But they rule out Cardinal Morton, who died in 1500.

It might of course be suggested that these chronological data were added by the translator, and that they were then inserted back into the original, whether we regard the Latin or the English version as being that original. Yet this would be special pleading, since, as I have said, the internal and external evidence suggests emphatically that the Latin and the English versions are the work of one author.

The next evidence bears on the Latin version only. Both versions tell us how 'one Pottyer dwelling in Red Cross Street without Cripplegate,' upon hearing of the death of Edward IV, exclaimed that the Duke of Gloucester would be king. Then follows, in the Latin but not in the English:

quem ego sermonem ab eo memini, qui colloquentes audiverat, iam tum patri meo renuntiatum, cum adhuc nulla proditionis eius suspicio haberetur.

Now More was at this time either five years and two months old or, more probably, six years and two months—just the age when an intelligent boy may note and remember some saying which causes consternation to his father. More was living with his father, certainly in Cripplegate Ward, and very probably in the same parish of St Giles outside Cripplegate where the original conversation is recorded to have

[1] See C. A. Scofield, *Edward IV*, 1923, p. 329; Nicolas, *Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV*, 1830, xxiv–xxix.

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taken place. Morton was at this time between sixty and seventy, if not more, and was the shrewdest statesman alive. He would certainly not have had to depend, for a forecast of what was about to occur, upon the gossip he might overhear retailed to his father by some Londoner. The Cardinal's father, Richard Morton, a gentleman of Millbourne St Andrew in Dorsetshire[1], had probably long been dead. To imagine the passage having been written by Morton is absurd: and so the idea of Morton's authorship of the Latin version vanishes, for here at any rate is a passage which it cannot be pretended was interpolated into the Latin from the English translation.

Both the Latin and the English describe the beauty of Shore's wife, 'thus they say that knew her in her youth'—a sentence out of place in the mouth of Morton, who was her senior by twenty years and more, and must have seen her often enough *in ipso formæ et ætatis flore*. But it would be quite natural for More so to speak, and to write the passage following (found in the English only) discussing whether, to judge from her present favour ('for yet she liveth'), she could ever have been beautiful. Jane Shore did not die till 1526–7. Other passages found only in the English, such as the mention of the execution of Tyrrel (1502) and the hope of the author 'to write the time of the late noble prince King Henry the Seventh,' render the theory that Morton wrote the English and More made the Latin translation even more absurd than the theory that would make the Latin Morton's.

Indeed, were it not for the weight of modern authority that has supported it, it would be difficult to take seriously the claim which makes Morton the author of either the Latin or the English version. Considerations of language and style, and the fact that the English version is known to have been in More's handwriting, should make it superfluous to discuss the authorship of the English further. But the case for the Latin is really hardly less clear. For language and style are only two of the many claims of the English version to distinction; those other features which have aroused the admiration of scholars throughout the centuries are shared by the Latin. The political wisdom, the skilful drawing of character, the fact that the history, though unfinished, is 'a deliberately designed whole,' the sense of proportion —it was these features (common to the English and the Latin) which have caused the work to be regarded as so remarkable a piece of prose narrative.

Now all this points to More. Just as clearly as *Utopia* gives evidence

[1] See Hutchins' *Dorset*, II (1803), p. 186.

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of a study of Plato, so does *Richard III* show a study of the great histories. And these were, Stapleton says, More's favourite studies:

> Among the Philosophers he chiefly read Plato and the Platonists, the more earnestly as bearing upon the government of the State and civil life. Accordingly, in his own works he imitated Plato's manner of writing, as in *Utopia*... He read with profit all the historical works he could find[1].

But the attribution of the *History of Richard III*, either in its Latin or its English form, to Morton, who was born about 1420, would mean that we must rewrite the history of English scholarship, just as the attribution of the English version to him would mean that we must rewrite the history of English style and of the English language.

This really provides, to those who wish to attribute the *History* to Morton, a problem more serious than that provided by the references found in the *History* to the period after Morton's death. For those who argue for Morton's authorship may ask us to believe that such references are due to some interpolator or reviser. But no one, not even More in his warm panegyric in *Utopia*, ever claimed for Morton that he was a great scholar or great writer[2]. Bale, as we have seen, knows nothing of him as a writer. Now we are asked to believe that this fifteenth-century statesman, when between seventy and eighty, commenced to be an author, and wrote a work which bears, not in odd places but throughout its whole structure, the mark of sixteenth-century English scholarship. It is not merely modern critics who have seen that from this book 'our art of history must date its beginnings.' As soon as the book was published, its extraordinary character was recognised by all. 'It doth content *all men*,' says Ascham: '*all men*,' says Harpsfield, were deterred from imitation by its incomparable excellence: it is the best written part of all our chronicles, 'in *all mens* opinions,' says Harrington. Yet we are asked to believe that Morton, though capable of so ambitious a work, the first work to 'revert to the ancient models,' kept it a secret. For some forty years after it was written, we are asked to believe that nobody, not even chroniclers and students of English history, knew of its existence[3]. We are asked to believe that, when a very young man, More came into

[1] 'Inter philosophos Platonem & Platonicos maxime legit, & libentius euoluit, tanquam ad Rempublicam regendam & ciuilem conuersationem magis idoneos. Quare & in scriptis suis Platonicum scribendi morem imitatus est, vt in Vtopia... Historicos, quos habere potuit, omnes fœliciter euoluit.'

[2] Morton was, of course, a great lawyer, and must have written something. But Pits (*De rebus anglicis*, 1619, p. 879) could not find a single title.

[3] There are one or two parallels between the *History of Richard III* and Fabyan's *Chronicle* (as printed by Pynson and finished Feb. 7, 1516). One of these relates to the clothing of the mayor and citizens who met Edward V at Hornsey: it is altogether in the style of Fabyan, and passages almost identical occur elsewhere in his *Chronicle*, where there is no question of any borrowing from *Richard III*. It seems therefore reasonable to

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possession of this work of Morton's, and kept it by him throughout his life, without ever divulging it. Yet its extraordinary, indeed epoch-making character cannot but have been clear to him. For, of all men, the writer of *Utopia* must have appreciated a genius for narrative cast in the same mould as his own. We are asked to believe that More translated this work into English, yet never let any of his 'School' know that the whole thing was not his own. It would be quite natural that he should have inserted into his translation references timed to fit the period (about 1513) when he was working upon it. But we are asked to believe that More inserted all these back into Morton's original Latin. Further, we are asked to believe that, with supreme cunning, More put the most tell-tale reference of all, which pointed most clearly to himself as author, *only* into the Latin and *not* into the English, so as to cover up his tracks and throw off the scent any future investigator. And, finally, we are asked to believe that, having committed all these frauds in order to make it appear that the credit for this work was due not to his patron and benefactor but to himself, he never took the trouble to publish either version, and never, outside his own circle of intimates, did, so far as we know, claim credit for the work. And all these grotesque suppositions are to be considered more probable than that John Harrington at any time of his life should have heard anything stated which was not strictly true.

On the other hand, if More were the author, nothing would be more natural than that some persons should have attributed the work to Morton. For *Richard III* contains conversations, like that between Morton and Buckingham, of which only Morton can have told. The question was bound, in time, to arise, 'Is Morton, then, the author?' Not at first, because so long as the fact was remembered that More had been educated in the household of Morton, the intimate connexion of his work with Morton would be accounted for. But by 1580 the More

suppose that *Richard III* is here indebted to Fabyan's *Chronicle*: More must then have been working at his *History* as late as 1517.

The closest parallel relates to the execution of Hastings: 'The sayd lorde Chamberlayne in all hast was ladde in the Court or playne where the Chapell of y^e^ Tower standeth and there without Judgment or longe tyme of Confession or repentaunce vpon an ende of a longe and great Tymber logge whiche there laye with other for the Repayrynge of the sayd Tower caused his hedde to be smytten of...whose body with the hed was after caried vnto Wyndesore and there buryed by the Tombe of kyng Edwarde.' (Fabyan, fol. CCXXVII, b.)

The *History of Richard III* has: 'The lorde Chamberlen...made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered...So was he brought forth into the grene beside the chappel within the Tower, and his head laid down vpon a long log of timbre (*the Latin adds* trabem ædificio reparando destinatam) and there striken of, and afterward his body with the hed entred at Windsore beside the body of kinge Edward.'

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circle had passed away. In 1575 Harpsfield had died in the Tower. William Roper died in 1577, remembered to the last as a man who could give information about those who had suffered in 1535[1]. In 1578 died William Heywood, the husband of More's niece, and one of the last survivors of the group of refugees who are mentioned as authorities for the life of More[2]. Reliable information about More now depended upon what had been left in writing. William Rastell had written a Life which, so far as we can judge from the extant fragments, must have been even more ambitious than Harpsfield's. It was much longer, and combined apparently an intimate personal knowledge surpassing that of Roper with a patient research equal to that of Harpsfield. One may doubt whether there was anything like it in English biography till Boswell[3]. But, except for a few extracts sent across to England, this Life was only known among the refugees abroad, and is now lost.

The Latin Life by Stapleton was printed at Douai in 1588, whilst in England Roper's notes, Harpsfield's carefully constructed biography, and a later compilation by one 'Ro. Ba.' continued to be circulated in manuscript among Roman Catholics, and were occasionally impounded when their houses were raided. Twenty-nine copies of these Lives are still extant in manuscript. But, outside Catholic circles, it seems unlikely that about the end of the sixteenth century enough was known of More's life to cause even well-informed people to connect him with Morton. What was the late Elizabethan tradition of More is shown by the play of *Sir Thomas More*. He is there celebrated as the magistrate who quelled the dangerous riot of Evil May Day; as the friend of Erasmus; as a martyr to conscience, and above all as a jester. Many an Elizabethan reader must have been puzzled to account for the fact that there were passages in the *History of Richard III* which could have originated with no one save Morton. It was only natural that one or two people should attribute the work to him: nowadays works are attributed to those who never wrote them on very much less provocation.

Sir George Buck (d. 1623) certainly understood the close relation between More and Morton: but then he was in touch, if only at second hand, with the Roper family traditions. He tells us that a book, written in Latin by Morton against Richard III, came into More's hands, and 'was lately in the hands of Mr Roper, of Eltham, as Sir Edward Hoby, who saw it, told me.' But there is no reason to identify this book—if it

[1] See *Analecta Bollandiana* (1891), x. p. 159.
[2] Stapleton, *Tres Thomæ*, 1612, p. 152.
[3] The extant fragments of this will be printed as an appendix to Dr Hitchcock's edition of Harpsfield's Life.

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really existed—with the Latin version of the *History of Richard III*. Buck says that 'Doctor Morton made the Booke, and Master Moore set it forth, amplifying and glozing it[1].' But it is precisely in the setting forth and amplifying that the originality of the *History of Richard III* consists, alike in the Latin and in the English: that many of the facts came from Morton, whether verbally or in writing, no one has ever denied.

Two arguments, put forward in the nineteenth century, tended to confirm this mistaken attribution to Morton of either the English or the Latin text of the *History of Richard III*. Sir Henry Ellis, editing Hardyng's *Chronicle*, drew attention to a sentence in the English version of *Richard III*, as given in that Chronicle. There it is stated that the last sickness of Edward IV

continued longer then false and fantasticall tales have untruly and falsely surmised ***as I myself that wrote this pamphlet truly knewe.***

From this, Ellis argued that it was the *English* copy that was the work of Morton, since More could have had no first-hand knowledge about Edward's health. But it is clear that this note was the work, not of the original author, but of some transcriber to whom was due the 'corrupted and vitiated' copy printed by Grafton, in which alone it occurs. It is missing both from the authentic English text as printed by Rastell, and from the Latin text: and when Grafton himself reprinted the English text in 1568, 1569, he omitted the passage as spurious. There is no reason why one of the transcribers about the year 1520 or 1530 should not have been old enough to remember the circumstances of the death of Edward IV, and this is all the passage means.

But in any case the attribution of the English version to Morton involves too many palpable absurdities to have ever carried much weight: the argument which James Gairdner published in 1856 supporting Morton's claim to be the author of the Latin version has had more effect. This argument was based upon the passage[2], in which a conversation of one Pottyer is recorded, and the writer recalls having heard it repeated to his father, before Richard became king. The force of this argument depended upon the belief, held generally in 1856, that More was not born till 1480. The discovery of the entry of his birth has since shown that he was born either in February 1477 or in February 1478; and was therefore at the time either a little over five or a little over six, and might very well have heard and remembered a striking remark made to his father.

[1] Buck, *History of Richard the Third*, 1646, p. 76.

[2] See above, p. 416.

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This anecdote then is quite compatible with More's authorship and, in fact, owing to its connexion with his father's parish of St Giles, Cripplegate, rather points to it, whilst it definitely excludes Morton. But the argument drawn from this single anecdote has been turned into a generalisation:

The Latin seems to be the original of which the English is a paraphrase. The tone is strongly Lancastrian, and *often implies that the author was a contemporary witness of some of the events described*[1].

Or again:

It [the Latin] is clearly the work of a Lancastrian and *a contemporary of Edward IV*, which More was not[2].

Yet there is nothing which indicates that the author was a contemporary of Edward IV except this one anecdote of the remark to his father which the writer overheard about the time of Edward's death: and, in the sense in which that marks the author as contemporary, More *was* contemporary. As to being a Lancastrian sympathiser; More, brought up in Morton's household, naturally was such.

Yet this charge of Lancastrian partisanship is the last argument which has been brought forward to deprive More of his claim to the authorship:

The book itself does not chime with the character and temper of More. It is marked throughout by an asperity of tone, an eager partizanship, which belong more obviously to Morton than to the humane author of *Utopia*[3].

Yet surely More has considerable claims to the title of 'a very good hater,' the title which Dr Johnson thought essential to a man after his own heart. 'Eager partizanship' and 'asperity of tone' were precisely the charges which his own contemporaries and the men of the next generation brought against Sir Thomas More. He was, says Foxe,

A man so deadly set against the one side, and so partially affectionate unto the other, that in them whom he favoureth he can see nothing but all fair roses and sweet virtue; in the other whom he hateth there is never a thing can please his fantasy, but all is as black as pitch.

And More admitted the charge of partiality. His reply is:

Every good man is bounden, between truth and falsehood, the Catholic Church and heretics, between God and the Devil, to be partial, and plainly to declare himself to be full and whole upon the one side, and clear against the other.

Or again:

I am a simple plain body, much like the Macedonies, for whom Plutarch writeth that king Philip their master made a reasonable excuse....

The reasonable excuse was:

Their nature is so plain and their utterance so rude, that they cannot call an horse but an horse.

[1] *D.N.B.*, More.
[2] *D.N.B.*, Morton.
[3] *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, p. 334.

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We know from *Utopia* that, in Cardinal Morton, More saw nothing but sweet virtue: it is a natural corollary that Richard III is as black as pitch. More would have said that Richard was malicious, wrathful and murderous, and that he could not call him but so.

But it is, after all, idle to discuss whether the book chimes with our idea of the character of its author. The point is that all authorities, contemporary or nearly contemporary, are quite clear as to More's authorship. The attribution to Morton is late, and even then a matter of vague hearsay: it is quite definitely impossible on chronological grounds. If Morton is impossible, since nobody else has ever been suggested, the verdict should be, I submit, *aut Morus, aut nullus.*

And it is not merely that the witnesses, on whose evidence this verdict is asked, are one or two generations older than Harrington. There is the further reason that Grafton, Ascham, Bale, Harpsfield, Rastell, Stow, Holinshed and Stapleton, as chroniclers, biographers, or scholars, can claim to speak with authority. It would take too long to go outside that circle, and marshal the evidence of those who make no special claim to learning. But one statement is too important to omit. In 1538, when evidence was being collected against Sir Geoffrey Pole and his brothers, George Croftes, chancellor of Chichester Cathedral, admitted under examination[1]:

I have asked him [Sir Geoffrey Pole] if one might without jeopardy have More's books in keeping. He said 'Yea, for they treated not of the King's matters,' *and lent me a Chronicle of More's making, of Richard III.*

Now this is three years after More's death, five years before Grafton first published *Richard III* without More's name, ten years before he published it with More's name. Geoffrey Pole was intimate with members of More's 'School[2],' and *Richard III* concerned him as an episode in his own family history. He should have known the truth. Further, this is one of many pieces of evidence showing that about 1538 it was wiser not to talk too much about Sir Thomas More. It was discreet of Grafton, in 1543, to group More and his other sources for more recent history merely as 'diuerse and sondery autours that haue writen of the affaires of Englande.' But there is no reason why the *Cambridge History of English Literature* should to-day maintain an anonymity which Grafton abandoned in 1548.

Let us imitate the plain nature and rude utterance of the Macedonies.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

[1] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XIII, 2, No. 828, pp. 334–5.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 695, p. 266.

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GIACOPO CASTELVETRO

THE history of the first English-printed edition of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* reveals another link in the chain of our literary relations with Italy in the sixteenth century. The very fact that this play was printed in London in 1591, only one year after the appearance of the first Italian edition at Venice in 1590, calls for remark, as an illustration of the rapidity with which the fame of Guarini's work spread right across Europe, and of the keenness with which the literary London of Elizabeth's time followed any new development in Italian letters. But, further, it points to a close connexion and constant intercourse between kindred spirits in both countries, and invites enquiry into the nature and extent of such channels of communication. By what means, and through whom, did the fame of *Il Pastor Fido* spread to England? And who had the hardihood to defray the cost of printing it?

The italic type and entirely Italian title page[1] of the 1591 volume might at first glance tempt one to wonder whether the statement that it was printed in London by John Wolfe for Giacopo Castelvetro is not a fiction, and whether after all the first 'English' edition of Guarini's play was not imported complete from Italy. But John Wolfe, notorious as the perpetrator of many pious frauds, and as the ringleader of the agitation against the monopolies of the privileged printers, is also known to have worked for some years in a Florentine printing house, and to have brought with him on his return to England a fount of italic type which he used frequently in his numerous Italian publications[2].

So far, then, the title page speaks truth and there are no further grounds for suspecting inaccuracy. But what of the man whose name stands below the printer's? Who was this 'Giacopo Casteluetri' at whose expense the first English-printed edition of *Il Pastor Fido* was published? Hitherto he has had no existence for readers of the play beyond his name upon the title page, which has been quoted sedulously by every bibliographer, while few have even turned the page to read his preface. The latter is in the form of a letter to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, to whom the volume is dedicated. Blount seems to have been popular

[1] *Il Pastor Fido*/Tragicomedia/Pastorale/Di Battista Guarini./Al Sereniss. D. Carlo. Emanuele./Duca di Savoia &c. Dedicata/Nelle Reali Nozze di S.A. con la Sereniss. Infante/D. Caterina d'Austria./Per Giovanni Volfeo, a spese di/Giacopo Casteluetri,/MDXCI.

[2] See R. B. McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers and Publishers*, London, 1910.

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with poets, and to have inspired several dedications[1], and Castelvetro's preface is written in a friendly, almost confidential style with only the minimum of conventional compliment, which seems to indicate some kind of personal relationship between the writer and the person he addresses. 'The fame of Guarini's fair pastoral' (he writes) 'had already reached England, making a rapid journey by swift flight not only over the mountains, but also over the sea,' and many of the choice wits of London, anxious to read it for themselves, had asked Castelvetro if he could not obtain copies for them. He had done his best to comply with their wishes, and had ordered several from Italy, but alas, one copy only was sent, and therefore the idea had occurred to him of printing the much-desired work here in England, in order that every one who wanted it might be supplied. He consulted several persons of discretion before undertaking such an enterprise, and was on all sides encouraged to proceed, and he resolved at the same time to reprint the *Aminta* of Tasso, which accordingly follows *Il Pastor Fido* in the 1591 edition. The problem of precedence was the occasion of some perplexity, but finally Guarini's play was given the first place, as being the younger, 'following therein the praiseworthy custom of Italian matrons, whom we never see permitting their juniors to walk behind them.'

So little only concerning Castelvetro can be gathered from his preface. The strange history of his life, which has so far excited little curiosity, must be drawn from other sources. Though the records are scanty, and the details lacking about the most interesting period to us, namely his twenty years' sojourn in England, yet enough remains to sketch in rough outline a personality which possessed evidently no little attraction for his contemporaries[2].

Giacopo Castelvetro[3] was born probably at Modena, since the register of his baptism, dated March 26, 1546[4], is there extant. He seems to have inherited his literary tastes and unorthodox opinions from his uncle, the great Ludovico Castelvetro, Aristotelian scholar and critic, who was forced by the Inquisition to leave Italy. This uncle Giacopo held in great reverence, and followed him into exile, probably in 1561, for a book concerning the Council of Trent was published in 1562 under the name of

[1] See the *D.N.B.*

[2] The sources of information available are: *Calendar of State Papers*, Venice, ed. by H. F. Brown, Sept.-Nov., 1611; and Tommaso Sandonnini, *Ludovico Castelvetro e la sua famiglia*, Bologna, 1882. A short chapter is here devoted to Giacopo, with references to Italian documents.

[3] The two forms of the name, Castelvetri and Castelvetro, are used interchangeably in the documents concerning him, and his Christian name also appears as Giacomo.

[4] All dates are hereinafter given in New Style unless the contrary is stated.

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Giacomo, which was probably written, if not by Ludovico himself, at his suggestion and instigation. In 1567 he is heard of at Lyons. But Giacopo must have shown himself hostile to the Church, since he remained abroad for so many years without daring to return to Italy, even to claim the inheritance which his father, Nicolò (evidently a Catholic), left him on condition that he should take up his abode in his native land. Nicolò's will is dated 1571, and it was not till six years later that Giacopo ventured to return to Italy to take possession of his property, which he seems to have accomplished successfully. But existence under the sharp eye of the Inquisition would seem to have been too precarious and uneasy, and he remained only long enough to settle his affairs before going again into exile with apparently little hope of return. There are records of a sale of land in March, 1579, to his cousin Giacomo, to pay off debts already contracted and to provide money for the journey. Giacopo's will is dated November 18 of the same year. In it he names his four brothers as his heirs, commends his soul to his Creator, and directs that his body shall lie buried until the Day of Judgment, in whatsoever place fortune or circumstances may find it[1].

The year 1584 finds him in London, at the beginning of a sojourn which was to last for twenty-three years. Tiraboschi quotes a letter from him to Segretario Laderchi, written in this very year, probably soon after his arrival, in which there is a touch of an exile's home-sickness:

> I can assure you that as this Island is in a very small corner of the world, and cut off from all the rest of it, it is seldom that anything happens here that is worth writing of; and so do not wonder if sometimes I go whole months without writing, because it seems to me that to write without due cause may annoy people rather than give them pleasure[2].

The scanty records of Castelvetro's life in London all point to his connexion with the publishing trade. He may perhaps, like so many of his fellow-refugees[3], have gained a livelihood by teaching Italian. Evidently he was known in literary circles, since the publication of *Il Pastor Fido* was undertaken at the request and advice of friends who were anxious to read for themselves a work whose fame had already reached them, and who seem to have applied to him as being a person of some influence, likely to be in touch with the latest literary movements in

[1] Sandonnini, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
[2] Tiraboschi, *Bibliotheca Modenese*, 1781, I, p. 433.
[3] Notably Michelangelo, father of John Florio, who was the first minister of St Thomas of Acon, the Italian Protestant church in London. Englishmen were in the habit of frequenting this church in order to keep up their knowledge of Italian. See Ascham's *Scholemaster*, ed. 1870, p. 85.

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Italy. In a letter[1] written many years later, Castelvetro is referred to as having been actually a bookseller, which might well account for such an application, but no further proof of this exists. Certainly *Il Pastor Fido* was not his first publishing enterprise. In 1587 he had married the widow of Thomas Erastus[2], who brought with her a dowry of writings by her former husband, which Castelvetro felt it his duty to give to the world. No little risk attended the publication of the first of these, since it was the famous *Treatise of Excommunication*, which has given Erastus' name to a body of heretical teaching, and, perhaps for the sake of Castelvetro's own reputation, perhaps for the printer's, it was deemed prudent to disclaim responsibility for a work of such doubtful orthodoxy. The title page accordingly states that the book was printed at 'Pesclavii' (i.e., Poschiavo in the Grisons) 'Apud Baocium Sultaceterum, Anno Salutis CIↃIↃLXXXIX.' The name 'Iacobum Casteluetrum' here awaits the discovery of those who have patience to sort the letters of the cryptogram. The unsigned preface is also by Castelvetro, and is dated 'Ex Officina Pesclauiensi, Cal. Jan. Anno Nouissimi Temporis LXXXIX supra M.D.' In it he is careful to insist on his disinterested motives for the publication of the *Treatise*. The latter was written as early as 1569, and was circulated in manuscript, making no small stir in religious circles, and, after the death of Erastus and the re-marriage of his widow, Castelvetro received many enquiries from the great man's disciples concerning this important work, and in his preface he tells us how, in response to these requests, he went through the piles of he knew not how many papers, brought into the house by his wife on her wedding-day, and how, lighting at last upon the precious document 'serving as food for cockroaches and bookworms,' he decided in the cause of truth to give it to the world. The sequel to the transparent fiction of the title page and the apologetic tone of the preface is an entry in the Stationers' Register seven months later to John Wolfe: '20 Junii 1589 (old style) A treatise of Thomas Erastus de Excommunicatione. Reported by master ffortescue to be alowed by the Archbishop of Canterbury[3].' So Erastus' *Treatise* was printed in England after all, by the hand of the very John Wolfe who produced the 1591 edition of the *Pastor Fido*. But while the heretical work received the archiepiscopal sanction, Guarini's innocent Pastoral never even achieved the respectability of an entry in the Stationers' Register. John Wolfe evidently hoped to pass off the latter as a foreign production, and succeeded. A year later, some medical pamphlets of

[1] Quoted, *infra*, p. 429. [2] *Vide Encyclopaedia Britannica*, art. Erastus.
[3] Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Register*, II, p. 245.

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Erastus[1] appeared at Frankfurt, edited by Castelvetro, and printed for him, like the *Pastor Fido* in the following year. The preface to the Frankfurt publication is in the form of a dedicatory epistle to Frederick, Count Palatine, signed by Castelvetro, and dated from London, January 1, 1590. In it he refers to his marriage, three years before this date, with Erastus' widow, to his consequent inheritance of his papers, and the responsibility thus forced on him as literary executor. The book is quite obviously a foreign production, and the information given in the title page is apparently correct. Castelvetro had not lost touch with kindred spirits during his exile.

After the publication of *Il Pastor Fido* in 1591[2], he is next heard of in Edinburgh in 1594, where he was in the service of the Scottish royal family, having apparently severed his connexion with publishing or bookselling, since his name does not appear in any of the Scottish lists or annals of the time. Nor do the domestic or official records of the Stuarts show any traces of him, and his memory survives only in a few words of affectionate remembrance spoken thirteen years later by James I to Antonio Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador, and recorded by him in a dispatch to the Doge and Senate. Foscarini, reporting an audience granted him by King James, writes on October 14, 1611: 'The King went on to speak of Castelvetro; he told me that Castelvetro had served his Majesty four or five years in Scotland for the Italian tongue; he was very intimate and well-liked, and so the King felt obliged for this other favour[3] which his Ambassador had reported as it deserved[4].' Castelvetro's popularity and English influence were to stand him in good stead in later years. Perhaps his connexion with Venice was begun by an acquaintance with Sir Henry Wotton, when the latter visited the Scottish court in 1602, disguised as the Florentine Ottavio Baldi[5]. Anyhow, when Giacopo dared to return to Italy in 1607, it was to Venice, where Wotton was ambassador[6], that he directed his steps.

It was a natural and obvious *pied-à-terre* for a man viewed with suspicion by the Inquisition. Venice was at that time a hotbed of heresy, and actually under a Papal interdict. She had held out in the name of freedom against a succession of Popes who tried to induce the setting-up

[1] *Varia Opuscula Medica Th. Erasti D. Medici Celeberrimi*...Francofurdi ad Moenum, apud Joannem Wechelum sumptibus Jacobi Castelvitrei senioris MDXC.

[2] The 'Giacomo Castelvetro' who is the author of the preface to *Le Rime del Petrarca brevemente sposte per Ludovico Castelvetro*, published at Basle in 1582, is a cousin of our Giacopo. The name is a common one in the family.

[3] I.e., the release of Castelvetro at the prayer of the British ambassador. *Vide infra.*

[4] *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, XII, p. 223

[5] Walton's *Life of Wotton*, ed. Bullen, p. 114.

[6] Sandonnini, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

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of the Tribunal of the Inquisition in the Republic, yielding at last to Nicholas IV, and accepting the Holy Office with many limitations. The Tribunal was composed simply of secular officers dependent on the Government; the Doge alone could assist in the carrying out of its decrees, and three officers were appointed to represent him, who took good care that the Holy Office should not usurp the temporal power.

At first, Castelvetro's presence in Venice seems not to have attracted attention, but his very name was against him as a member of a heretical family, and a dispatch from the Nuncio written on January 3, 1609, shows that the suspicions of the Holy Office were aroused:

> The Castelvetro of whom Your Excellency has already written, is not a man of letters; although, according to information that I have concerning him, he holds the most malignant opinions and is little of a Catholic, yet there is not much likelihood of his leading others astray by argument; the danger is rather that he may be distributing some bad book or other, which he has received by inheritance from his uncle, or from his having been a bookseller[1], or which he has procured in some other way. I am told that his business here is to teach our language to certain foreigners[2].

For more than eighteen months Giacopo must have been a marked man. In September 1611, upon the accusation of one Giovanni Paolo Lucchese, he was arrested by the Inquisition.

Whether Wotton's household was one of those in which he taught Italian, and whether he had any connexion with the British ambassador before 1611, is unrecorded. Wotton was recalled to England and left Venice in November 1610[3]. He was succeeded immediately by Dudley Carleton, and it was the latter who sent first his secretary, and later came himself to the Cabinet to protest before the Doge and Senate against the arrest of Castelvetro. Consequently the entire records of the latter's imprisonment and the efforts made to obtain his release are among the Venetian State Papers[4]. I quote here (occasionally summarising) the most important passages:

> September 5, 1611. The Secretary to the English Ambassador came to the Cabinet and protested in his master's name against the arrest of Giacomo Castelvetro, adding that he supposed that Castelvetro's position as his servant was unknown to the officers who had arrested him. The Government replied that they regretted the incident, but must hear the Holy Office before taking steps (p. 204).
>
> September 9. The English Ambassador himself appeared in the Cabinet and said: 'On Tuesday last the officers of the Inquisition arrested one of my servants called

[1] There is no other record of this, and it is just possible that confusion may have arisen from the fact that in Venice he is said to have had a private lodging in the house of a bookseller (i.e., he was not a resident member of the ambassador's household). *Vide* Sandonnini, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[2] Sandonnini, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

[3] This fact is unrecorded by Sandonnini, who infers that it was at Wotton's prayer that Castelvetro was released.

[4] See *Calendar of State Papers* (*Venetian*), XII (1610–1613).

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Giacomo Castelvetro who teaches Italian to my household... the danger to his life that Castelvetro runs, and the urgency of applying a remedy have compelled me to postpone no longer; for the fact is that Castelvetro is not only an old, but also a sick and feeble man, and even in repose and comfort does not promise more than a couple of years of life, and your Serenity may rest assured that in prison, with his mind agitated, he will not live two weeks. I am bound to interest myself in the matter, which affects the life of one of my servants, who has done nothing amiss so far as I am aware, and which touches the honour of my house, the liberty which all enjoy in this noble city, and the satisfaction of the King my master, who is so closely bound in love to the Republic. As for Castelvetro, if he stays in prison he will certainly die, and that soon. I am attached to him, for although of different religion he renders me the service of instructing my household in the Italian tongue. Although he was not lodged in my house on account of my large suite and small accommodation, I had given him a certificate in writing, by which all might know he was in my service. I have only four Italians in my service, my Secretary (Gregorio Monti), Castelvetro, and the two gondoliers; all four sleep out of the house; others have asked to be taken into my service on a similar certificate, but I have always refused. I cannot see what cause for scandal Castelvetro himself can have given, for I have always known him for a discreet person. Nay, frequently when he has found himself at the Embassy at our usual hour of prayer to the living God and his glorious Son Jesus Christ the Crucified, Castelvetro always retired; moreover I cannot understand how fasting on the vigils of feast-days can be compatible with finding oneself in the prisons of the Inquisition. But, beyond the peculiar interests of Castelvetro, the honour of the Embassy is concerned. It is evident that his offence cannot be of great moment, for the order of his arrest was issued in January, and eight months have passed before it was put into execution; and they waited until Castelvetro had been made one of my servants, so it is clear that the intention was to offend the dignity of my master's envoy.... I therefore humbly beseech you in a matter that affects a poor old man, the honour of my house, the fair name of this city, my own liberty and the satisfaction of the King my master, to set Castelvetro at liberty, and I promise myself this from your known benignity.'

The Doge replied that the Ambassador was always welcome whenever he chose to seek audience. As to Castelvetro they had not yet had time to take full information, owing to the procession of the last two mornings, and the pains in his legs which had prevented him from coming to the Cabinet. It would be taken as soon as possible, so as to enable them to make a proper reply (p. 205).

September 10. A decree was passed by the Senate setting Castelvetro at liberty on condition that the Ambassador should cause him to leave Venice. The Ambassador is warned 'to walk warily in this direction, so as to avoid the occurrence of the inconveniences which may arise out of this subject.' We (the Senate) were all the more induced to take this step seeing that our Ambassadors in England have done much for the Catholic religion, and have received many favours from his Majesty in this matter, securing the liberation of various persons and particularly priests, even though condemned and sentenced. We intend also to help the Catholic religion by insisting that Castelvetro shall not remain in the city or the State (pp. 208–209).

September 12. The Secretary of the English Ambassador returned thanks. 'The Doge understood that, although Castelvetro was in the Ambassador's service, he also went to give lessons in other houses; and it would be as well to avoid all cause for rumours in these matters of religion.'

September 13. The members of the Inquisition appeared in the Senate, and spoke as follows:

'As to Castelvetro being in the service of the Ambassador, the Nuncio was aware that he frequented the house occasionally, but the attestation of service was given after the arrest.' The Patriarch said that if Castelvetro was to leave the city all would be well. The Nuncio repeated that the episode would be displeasing at Rome (p. 211).

September 27. The English Ambassador returned thanks for the liberation of Castelvetro, and said that the latter had already set out for France, 'openly acknowledging his obligation, and praising the Republic.'

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The Doge warned the Ambassador to beware of mixing himself up with such affairs, 'as the Pope and his ministers dealt very actively with these matters of religion' (p. 216).

Here, but for the dispatch of Antonio Foscarini on October 14[1], the record of the State Papers ceases. But Sandonnini quotes a letter dated November 26 of the same year, addressed to the Doge, which states that, far from setting out immediately for France, Castelvetro continued 'to walk openly about the city, causing thereby no little scandal, to the great disgust of Monsignor Nuncio[2].' Giacopo's foolhardiness probably cost him his life, for this is the last mention of him to be found, and it is certain the members of the Holy Office would be at no loss when it came to disposing of an inconvenient person privately. Such secret executions were an essential part of their function and one at which they excelled. Dudley Carleton wrote from Venice on October 18, 1611, in the very year of Castelvetro's arrest:

Yesternight here was secretly drowned (according to their manner of justice) a certain Lucchese, who hath layne long a prisoner in the Inquisition for an Heretick, and he dyed (as I heare from the Mouth of one that was sent with him as a Confessor) with great constancy. It was expected he should have been publickly executed, and if he could have endured the Fire as well as the water, an example of so good Assurance would have done no hurt[3].

Such an end may well have been Castelvetro's also[4].

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[1] Quoted above, p. 428.

[2] Sandonnini, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

[3] From a letter of Dudley Carleton to Mr Trumbull, resident at Brussels, written from Venice October 18, 1611. Sir R. Winwood, *Memorials and Affairs of State*, 1725, III, p. 298.

[4] Since the foregoing article has been in type my attention has been drawn to the following additional references to Castelvetro in letters preserved in the Public Records Office, and printed in the *Calendar of State Papers*:

Cobham to Walsingham. Moret 4 Oct., 1580: 'It is now (yf it lyke yo^{r} hono^{r}) some moneths passed, since there is gone into Englande a Modanese, named Castelvetro, of whom I was this day enquyred of, by the Ambassadoure of Ferrara, he being desyrous to send his letters unto him, I have offerd to see the same lrēs safely conveighed.

'It hath been signified unto me that the said Castelvetro sholde be an Arriane, and to holde straunge opinyones, but rathe thoughte and suspected to be a Jesuite, pretending to finde the meanes whereby he may attayne to become the Scottish Kynges Scholem^{r} for the Itallyane tongue wherin he professeth to be exquisite.

'He hath made friendshippe wth *Camillo Cardonio* the Sonne of a Napollitane, lately passed over, whose Father is deceased since his departure, and was devout of his religion. I suppose assuredly that he is lykewise well affected but not over warye, therfore the easilyer abused.' (*Calendar of State Papers* (*Foreign*), Vol. 1579–80, p. 441.)

Castelvetro arrived at Frankfurt on September 7, 1586, bearing letters from Lord Burghley and Walsingham for Horatio Palavicino. In the latter's replies to these letters Castelvetro is referred to as the messenger. (See *Calendar of State Papers* (*Foreign*), Vol. 1586–88, pp. 81, 87.)

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THE 'CANTAR DE GESTA' OF BERNARDO DEL CARPIO

III

THE first problem that faces the student of this *cantar de gesta* is that of determining whether he is concerned with one epic or with two. It is plain that the restitution of the Count of Saldaña to Bernardo concludes an action which was begun by the imprisonment of the count; it is the conclusion of the *Cantar de Bernardo*, properly so called. But, after this curtain falls, the 655th chapter of the *PCG* continues to discuss adventures attributed to the hero. Alfonso, despite his anger, is there said to have given the hero horses and money and to have sent him to France[1], and Milá's manuscript, as quoted by Dr Heinermann, adds the reason—that Bernardo would find in France his true kinsfolk. Proceeding to Paris, Bernardo claimed to be the son of Timbor; his claim was rejected by another of her sons, because it was not true[2]. Bernardo then defied his half-brother, and, receiving horses and money from Charles, ravaged parts of France, crossed the Aspa Pass in the Pyrenees, colonised the Canal de Jaca and a number of points in Aragon, and married Galinda, daughter of Alardos of Latre, from whom the Aragonese family of the Galíndez was derived. This action, if we suppose it to be independent of the other, could be termed *Bernardo en Francia* from its only developed incident. The genealogical tree of the Galíndez and the statement of Bernardo of Ribagorza's conquests are, in the *PCG*, mere lists of names, and do not attain to the dimensions of an epic or a lay until Milá's *Cansó del Pros Bernat*, produced under the full impulse of Romanticism. We have, therefore, to do with an epic consisting of only one episode. Moreover, this episode is constructed out of contradictory data. It is probably unprecedented that a king should couple a sentence of banishment, promulgated as the climax of a long series of mutual recriminations, with friendly advice as to how the exile might conveniently bestow himself. It is highly improbable that, after divesting Bernardo of his castle of El Carpio, after suffering his ruinous forays over a series of

[1] Page 375 *b*: 'Et dizen otrossi que el rey, pero que estaua yrado contra Bernaldo, quel dio caualleros et auer, et enuiol pora Francia' (Milá MS.: 'id vos a Francia al rey Carlos cuyo pariente sodes, ca alla fallaredes quanto houierdes menester e aun quien vos faga honra').

[2] Page 375 *b*: 'Et el dixo que non, ca lo non era.'

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years, the king should give him both troops and a military chest. The *PCG* affirms that Bernardo was not the son of Timbor, through the mouth of Timbor's son, but through that of Alfonso it states (Milá MS.) or implies the contrary, seeing that Bernardo's only reason for going to France would be to meet with his kin. The hypothesis of a *Cantar de Bernardo en Francia* raises more difficulties than it solves.

The explanation of these incidents must be sought in another direction. We may lay on one side the Galíndez genealogy, for which the *PCG* cites no authority, as merely one of many thirteenth-century genealogical vanities. The name which, in that list, requires comment is not that of Bernardo but of Galinda, eponymous ancestress of the Galíndez; the variant reading of some manuscripts, Galiana, suggests that those Aragonese nobles were equally willing to derive their lineage from Charles Mainet. In the person of Galín García, 'el que fo de Aragone,' they had already shown their interest in Castilian epic matter, viz., in the *Poema de mio Cid.*

We have only to explain the visit paid by Bernardo to France, together with his *Repudiation* (Episode 5 of the foregoing plot), and, in place of supposing a new epic, we suppose only that an episode of the original epic has been mislaid. It is reasonably to be surmised that the *Cantar de Bernardo* concerned itself with but one Alfonso and one Charles, as with but one Bernardo. The feats attributed to the hero, however, were such as to cause historians to distribute them between two Alfonsos, namely, the Chaste and the Great, and to make a similar distinction between Charlemagne (whom the *Historia Silense* seems to confuse with Charles Martel) and Charles the Bald. This French discrimination was the more imperative in that all available historical sources—*Historia Silense*, Pseudo-Turpin, *Anales Toledanos Primeros*—linked Charlemagne's death with his defeat in the Pyrenees. Between Alfonso II and Alfonso III we have Ramiro I and Ordoño I; between the two Charles, Louis and Lothair. We are expressly informed by the *PCG* that the *estoria* has nothing to say of Bernardo's feats between the reigns of the two Alfonsos in León[1], and that by *estoria* the *PCG* understands the *Estoria de Bernardo* is clear from two considerations. Firstly, though *R* is also silent about these events, *R* is silent about all Bernardo's Carolingian attachments, and secondly, *R* and *L* are such a constant antithesis in the minds of the scribes of the *PCG*, that had they here been thinking of *R* they could hardly have failed to note that the gap is filled in *L*'s narrative. *L*, in

[1] Page 370 *a*: 'la estoria non cuenta ende nada, desdel tiempo del rey don Alfonso el Casto fasta este rey don Alfonso el Magno, que el era en Francia, assi commo deximos quandol lleuo el rey Carlos el Grande.'

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fact, treats this matter from a French aspect, and covers the interval between Charles the Great and Charles the Bald by asserting that Bernardo distinguished himself in the German, French and Italian wars of Louis and Lothair[1]. But French, German and Italian wars are not epic matter, for the epic poet rates the death of Hector higher than the burning of Ilium, and Roland as of more consequence than Marsilie's hundred thousands. Both the *Tercera Crónica General*[2] in the Middle Ages, and G. Baist[3] in our own, have recognised that *L* is here proceeding by a method of erudite conjecture, identifying Bernardo with Bernard of Italy. We are left, therefore, with a gap in our plot between Bernardo's departure for Charles' court and his return to Spain—a gap that is precisely filled by the episode of the *Repudiation*, which has been displaced in the *PCG* because of the silence of three historical authorities, the *Estoria de Bernardo*, *L*, and *R*. That was the time when Alfonso could give Bernardo friendly advice to seek out his French relations, together with money and men for the journey. There is other evidence that the 655th chapter of the *PCG* is to be considered retrospectively, as after the Galíndez genealogy the chroniclers discuss the chronological difficulty of identifying the events of the *cantar* with the known facts concerning the three French Charles.

The episode of the *Repudiation* adequately accounts for our hero's return to Spain, and his course towards León might run through the Aspa Pass and would assuredly cross Castile. In Castile, near the castle of Amaya (well known to Leonese as a fortress erected by Ordoño I in 860), he might be overtaken by the invading and avenging French troops led by his cousin Bueso[4]. In the *PCG* this episode is narrated only after the account of the three Leonese battles, that is to say, only after the chroniclers had given preferential treatment to incidents which were supported by their historical antecessors. Apart from the *a priori* considerations which favour the sequence of incidents I have indicated in my reconstructed plot, there still remains a fingerpost in the text of the *PCG*. In the chapter devoted to Bueso, we read: 'Now those who hear this history must at this point learn that in all these battles between

[1] *L*, p. 75, l. 50: 'Bernaldus vero inter Romanos & Germanos atque Gallos se gloriose gessit, & sub imperatoribus scilicet Lodoico & Lotario contra hostes Imperii Romani fortiter dimicauit.'

[2] Ed. Ocampo, fol. ccxvii r (*apud* Heinermann, *op. cit.*, p. 13, n. 2): '& que lo fizo rey de Italia.' (So also in Milá's MS.)

[3] G. Baist, *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, II, ii, p. 392: 'Weitere Ausschmückung ...vermengte ihn in gelehrter Konfusion mit Karls Enkel Bernhard von Italien.' This confusion, of course, Baist's criticism carries up to a redaction of the *cantar*.

[4] Sancho the Great of Navarre (1000–1035) altered the line of the Pilgrims' Way, to run through Amaya. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del Español*, p. 488.

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king Alfonso and the *Moors*, as we have narrated, Bernardo proved himself a fine knight at arms and served the king very well, that in all he asked him for his father's release, that the king always agreed to give him up, but that, after finding himself at peace and in security in his realm, the king refused to release him. Bernardo, when he perceived this treachery, was unwilling to serve the king from thenceforward, and in almost a whole year he did not mount his war-horse because of the anger this treatment engendered in him.' Bernardo's absence was noticed by Orios Godos and Tiobalt, and caused them to interest the queen in his behalf: we are thus assured that the latter portion of this paragraph led on to the episode of the *Queen's Intercession* (8). Its commencement, by the word 'Moors,' alludes to the *Wars of Alfonso* (7), and not to the episode of *Bueso* (6) which the *PCG* narrates just before these words. Another question of order is raised by the anagnorisis or *Revelation* (4). It is not quite clear from our texts whether Bernardo accompanied or followed Charles to Paris, and the logic of the tale requires him to be in ignorance as to his birth only until the conclusion of the campaign of Roncesvalles (Episode 2).

Having decided to treat of one epic and not of two, our remaining problems are concerned with the divergences of our historical reporters and with the theory of redactions or refunditions of the *cantares de gesta*. On the one side, the prose texts which are available for our examination always record a greater or lesser number of variant readings, and give even contradictory accounts of the same general situation. On the other hand, the poems, which are not available for our examination, must also have carried variants, and it is natural to connect the divergent statements of the historians with the divergent tendencies of lost epics. The classic, and most convincing, statement of this theory is contained in Sr Menéndez Pidal's famous treatise on the *Siete Infantes de Lara*, in which he distinguishes and describes three refunditions of the *cantar* on the basis of information furnished by the refunditions of the *Crónica General*. The presumption of refundition attaches, in our present manner of thinking, to the whole epic literature of Castile as it is inferred from the prose of the chroniclers. It thus happens that Spanish literature in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is as rich in hypothetical epics and refunditions as it is poor in surviving specimens. Of the *Bernardo* cycle, for instance, five or six epics of divergent plots would seem to be necessary to satisfy a criticism that refers the variants recorded by the historians to the original *cantares* themselves. But in this process the historians have only a humble share; their originality,

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which is less contested when they abstain from novelistic matter, must be restricted within narrow limits, if we are not to introduce a new unknown quantity into the criticism of their poetical originals. None the less, we have already advanced some general considerations in support of the view that the transition from poetry to history must have been accompanied by some degree of alteration: the mere difference of literary genre, apart from intellectual considerations, involves a difference between the plot of a *cantar de gesta* and the report of it given by a historian. We have, therefore, to scrutinise carefully the data available for the story of Bernardo with a view to assigning the responsibility for the variants recorded.

In Dr Heinermann's opinion, an important refundition intervened between the Latin historians *L* and *R* and the vernacular *PCG*. He alleges the existence of a second *cantar de gesta* in the *PCG* dealing with the hero's adventures in France; this second poem, however, I have endeavoured to reduce to the rank of a misplaced episode of the principal epic. A second reason supports his theory of a thirteenth-century refundition of the *Cantar de Bernardo*, viz., the presence of numerous episodes in the *PCG* which are unrecorded in *L* and *R*. These are the incidents which I have entitled (4) *The Revelation*, (5) *The Repudiation*, (6) *The Combat with Bueso*, (8) *The Queen's Intercession*, (9) *The Defiance*, (10) *The Siege of El Carpio*, (11) *The Release of Count Sancho*. In (1) *The Imprisonment of Count Sancho*, the *PCG* gives details of the count's arrest which are not to be found in *R* and *L*, and in (7) *The Wars of Alfonso* it records a battle of Benavente which its predecessors ignore. The *PCG* is unique in recording the words 'Díaz de Saldaña' in the count's name, or in speaking of Orios Godos, Tiobalt, Meléndez, etc. In short, the account of the epic offered by the vernacular chroniclers contains numerous details and also episodes of importance which scientific history does not mention: some of these (those which are specially concerned with Bernardo's efforts to free his father) might be ruled out by *L* and *R* as being matters of only private interest, in other cases they might be bereft of detail by the abbreviatory style of the two precursors of the *PCG*. What is not clear, however, is what episodes recorded in the *PCG* we can safely jettison as finding no place in the *cantares* known to *L* and *R*. Were we able to assume the priority of the historical elements, in accordance with Milá's views, our task would be simple enough, though the resulting narrative would be curiously unepical. But, when our authorities are prose texts of history, it is only by these novelistic elements that we are entitled to infer the existence of an anterior lost

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cantar. The fact is that these personal episodes are as indispensable to the poet as they are negligible to the scientific historian, and that any intelligible *Cantar de Bernardo* can much easier dispense with the battle of Roncesvalles than with the game of chess at which the hero learns his true parentage. Further, some of the latest episodes to be recorded preserve the most primitive data. Whereas *L* and *R* and the main text of the *PCG* assign to the hero a Spanish mother, as we shall see, the introduction of the *Repudiation* and the *Combat with Bueso* depend on the datum of his French descent, a datum universally admitted to be older than the Hispanised version of the story. Nothing compels us to believe, therefore, that the *PCG* was following a text different from those which lay before *L* and *R*: wherever possible the scribes translate *R*, supplementing him with the variants of *L*; they also draw information of a more personal kind from the *estoria*, which they cite more than once, and as a last resort they quote certain details from the *cantares*, which are evidently far from having their confidence. Far from recounting to us the plots of epic poems, it is only with reluctance that the vernacular historians cite them at all.

A much deeper line of cleavage than separates the *PCG* from *L* and *R* is that which has given rise in the criticism of the legend to the terms 'French' and 'Hispanised' redactions. The 'French' story, universally considered to be the older, assigns to the hero a French mother, Timbor, sister of Charlemagne: this datum is reported only by the *PCG*, but there is expressly supported by an allusion to the *cantares*. In the 'Hispanised' version the mother's name was altered to Jimena, and her sisterhood is to Alfonso of León. From this conversion of the story from a French to a Spanish basis we have a right to expect certain noteworthy alterations in the plot: but, in fact, none occur. It is only in the pages of the *PCG*, when the Jimena version had received the votes of historians for more than half a century, that we hear of Timbor's French son and nephew Bueso: the chroniclers do not eliminate the incident, but merely protest against the relationship (p. 375 *b*). Jimena's son is Alfonso's nephew: but so too is Timbor's, despite the protest of two manuscripts of the *PCG*[1]. Bernardo's place at the head of the nobles of León depends on his belief that he was Alfonso's son[2]; this belief was encouraged by the king himself who had thus tacitly and informally adopted his nephew.

[1] Page 350 *a*, n. 27: 'Mas sy esto fuese verdat el rey don Alfoñ non auie por que gelo demandar nin auia razon por que resçibiese a Bernaldo por su sobrino' (MSS. BU).

[2] Page 353 *a*: 'Et el que mas fuerte et mas rezio era en esta cosa su sobrino Bernaldo fue; ca aun en todo esto non sabie de como el rey le prendiera el padre, ca gelo no osaua ninguno dezir.'

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The intervention of our hero in the battle of Roncesvalles depends immediately on his fictitious, mediately on his actual, relationship to the king of León. This relationship is, fortunately for us, explained by *L* and the *PCG*, who state that Alfonso's wife was Berta or Bertalda, sister of Charlemagne. Historically, this statement is insecurely supported. Alfonso III's wife was named Jimena or Amelina: the tenth-century *Chronicon Albeldense* explicitly affirms that Alfonso II died unmarried[1]. But, whatever the historical facts may have been, it is evident that the poem requires the marriage of its Alfonso to a Carolingian princess: then its Alfonso has good reason to punish the ravisher of his sister-in-law, good reason to love and educate her son, who in his turn has good reason to look for a welcome amongst his relatives in Paris.

The difference between the 'French' and the 'Hispanised' redactions is thus no more than a difference of names. We can, I think, even determine the circumstances under which Timbor gave way to Jimena. The name 'Timbor' or 'Tiber' has no existence among the women of the *chansons de geste*, and the second form is extremely rare among the men; it has no existence of any sort in Spanish onomastics. To a historian such a name requires explanation, and the simplest procedure open to him would be to look up the list of princesses of León for one who united in her person the interests of the French and Spanish royal houses. Such a personage is offered by the *Chronicon de Sampiro*, either in the original or as inserted in the *Historia Silense*. In that text, which differs from the previous and soberer account in the *Historia Silense* taken from another source, Alfonso III's wife Jimena is said to have been niece of Charles of France[2]. The connexion between Charles and Alfonso was thus assured by a Jimena, at the same time as the name was not indispensable either to Alfonso II (who may never have married), or to Alfonso III (whose wife was originally called Amelina), or to the Alfonso of the poem (who had espoused a Berta). Even the datum of this lady's relationship to Charles as niece, not sister, is echoed in Asturian ballads of the cycle of *El Conde Preso*[3]:

Era sobrina del rey y nieta del Padre Santo.

[1] Ed. Huici, *Crónicas Latinas de la Reconquista*, I, p. 164: 'Absque uxore castissimam vitam duxit.' Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del Español*, p. 467, is inclined to accept the historicity of Bertalda. *L*, p. 76, l. 10: 'Duxerat vxorem nomine Bertam sororem Caroli Regis Francorum: quam quia nunquam vidit & abstinuit a luxuria Rex castus vocatus est.' Cf. *PCG*, page 358.

[2] Ed. Santos Coco, p. 42: 'Non multo post, *universam Galliam* simul cum Pampilonia causa cognationis secum adsociat, uxorem ex illorum prosapia accipiens, nomine Xemenam consubrinam Caroli regis.' Contrast p. 35: 'Inde victor in Campos Gotorum reversus, duxit uxorem *ex regali Gotice gentis natione* nomine Xemenam anno etatis sue xxi°.'

[3] M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas líricos castellanos*, X, p. 50, and VIII, p. 254.

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More vaguely the ballad of Grifos Lombardo states:

La cual era hija de un duque, sobrina del Padre Santo.

I conclude that the 'hispanisation' of Bernardo's mother, which extends to no more than a change of name, is due to a process of historical identification: its author might have been Lucas of Tuy, supported by Rodrigo of Toledo, but was much more probably the anonymous clerk who composed the *Estoria de Bernardo*; its source was the *Chronicon de Sampiro* or a similar text.

Dr Heinermann supposes that the 'hispanisation' of this legend involved other changes in the hero's family tree. The late French epic *Galien li Restorés* has a number of points of contact with the plot of our *cantar* as with that of the *Infantes de Lara*, and, although we are uncertain whether these relatively early Spanish pieces precede or succeed a 'primitive' *Galien*, Dr Heinermann is prepared, with Menéndez Pidal, to grant the precedence to this hypothetical French text. In the *Galien*, then, the hero has, like Bernardo, expectations of succeeding to the throne of the emperor Hugo of Constantinople. He is equipped with two wicked uncles, Henri and Tibers, who fear his succession, and over a game of chess enlighten him as to his parentage, with the result that Galien departs to seek out his father Oliver. The names Henri and Tibers are not too dissimilar from those of Orios Godos and Tiobalt in our story, whose attitude towards the hero is generally unfriendly: they arrest his father, and engineer the final deception, they are his prisoners in the war of El Carpio, and they induce the queen (for reasons not stated, but which may have been benevolent) to bring Bernardo to the court at León at the time of the tournament. But in our tale they do not play chess with Bernardo, nor reveal to him his dubious birth, nor consequently cause his alienation from the court. Dr Heinermann feels that they ought to do these deeds, and that an earlier 'Gallic' form of the tale would find them in the scene of the *Revelation*, functioning as Bernardo's uncles[1]. But this argument merely creates a mare's nest. We do not know that Orios Godos and Tiobalt had any relationship to Bernardo or to Alfonso, nor any reason to fear his accession to the throne nor hope of their own promotion: in this respect Bernardo's rival is Charlemagne. They function naturally enough as the minions of a tyrant, and their nationality probably depends on that of Queen Berta. The *PCG* assigns an entirely satisfactory reason why Blasco Meléndez and Suero Velásquez, close friends and relatives of the hero, should reveal to him the secret of his birth: they were anxious to interest the victor

[1] *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung der Sage von Bernardo del Carpio*, pp. 64–5.

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of Roncesvalles in the fate of their kinsman Count Sancho. Their recourse to a stratagem for this end is sufficiently covered by the fear of Alfonso's displeasure[1]. We have, further, an indication of their presence in the *cantar* from the fact that a 'tío Basco' attends Bernardo in one of the Asturian ballads of the *Conde Preso* cycle, in which the hero's mother is regarded as a foreigner[2]. Blasco Meléndez appears to have been Bernardo's uncle on his father's side, Suero Velásquez may have been (as the patronymic suggests) Blasco's son, María Meléndez his sister, and Urraca Sánchez his niece, Bernardo's half-sister. Nuño de León is another member of Bernardo's circle, though his relationship is not stated. The *Galien*, apart from the high degree of insecurity with regard to the date of its 'primitive' redaction, is not so closely akin to our *cantar* that we should care to rewrite an intelligible scene in terms of a quite different idea.

The episodes of public importance in this legend of Bernardo del Carpio—his royal birth, his intervention in the campaign of Roncesvalles and in the wars of Alfonso—have been reported by the general historians of Spain who wrote during the Middle Ages, and in each case with variations of detail. The vernacular historians, however, derive from the Latinists, and especially from *R*; from *L* the clerk who rhymed the ancient *cantar* of Fernán González derived the greater part of his information concerning the Roncesvalles campaign. We are, therefore, principally concerned to estimate the divergence of *L* and *R*, taking their derivatives into account only when they offer noteworthy variant readings. At the conclusion of the tale, *L* reports the death of the hero, dating it by Alfonso III's erection of the church of St Saviour at Zamora; the *PCG* twice asserts that Bernardo was recorded as having died in Spain, and, as this statement is not explicitly made by *L*, it presumably ascends to the *estoria* or even to the *cantar*; *R* ignores the whole conclusion of our legend. According to *L* and *R*, supported by the early translation of *R* entitled *La Estoria de los Godos* and the *Cuarta Crónica General*, Bernardo erected the castle of El Carpio, allied himself with the Moors and made war on his king *before* the battles of the Orbigo and Zamora[3]; according to *PCG* this rebellion followed those battles. The logic of the

[1] Page 354 *b*: 'Blasco Melendez et...Suero Velasquez,...seyendo parientes de Bernaldo et pesandoles mucho de la prision del conde San Diaz,...ouieron su conseio amos en vno de commo feziesen saber a Bernaldo que su padre era preso, ca non gelo osauan dezir en otra manera.'

[2] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, x, pp. 48–9.

[3] *L*, p. 79, l. 1 (cf. *R*, p. 78, *C.I.E.*, lxxviii, p. 79, and cv, p. 301): 'Prædictus autem Bernaldus in territorio Salmaticensi castrum Carpium populavit. Et quia Rex Adefonsus patrem eius tenebat Comitem Sancium captum in castello quod dicitur Luna, quem olim Rex Castus ceperat Adefonsus, Bernaldus regi rebellare cœpit. Quod videntes Sarraceni ciuitatem Legionensem atque Astoricensem & circumiacentia ferro & flamma deuastare nitebantur.'

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plot requires that the service Bernardo yields to his liege should be that of a loyal, though tyrannously abused, vassal: for this reason the *PCG* merits our greater confidence. The order of narration preferred by *L* and *R* is here determined by the text of Sampiro conserved in the *Historia Silense*, which records among the preliminaries of the battle of the Orbigo the rebellion of Bermudo, in alliance with the Moors, and the advance of a Cordobese army as far as León and Astorga[1]. Bernardo is not identified explicitly with Bermudo, but, when the thirteenth-century translator of *R* asserts that Bernardo 'passed over to the Moors,' he appears to have in mind the flight of Bermudo as recorded in the *Historia Silense*[2]. This historian it is who determines the order of the succeeding narrative in *L* and *R*, who quote him without more addition than is necessary to accommodate his text to the special activities ascribed to Bernardo. The *PCG* still follows the words of the monk of Silos as transmitted by *L* and *R*, but alters the order of the battles in accordance with the data of our legend, and describes a fight at Benavente (according to two ballads at El Encinal or El Romeral) which the historians have otherwise ignored. *L*, however, makes an attempt to find the third battle of the epic in that fought by Alfonso III against Imundar and Alcatenatel, the historicity of which is guaranteed by the *Historia Silense*, and a similar suggestion arises out of the order of narration adopted by the *Cuarta Crónica General*.

Up to this point the principal difficulty placed before the student of this legend has been the reluctance of the authorities to ascend to the *cantar*, which we can only glimpse through the prose of *L* and *R* (in the *PCG*'s version) and that of the *estoria* and the *Historia Silense*. These difficulties also affect the episodes of the *Defeat and Pilgrimage of Charlemagne* (2 and 3), in which we have to discount the influence of Eginhard's story (reported by the *Historia Silense*, and extant in the library of his monastery), of the Spanish derivative of the *Chanson de Roland* (reconstructed by Sr Menéndez Pidal in his 'Roncesvalles,' in the *Revista de Filología Española*, 1917), and of the Pseudo-Turpin. But these episodes add difficulties of their own. The former involves the national honour, was accepted by the historians and developed by each in accordance with his special predilections; the latter affects the interests of two archbishops and, as not infrequently in ecclesiastical controversies, leads to flat denial and tergiversation.

[1] Ed. Santos Coco, pp. 42 and 43.

[2] Page 43: '(Veremudus) Cecus autem ad Sarracenos fugit,' cf. *C.I.E.*, lxxxviii, p. 79: 'et pasóse a moros, et fizo grand danno al rey don Alfonso, fata que soltó a su padre, que iazie preso et çiego en Córdoua (*sic*!).'

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At the opening of the action Charles is supposed to be in France. In the *Historia Silense* his Spanish invasion follows immediately on Musa's conquest of Spain, and in *R* he is represented as performing Charles Martel's work of driving the Moors from France. Having reached the line of the Pyrenees, he was drawn into Spain (according to the *Historia Silense*) by the hope of seizing some Spanish cities[1]: *L* declares that he wrote to the king of León demanding his submission. *R* affirms that, while Charlemagne was engaged in reducing the Catalans, he received from Alfonso proposals which offered him the succession to the throne of León in return for military assistance against the Moors. The mention of Catalonia in *R* is due to his subsequent investigation (p. 75) of the alleged Carolingian conquests in Spain, of which he finds no record outside the Spanish March: for that reason he advances the French troops from Aquitaine into Catalonia[2]. We need not suppose that this detail is true either of the *cantar* or of the *estoria*, for whom Charles still remained, at this point of the narrative, beyond the Pyrenean passes. There is an apparent contradiction between *L* and *R* as to the cause of Charles' entry into Spain: but their narratives could be reconciled by supposing that Alfonso's offer was the result of Charles' demand, or that Charles' demand was his arrogant reply (not recorded by *R*) to Alfonso's free offer, or in the third place we may suppose that *L*, through a desire to abbreviate, is making a statement not authorised by his text, just as in another passage *R*, as we have seen, falsely reports the liberation of Count Sancho before the three Alfonsine battles. Among the derivative works, the *Poema de Fernán González* supports *L*, whom he paraphrases: the General Chronicles coincide by preference with *R*. It is only in Lope García de Salazar's *Libro de las Bienandanzas y Fortunas* (1471)[3] that we seem to have an independent witness, though his date does not reassure us. According to Salazar, Alfonso II, being discontented with his nobles for their former rebellion and pressed by the tribute of the hundred damsels imposed on Mauregato by the Moors, having no son nor expectation of any, and captivated by the successes of Charles, offered him the succession to the Leonese throne and the right to make conquests in Moslem Spain. Charles replied amicably, and at once

[1] *Hist. Sil.* p. 16: 'Tunc Carolus rex, persuasione predicti Mauri spem capiendarum civitatum in Yspaniam mente concipiens...'; *L*, p. 75, l. 27: 'Tunc Carolus scripsit Regi Adefonso vt sibi esset subditus & vasallus.'

[2] *R*, p. 74, l. 5: 'etiam trans Pyrenæum partem Celtiberiæ quæ Catalonia dicitur vt victor inuasit, vt præpotens conseruauit: & tamen his prœliis occupatus spopondit nunciis ad Regis Aldefonsi auxilium se venturum.'

[3] R. Menéndez Pidal, 'Roncesvalles,' in *Revista de Filología Española*, IV (1917), pp. 201–3.

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despatched Ganelon to order Marsilie of Zaragoza to surrender his territories. In Salazar's account one regards with suspicion the allusion to the troubles of Mauregato's rebellion, as deriving probably from the General Chronicles, and his allusion to the *Tributo de las Cien Doncellas*, which is a Minotaur myth recorded in the *PCG*, but of which the authors of the *cantar* and *estoria* of our hero may have been ignorant. We further note that, though Alfonso had no son, Bernardo at this time passed for his son (our authors never go so far as to say heir), and that this presumption was the motive of his interference in the campaign at all. We retain the assurance that the action of these episodes opens on the further side of the Pyrenees.

The next moves seem to be most logical in Salazar. Marsilie corrupted Ganelon, as in the Pseudo-Turpin, with gold, and offered to submit to Charles, privily arranging that Roland, the Twelve Peers, and the vanguard of 22,000 men should cross the Pass of Roncesvalles at a distance of three leagues in front of the main body and without military precautions; he himself would arrange for an ambuscade on the hither side of the ridge. Ganelon stipulated the immunity of his son Albuey or Dalbuey. This account of Ganelon's treachery might correspond to the *Bernardo del Carpio*. It has the merit of differing at least from the Pseudo-Turpin, *Chanson de Roland*, *Roncesvalles*, and from the *Historia Silense*. It differs also from *L*, who remarks that Charles, on receipt of Alfonso's refusal to submit, determined to attack the Christians of Spain. He failed to take Tudela owing to Ganelon's treachery, but seized Nájera and Montejardino, and prepared (without cause) to return to France[1]. The places mentioned were halts on the Pilgrims' Way well known in Compostela from the official itineraries and the French epics, and the campaign seems to have no other purpose than to represent the battle as a rearguard action in agreement with French sources and the Pseudo-Turpin. As such the incident has the air of being an invention of a clerk in that archdiocese, either Lucas himself or the author of the *estoria*, rather than a bona fide record of the matter of the *Cantar de Bernardo*. It is to be noted that *L*, when describing the battle of Roncesvalles under the reign of Charles the Bald, speaks, like Salazar, of an affair of the French vanguard which was approaching without proper precautions[2]. *R* and his derivatives support this reading.

[1] *L*, p. 75, l. 29: 'Carolus vero obsedit Tutelam, quam breui cepisset, nisi proditione cuiusdam Galalonis sui palatii Comitis Tutela dimissa Naiaram petisset. Qui postquam cepit Naiaram & montem Iardinum & in Franciam redire disponeret, Marsil, rex Barbarorum....'

[2] *L*, p. 79, l. 28: 'dum exercitus Caroli inordinate se gereret, mox in fugam versus est.'

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Meanwhile, the Leonese nobles, apprised of Alfonso's correspondence with Charles, threatened under Bernardo's guidance to drive the king from his throne rather than ratify his proposal. The oratio obliqua of *R*'s Latin is rendered by a direct speech in the General Chronicles, which becomes most epical in the early translation entitled the *Estoria de los Godos*. At this point the account in *R* comes under the influence of Eginhard and the *Historia Silense*, so that we must follow *L* and Salazar. They inform us that Bernardo extorted from the king 300 knights (Salazar) and hastened to support Marsilie (*L* and Salazar) in his 'celada' at the Pass of Roncesvalles. Certain Navarrese joined them, and, according to a late genealogy already cited, the Navarrese had at their head Fortún García. In the battle that followed Bernardo contributed powerfully to the Spanish victory. The battle of Roncesvalles, as related by both French and Spanish epics, was based on the assumption of Charles' conquests in Spain; these fictitious conquests had as their purpose the clearance of the road to St James' shrine at Santiago de Compostela, which Charlemagne himself twice traversed as a pilgrim; the pilgrimages of Charlemagne lead, in the Pseudo-Turpin, to the account of his regulation of the Spanish Church under the Primacy of the archbishops of Compostela. But this fictitious donation could not under any circumstances be acknowledged by an archbishop of Toledo who termed himself and his predecessors Primates of Spain. The archbishop of Toledo was under the necessity of denying the conclusion of a series of interlinked incidents, and in the *Historia Silense* he found means of denying their premiss, namely, the presence of Marsilie at Roncesvalles. The battle is for him, as for his source, a battle of Christians alone, but, in addition to the Navarrese, he accepts from our legend the presence of the Leonese under Bernardo and their king Alfonso. How then account for the association of Marsilie with a battle at which he was not present? The archbishop adopts the method used by Euripides to explain the fall of Troy in the absence of Helen: the hosts led by Marsilie must have been a rumour; they were said to have been approaching the French rear by the Passes of Aspa and Secola.

With regard to the course of the battle we obtain no reliable information from our sources. *R*, *L*, the *PCG* and the *Estoria de los Godos* merely copy from the pages of the *Historia Silense* that list of victims which the latter had obtained from Eginhard. The *Poema de Fernán González* states that seven of the Peers fell, but this is taken to be an inference from the Pseudo-Turpin (chap. XXI) in which Roland, Baldwin, Terry, Turpin and Ganelon survive the actual fighting. The *Anales Toledanos*

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Primeros, as we have seen, aver that all twelve Peers were killed, and that account is echoed in Salazar and the ballads. The principal victims according to our *cantar* must have been Roland and Oliver, together with Renaud de Montauban who occupies in the *Roncesvalles* and the ballads linked to that poem a position as prominent as Roland himself. The list of Peers present at the battle is given in the *Tercera Crónica General*, the *Cuarta Crónica General*, and in Salazar: Roland ('adelantado de la tabla de los Pares'), Oliver, Renaud de Montauban, Ogier, Turpin, Engelier, Belart (son of Terry), Dalbuey or Albuey (son of Ganelon), Terry (standardbearer of the Peers), Solomon of Brittany. The list is practically that of Carolingian heroes given in the *Poema de Fernán González*:

> Carlos e Valdouinos, Rroldan e don Ojero,
> Terryn e Gualdabuey, Arnald e Oliuero,
> Torpyn e don Rrynaldos e el gascon Angelero,
> Estol e Salomon e el otrro conpannero. (verse 352.)

A circumstantial account of the engagement is given by Salazar, but he is concerned with the heroism of Albuey and the wounding of Roland by Oliver, events which belong to the French version of this affair. *R* preserves the valuable information that Charles, advancing along the Val Carlos, came on the scene of the disaster to his vanguard, and *blew his horn*. At the sound of his horn, the stragglers who still survived gathered, and the emperor withdrew to Aix to organise a fresh expedition.

This expedition, according to *R*, remained a mere project. Ever anxious to deny the presence of Charlemagne in any part of Spain but Catalonia, the archbishop accepts the *Historia Silense*'s theory of the moral decrepitude of the emperor due to the enervating effects of the baths at Aix[1]. But this is a historian's statement and not a poet's, and we can confidently follow *L* when he asserts that Charles did, in fact, re-enter Spain and avenge his defeat[2]. The *Chanson de Roland* and the Spanish *Roncesvalles*, as well as the Pseudo-Turpin, asserted that Charles avenged Roland's death by destroying Marsilie and his forces and taking Zaragoza. The ruin of a Moor at the hands of a Christian was not unacceptable to a Spanish poet, provided it was carried out (as *L* says) 'saniori consilio,' that is, not accompanied by a menace to the Christian kingdoms of Spain. There was no reason why Bernardo

[1] Ed. Santos Coco, p. 17: 'Anhelabat etenim Carolus in thermis illis citius lavari, quas Grani ad hoc opus deliciose construxerat.' Cf. *R*, p. 74, l. 51: 'Sed thermarum deliciis interceptus exercitum crastinando obiit Aquisgrani... vindictam minitans inglorius rediit & inultus.'

[2] *L*, p. 75, l. 39: 'Sed iterum Christianissimus Carolus exercitu reparato hoc factum triumphali victoria viriliter vindicauit ex Sarracenorum nobilibus innumerabilem extinguens multitudinem.'

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should support Marsilie when the sovereignty of León was not called in question by the French, and *L* does not mention his name in this connexion. A difficult situation arises for the authors of the *PCG*. Their plan includes certain episodes of the *cantar* or *estoria* in which Bernardo is represented as having accompanied Charles to Paris, and he cannot have done so if they had no opportunity of meeting. On the other hand, the *PCG* holds as firmly as *R* to the claim for the Primacy of Toledo, and therefore must deny the episode of Charlemagne's Pilgrimage to Compostela, during which *L* places the meeting of the emperor and his nephew. A way out of the difficulty is to suppose that Bernardo was taken prisoner when assisting Marsilie against this second French invasion; and as *L* has already associated Bernardo with Marsilie at one battle of Roncesvalles, and will associate him with Muza at a second, they acclaim *L* as the parent of their hypothesis[1]. The presence of an epic hero at a rout from which he escapes unscathed and unavenged is unthinkable. The citation of Lucas of Tuy at this stage does not prove that the *PCG* had a text different substantially from that of Schottus, but only that the scribes were human and capable of making an erroneous statement[2].

We thus reach the crux of the Carolingian episodes, the famous Pilgrimage of Charlemagne. *R* denies any return of the French emperor to Spain. The *PCG* records on *L*'s authority his expedition against Zaragoza, but couples this with the assertion of his immediate return to France: the scribes twice depart from their usual practice of recording *L*'s variant readings by declining to translate his account of the Pilgrimage. We are left, therefore, with the testimony of *L* alone. *L* is faced with two difficulties in his task of reconciling the *cantar* or *estoria* of Bernardo with what he considers to be sound history. The Pseudo-Turpin, the Palladium of his archbishopric, records not one but two pilgrimages of Charlemagne to Compostela. Whatever may have been the reading of the *Estoria de Bernardo* at this point, it is unlikely that the *cantar* had use for more than one. Two pilgrimages, stated in terms of the *cantar*, involve two battles of Roncesvalles. Two battles of Roncesvalles are not offered either by truth or by fiction, but, as we have seen, a considerable

[1] Page 355 *b*: 'Pero dize don Lucas de Tuy en su estoria que quando el allego Alemannia, desbaratado de la batalla, que se aguiso et se apodero et dio tornada a Çaragoça, et cerco y el rey Marsil. Et aun dize ese don Lucas de Tuy que fue y con el en su ayuda Bernaldo. Marsil salio a ellos estonce, et ouo con ellos su batalla muy grant et morieron y muchos de cada vna de las partes; mas al cabo, por el plazer de Dios, fueron vencidos los moros. Et morio y Marsil con todos los suyos.... Pues que esto ouo fecho, tornose Carlos para Francia.'

[2] Dr Heinermann's first thesis is: 'Der PC hat ausser oder an Stelle von dem von Schott herausgegebenen Text des L ein anderer Text vorgelegen.'

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debate raged as to whether the expedition should be referred by historians to Charles the Bald and Alfonso III or to Charles the Great and Alfonso II. The bishop of Tuy's solution of the problem is to relate the same story of battle and pilgrimage concerning both Charles and both Alfonsos, and so to satisfy one of the prejudices of his archdiocese. In the second case, however, he had already ascertained from the *Historia Silense* that the king of Zaragoza contemporary with Ordoño I and Alfonso III was Muza, founder of the Beni Casim dynasty. It is therefore Muza by whose side Bernardo fights and wins in the battle against Charles the Bald (*L*, p. 79). The name of the Pope who ratifies Charles' reforms is correspondingly altered from Leo III to John, and the ratification by the latter is different in scope from that of the former, just as they are different in the Pseudo-Turpin. In *L*'s second account, metropolitan privileges are also accorded to St Saviour's, Oviedo, out of deference to well-known documents of the period.

The battle is duplicated, but for another reason, in the *Poema de Fernán González* (verses 127 to 143). This cleric's narrative is so deeply indebted to *L* that it has no independent value for the criticism of the legend, and at this point it is incoherent. When Alfonso had refused his submission to Charles (the poem says), the latter prepared to enter Spain. Bernardo collected troops from Alfonso[1] and hastened to Fuentarrabía, meeting the French van and killing seven Peers. The French retired to the port of Marseilles (?), and after resting from their fatigues they returned to the Pass of Aspa. Bernardo moved down the Ebro until he met Marsilie of Zaragoza and with him turned and routed the French in a second battle. This second battle, though fought between vanguards and in the central Pyrenees, is proved by one characteristic phrase to be based on *L*'s first account[2]: the earlier battle, in which Marsilie's name is conspicuously absent, is taken by Sr Menéndez Pidal to refer to *L*'s narrative concerning Bernardo and Muza[3]. Muza's name, however, is also absent, and, on the contrary, that of Alfonso II is present, not as a participant, indeed, but as supplying Bernardo, willingly or unwillingly, with Leonese troops. The author of this piece relates firstly a Christian triumph gained at Roncesvalles by Bernardo and the Leonese troops, and secondly a Pagan triumph gained by Bernardo and Marsilie at Aspa. He appears to hope, in this way, to

[1] Verse 133 *c*: 'Ovol todas sus gentes el rrey casto a dar.'
[2] Verse 140 *b*: 'Sy sobre moros fuesse era buena provada.' Cf. *L*, p. 75, l. 38: 'Bernaldo (postposito Dei timore).'
[3] R. Menéndez Pidal, 'Romancero de Fernán González,' in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, p. 448.

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reconcile *L* and *R* by narrating both their narratives, and, by situating the second conflict at the Pass of Aspa, to take up *R*'s hint that Marsilie's expedition may have been led in that direction. In any case, the clerical poet's obvious preoccupation with the historians makes him of no service in our search for the contents of the *cantar de gesta*.

One only of the ballads in this cycle collected by Wolf and Hoffmann has claims to an early date of composition, but its divergence from the text of the *PCG* was sufficient to cause Menéndez y Pelayo to suspect the existence of a fourteenth-century refundition of our epic[1]. It commences:

Con cartas y mensajeros el rey al Carpio envió.

As the action which follows is that of the Osier Ford, this ballad is premature in supposing the existence of the castle of El Carpio, which was erected only after that skirmish. Nothing is said of the contents of these letters, for which there is no reason at all. In the legend of Fernán González there are similar letters which have a sufficient reason:

Buen conde Fernán González el rey envía por vos,
que vayades a las cortes que se hacían en León.

Bernardo makes to the messenger the same reply as Fernán González, but without equally good reason, since the messenger to him is not said to have threatened him with the penalties of treason. Bernardo, like Fernán González, says:

Mensajero eres, amigo; no mereces culpa, no.

He is then represented as calling out his troops and dividing them into detachments: one hundred to guard El Carpio, one hundred to watch the roads, two hundred to accompany him to his interview with the king. As the castle was not then founded, the first hundred are not required in the corresponding passage of the *PCG*; and, as the original *cantar* spoke of real, not verbal, warfare, the two hundred remain on the road to organise an ambuscade[2]. In this manner Bernardo advances as far as the Osier Ford, and, as not only the king's vassals but also the king himself are supposed by the ballad poet to have been on the shore of the Tormes, the situation is the same as that of another Fernán González piece:

Castellanos y leoneses tienen grandes divisiones.

[1] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, VIII, pp. 21–4; cf. pp. 30–2 and XI, p. 207.

[2] Page 373 *a*: 'Et pues que passaron el uado que dizen Bimbre, ouieron alli su acuerdo de como farien. Et ellos eran por cuenta CCC caualleros de linnage. Et dixoles Bernaldo: "los CC de uos finquen aqui en celada, et los C uayan comigo a Salamanca."'

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Once again it is the Fernán González piece which presents a logical narrative, for the meeting of the Leonese king and Castilian count at the Ford of Carrión was by appointment, and their mutual recriminations arise out of the circumstances of their meeting. In our case, however, Bernardo can only recount his complaints against Alfonso in terms similar to that of his *Defiance*, with the sole addition that the battle of Benavente is stated in the better version of this ballad to have taken place at El Encinal, in the inferior at El Romeral. The taste for abusing kings of León was one flattered by the *Cantar de Fernán González* and the *Mocedades del Cid*, and the author of this ballad, finding a scene not dissimilar from that indicated in the ballad of the Ford of Carrión, has exploited the same interest without taking into account the consequences for the plot of our *cantar*. Bernardo's dispositions, as we have seen, make a 'celada' impossible; Orios Godos and Tiobalt would not be captured, and their liberation, which the *cantar* regards asa final proof of the hero's generosity and longsufferance, would nottake place.

The ballads collected in the sixteenth century are relatively modern; those discovered in the Asturias in our own days are relatively ancient. They are akin to the Portuguese pieces of the *Conde Preso* cycle, and turn on the imprisonment of a count who is in some details similar to our Count Sancho. A Bernardo acts in them, but is described as the cousin of the victim, and sometimes wears the name of Garfos or Grifos. He has an uncle Blasco. The count's crime is to have offered insult to a lady of high degree, who is generally described as a foreigner. Thus far we have substantial agreement between these ballads and the *Cantar de Bernardo*, and it remains to be seen whether any of the subsequent data help to fill in its narrative of Bernardo's Mocedades.

L, *R* and the *PCG* do not inform us of the manner in which Timbor's complaints reached Alfonso. *R* is the source of a statement that the count and the princess Jimena married secretly, and, according to the *PCG*, Alfonso's displeasure was first aroused by Sancho's failure to perform the duty of a vassal and present himself at the court held in León. But *L* does not mention such a marriage, and when speaking of Timbor the *PCG* is equally silent, though the *Cuarta Crónica General* assumes her consent[1]. On the other hand, the Asturian ballads universally assume her repugnance, and a Portuguese ballad from Beira

[1] *C.I.E.*, cv, p. 265: 'e dizen que aquella doña Crulor que viniera en romeria a Santiago, e que a la tornada, que la convido el conde Sandias de Saldaña, e que la leuo consigo a su lugar, e que ovo alli con ella su fabla, e ella otorgose en quanto el quiso.' The original tradition of Bernardo's birth appears to be preserved by the Jewish ballad described in Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero*, Madrid, 1927, p. 124 (reprint from *Cultura Española*, Nov. 1906, Feb. 1907).

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Alta gives a circumstantial account of her discovery in the wilds by an aged soldier pilgrim[1]:

Prezo vae o conde, prezo, prezo vae a bom recado;
não vae prezo por ladrão, nem por homem ter matado,
mas por violar a donzella que vinha de San Thiago:
não bastou dormir com ella, senão dal-a ao seu criado!—
accommetteu-a na serra, mui longe do povoado:
por morta ali a deixara, sem mais dó, nem mais cuidado.
Chorou tres dias, tres noites, e mais teria chorado,
se não que Deus sempre acode a amparar o desgraçado.
Passou por ali um velho, um pobre velho soldado,
as barbas brancas de neve, em sua espada abordoado.
Vieiras traz na esclavina, o chapéo d'ellas cercado;
chegou-se á pobre romeira com muito amor, muito agrado:
— Não chores mais, filha minha, filha, de mais tens chorado;
que esse villão cavalleiro prezo vae a bom recado.
Levou comsigo a donzella o bom velho do soldado;
vão á presença d'el-rei, onde o conde era levado....

These novelistic commonplaces are too late to be cited against the authority of the thirteenth-century historians. That the princess willingly accepted the count's attentions is to be supported by Berta's affection for Milone, but it is surprising that, in a poem supposed to be based on the *Berta e Milone*, Bernardo's birthplace should be so much less picturesque and pastoral than Roland's[2].

The scene of the count's arrest by Orios Godos and Tiobalt includes one line which has its counterpart in the *Orlandino*[3]. It is taken from that feat of audacity by which Roland endeared himself to Charlemagne. Of Bernardo no such feat is recorded by the historians, but the ballad-mongers tell us the tale of 'A Kick at the Scaffold' (*El puntapié a la horca*). They say that Bernardo perceived the preparations for an execution, and, despite Alfonso's prevarications, learned that the intended victim was the count his cousin; he rushed out, cut down the executioner and kicked over the scaffold. This feat is not dissimilar in respect of barbarous strength and courage from Roland's, but the Bernardo who carried it out could not have been young enough to be deluded into believing himself the son of the king. A further development in some of these ballads, according to which the count escapes the justice of man only to be struck down by the hand of God (*O Juizo de Deus*), is altogether incompatible with the legend of Bernardo del Carpio. We must regard

[1] Braga, *Romanceiro Portuguez*, II (1907), pp. 123–4.

[2] Ed. Mussafia, in *Romania*, XIV (1885), pp. 177 ff., ll. 309–14: 'La dame è si grose qe a pene poit aler. / Apreso de Ymole a une fontane cler / qe ilec estoit fora por la river; / ilec partori li son fio primer, / co fo Rolando li meltre çivaler....'

[3] *PCG*, p. 350 *b*: 'et tan de rezio le apretaron las manos con vna cuerda, que luego le fizieron salir las sangre por las vnnas.' Cf. *Orlandino* in *Romania*, XIV (1885), ll. 340–1: 'Una tal streta li oit en la man doné / qe por les ongues ne fo la sangue volé.'

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the *Puntapié a la horca* and *Juizo de Deus* as motifs extraneous to, and incompatible with, the legend of Bernardo del Carpio.

IV

This discussion can be summed up under two theories, according as independent judgment be granted or denied to the thirteenth-century historians. If we assume that their reports correspond with sufficient fidelity to their originals, then we are faced with a string of refunditions of the *Cantar de Bernardo*. Apart from the 'primitive heroic poem of Roncesvalles' supposed to exist by the older critics, and apart from the uncertain scope of the *Estoria de Bernardo*, the theory of refunditions requires (1) a 'Gallic' redaction in which Timbor is the hero's mother and perhaps Orios Godos and Tiobalt his uncles, (2) a 'Hispanised' redaction in which Jimena, Blasco Meléndez and Suero Velásquez have these offices and the battle of Roncesvalles is fought by Marsilie (*L*), (3) a second 'Hispanised' redaction indicating the presence of Alfonso at Roncesvalles (*R*), (4) a further redaction including numerous additional details (*PCG*), (5) a second poem, *Bernardo en Francia* (*PCG*), and (6) such further fourteenth-century redactions as are needed to cover the data of the interview at the Vado de Bimbre, *Puntapié a la horca*, *Conde Preso*, and *Juizo de Deus*.

Alternatively, we may not suppose that the historians are the mirrors of the poets, and in that case our hypotheses are greatly reduced. We require: (1) A *Cantar de Bernardo* (attested) in which Timbor is the heroine. It was sung by various jongleurs, who had their various readings, but we do not suppose that these amounted to refashioning the plot. This poem contained, we think, all the episodes recorded by the *PCG*, including the French visit. Marsilie was present at Roncesvalles, and Charles journeyed to Santiago. The geographical centre of the poem was the city of Zamora. As the history of its evolution was simple, we have no need to give it a date earlier than the year 1200. (2) An *Estoria de Bernardo* (attested), probably in Latin and probably written in the interest of the Pilgrimage to Compostela. The author identified the Leonese Alfonso with Alfonsos II and III, and did not attribute to his hero any adventures between these reigns (attested), which led to the displacement of the episode entitled the *Repudiation*. He recorded *Bueso's invasion* (attested), and the *Revelation* (attested). We suppose that historical researches caused him to look for a princess of León who satisfied the main requirements of Timbor's character, and that he found her in the Jimena mentioned as uniting a Charles to an Alfonso in the *Chronicon de Sampiro* and the *Historia Silense*. Having

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discriminated between the Alfonsos, he must have distinguished between the Charles, and he may have fixed the interval to be adopted by historians between the *Mainet* and the battle of Roncesvalles. He may also have so written his account of that campaign and of Alfonso's wars as to facilitate the acceptance of the story by subsequent historians. It is not certain whether he recorded the fiction of the Isidorian constitution of the Spanish Church. His date we infer to be anterior to that of Lucas of Tuy (1236) and probably also to the *Anales Toledanos Primeros* (circa 1219). (3) Various historical summaries. These prefer the *estoria* to the *cantar* and their immediate predecessors to either. *L* limited his account to three phases of the action which he deemed of public interest. As a bishop in the archdiocese of Compostela, he had no objection to make to the normal legends concerning Roncesvalles and the Pilgrimage. When possible he told his story in the words of the *Historia Silense* (attested). His style is that of an abbreviator. *R* follows *L* in his selection of matter, brief style and preference for the words of the *Historia Silense*. As archbishop of Toledo, he could not accept the normal legends concerning Roncesvalles and the Pilgrimage. He accommodates his account of the battle to Eginhard's text as reported by the *Historia Silense*, and refers the traditional benefits of Charlemagne for the Compostelan pilgrims to the *Mainet*. The *PCG* holds the same views as *R* and reports *L* without confidence, ignoring the incident of the Pilgrimage on the two occasions when it is found in *L*'s text. The scribes further draw on the *estoria* and, sparingly, on the *cantar*. Subsequent translators of *R* or revisers of the *PCG* occasionally supply additional details and expansions, but only in Lope García de Salazar do we find information of importance. The style of the chroniclers varies from the brevity of *L* and *R* to the expansiveness of the *estoria*, but perhaps not to that of the *cantar*; their reporting method is not uniform nor lacking in mis-statements. (4) Various ballads. The majority of ballads ascend only to the prose of the chronicles. Those which show interesting differences are influenced by other legends. The interview at the ford on the Tormes is an imitation of Fernán González's interview at the ford of the Carrión. The *Puntapié a la horca* and the *Juizo de Deus* belong to other cycles, such as that of Grifos Lombardo. It is not certain whether we can accept from a Portuguese ballad collected in the nineteenth century an account of Bernardo's birth which, though it agrees with that of Roland in some particulars, appears to conflict with statements by thirteenth-century historians.

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NOTES ON A MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN 'MARIEN HIMMELFAHRT'[1]

In 1845 Moriz Haupt printed a religious epic, originally of 1846 lines, to which either he or the copier Weigand gave the name *Marien Himmelfahrt*[2]. The poem is preserved in one MS. only, No. 876 of the Giessen University Library, and from palaeographical considerations it is highly probable that the MS. dates from the end of the thirteenth century.

This epic, ably written in the courtly rhyming couplet of the classical period, gives a glowing poetical rendering of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary following in the main the B-Version of *De Transitu Beatae Virginis Mariae*[3]. The poet, however, is no slavish translator, and he shortens or lengthens the legend as he pleases. As an introduction to his work he reviews shortly the history of the world (ll. 1–206), adds a request for the assistance of God in his task (ll. 207–229), and thereupon, with many excursions, relates the Assumption. The poem concludes with a moral (ll. 1639–1846) that possesses considerable literary interest.

After recounting the manner in which Mary is joined to Christ in Heaven the poet urges those who wish to go to Heaven to love Mary with a pure heart. They shall serve her, be chaste and abhor falsehood: in that case she will love them too. Worldly love deceives. What good is it to man or woman? Should a man love a pure woman his body must age among perilous hardships since the woman will never surrender to him. The lover praises his lady's good qualities, and yet he wishes her to forgo them for his sake. If she resists, the lover will always be unhappy; should, however, she give way to his pleadings, she may betray him too, and bestow her affections elsewhere. Thus sorrow is bound to overtake him in either case, and the only result is bodily and spiritual death. Therefore the lover should abandon love which will abandon him, and love where he is assured of a worthy reception. He should love the heavenly Queen who has never yet forsaken anyone. She has all those

[1] This article is based on *Marien Himmelfahrt, ein mittelhochdeutsches Gedicht*, a thesis prepared for the London degree of M.A. (1925) under the kind guidance and ever courteous help of Professor R. Priebsch.

[2] *Zeitschr. f. deut. Altertum*, v, pp. 515 ff. The first 144 lines under the title *Gedicht von dem Leben und Tode Jesu Christi* in Von der Hagen, *Neues Jahrbuch der Berl. Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache*, I, pp. 148 ff. (1840).

[3] C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 113–36. Also in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, v, pp. 1231 ff.

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qualities which the fond lover imagines his lady possesses. For her sake it is not necessary to risk bodily harm in a tournament, nor need anyone sing a new tune to win her favour. She is also to be won without the squandering of wealth and possessions. Everybody should act honourably, and abjure unchastity which must lead to the ruin of body, soul, honour and worldly possessions. Love should be given to Christ and Mary alone. Mary will help anyone who loves her and her son. Christ cannot refuse her any boon, and she will intercede on behalf of anyone who loves her.

Undoubtedly we are dealing here with an attack on the Minnesang and the ideals which it glorifies. The qualities ascribed to the lady according to our poet are: *hövescheit, wîsheit, edelkeit, güete, tugende, reine, stæte,* an enumeration of which can be found in almost every courtly lyric. He attacks knights who lay their poetic effusions at the feet of ladies who have no right to listen, who sing the praises of their ladies' virtues when virtue is the last thing they are demanding from them, who face perils for the sake of rewards which are doubtful and dishonourable. If the Minnesang was entirely an artificial pastime and was usually but a graceful tribute expected to be paid by a knight to the beauty of his liege-lord's wife, or by a Freiherr to a high-born lady, or perhaps even to a creation of his own fancy (*wunschbild*), such a strong indictment would seem unwarrantable. If the *tageliet*, to mention only one of the species of composition, had no relation to fact, would Wolfram have written:

Swer pfliget oder ie gepflac
daz er bî liebe lac
den merkern unverborgen,
der darf niht durch den morgen
dannen streben,
er mac des tages erbeiten:
man darf in niht ûz leiten
ûf sîn leben.
ein offen süeze wirtes wîp kan sölhe minne geben.

There is a passage in *Parzivâl* which throws a significant light on the background of the *tageliet*:

gein werder minne valscher list
hât gein prîse kurze vrist.
dâ wirt der slichære klage
daz dürre holz ime hage:
daz pristet unde krachet:
der wahtære erwachet.
ungeverte und hâmît,
dar gedihet manec strît:
diz mezzet gein der minne[1].

[1] *Parzivâl*, 172, 15 ff.

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The crackling of the brittle wood, the difficulties of unfamiliar territory (*ungeverte und hâmît*): these circumstantial details seem too true to nature to have been entirely invented.

From the cunning artifice of their setting there can be no reasonable doubt that Wolfram's *tagelieder* are *wânwîsen*, yet the *Abschied von dem tageliet* and the serious warning of Gurnemanz, given so explicitly to the young Parzival, must have been inspired by the fact that the situation dealt with in the *tageliet* often found its counterpart in reality as a reward for the knight who, by his valorous deeds of arms, or by lavish generosity or by the power of his songs, had won the love of his *herrin*.

For threefold is the way, we are told, by which a knight may try to win the love of his lady: by bodily prowess, by the composition of lyrics and by presents[1]. The lyric must be accompanied by a new tune (*nûwe rei*), and unless the *rei* was really *nûwe*, a lady whose education had not been neglected would be quick to point out this fact to her suitor. Heinrich von Morungen asks:

> Nû rât et, liebe frouwen,
> waz ich singen müge
> sô daz ez ir tüge[2].

If he could really sing something new perhaps she might listen to him:

> nû wol dar, swer mich gelêren kunne
> daz ich singe niuwen sanc[3].

Singing the praises of a lady involved being poet, composer and performer at the same time; certainly a hardship to many. Our poet thought so too, when he maintained, a little humorously may be, that Mary can be won without turning conceits into verse and finding a new tune for them.

Two ideals of knighthood are developed about 1200, largely under French influence: the Christian knight who, practising and spreading virtue, strives for *gotes hulde*, and the amiable cavalier ever ready to fight and love. How these two knightly ideals were to be combined in life was a problem which gave serious food for reflection to many of the poets. Ultimately, the two ideals were incompatible in life: the crusader who killed Turks *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* and at the same time sent home lyrics that were hardly of a religious nature, was only a weak compromise. It was in the realm of the imagination that the synthesis was finally effected: Hartman tried to solve the dualism in his *Armer Heinrîch*

[1] Cp. *Der welsche Gast* (ll. 1338 ff.) where a list of permissible presents is given. On the squandering of wealth, cp. *Moriz von Craon* (Schröder, *Altdeutsche Rittermœren*, 1925).
[2] Lachmann and Haupt, *Minnesangs Frühling*, p. 123, 34 ff.
[3] *Minnesangs Frühling*, p. 124, 6 f.

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whilst it was left to Wolfram to reconcile the conflicting interests of the world and the spirit in his *Parzivâl*.

As long as things went well with the Empire under the Hohenstaufen dynasty the pomp and pageantry of worldly splendour were able to allay possible qualms of conscience, and an occasional crusade—or even a promise to attend a crusade—convinced knightly society that it had done all that was required. Friedrich von Hûsen, in one of his poems[1], deplores that for so long a time he has neglected God for the sake of his lady-love. She would have none of him, therefore: 'nû wil ich dienen dem der lônen kan.' We have here, introduced into the lyric, the same argument that the poet of the *Himmelfahrt* uses: earthly love is fickle, Heavenly love is steadfast. In future, Hûsen will think of God first though he is not entirely willing to forget more worldly interests:

> doch klage ich daz
> daz ich sô lange gotes vergaz:
> den wil ich iemer vor in (i.e., den vrouwen) allen haben,
> und in dâ nâch ein holdez herze tragen.

That was one way of solving the problem. Hartman[2] and Walther[3] were more drastic, and definitely turned their backs on worldly love. Walther realised that the decline in the power of the Emperor would lead to a breakdown of the carefully constructed balance between the commands of earth and heaven[4]:

> ja leider des'n mac niht gesîn,
> daz guot und weltlich êre
> und gotes hulde mêre
> zesamene in ein herze komen.

Another way to escape the dilemma was to ignore the problem entirely, and to build up a philosophy of life which refined the worldly ideals of chivalry aesthetically and ethically, without express reference to and insistence on strict religious doctrine. Gottfried's *Tristan* is written in this spirit. The *edele herze* and all that it stands for introduce mediaeval society to a new point of view. Instead of troubling unduly about the inevitable dualism of *der werlde lop, der sêle heil*, the *edele herze* is concerned rather with giving a heightened spiritual content to the affairs of this world, and the sensitive concern with which Gottfried and his listeners follow the fate of Tristan and Isôt belongs to a realm which the preacher's voice cannot penetrate: there he is non-existent.

[1] *Minnesangs Frühling*, p. 45, 37 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 218, 5 ff.
[3] Walther von der Vogelweide, herausg. von Lachmann, p. 67, 20 ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 8, 19 ff.

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However, no picture of the bright life of mediaeval society is complete unless we perceive the shadow thrown across all this glamour by the threats and pleadings of those who thought that *der sêle heil* was the first and last consideration. Since *der werlde lop* was sung in verse, the opponents—the representatives of the mediaeval ascetic dualism who were schooled in the traditions of a religious poetry which was older than the verse of chivalry—were equally willing to attack the worldly ideals of knighthood through the same medium. A sermon would, in most cases, only reach the congregation: it had less chance of being copied and disseminated. A poem would find its way to many more listeners, especially if the moral were partly hidden by exciting adventures or incredible miracles. The preachers kept abreast of the times: they were quick to seize on any weak spot in the armour of the knights and to drive home their advantage. And thus the poet of *Marien Himmelfahrt* is one of a long line of didactic poets. The immediate reason for writing his poem may have lain largely in his moral. But he knew that his audience loved a good story and, from the vivacious way in which he writes, it is equally plain that he liked a well-told story himself. As happens so often in mediaeval epics, the beginning of the story is considerably longer than the end. The poet finds that he has to check himself by such remarks as: *nû lâzen wir belîben daz*, and so it took him some time before he reached his goal, the application of his moral. Having at last got to the point, he does not rail bitterly, like the 'Arme Hartman[1],' against the besetting sins of the world; he merely presents a reasoned and reasonable case. The punishments which lie in wait for the sinner are not vividly depicted, in fact they are not depicted at all.

Alsûs verdient ir hie und dort
des lîbes und der sêlen mort (ll. 1695 f.)

is as much as the poet cares to say about the matter. The very sobriety of the statement is convincing; we feel that the poet is deeply in earnest. He knew that the Minnesang and the ideals which it glorified gravely endangered his ideal of the Christian knight, and he was desirous of saving as many people as possible from the loss of soul, body, honour and possessions.

The moral is addressed not only to men. Just as the knights are exhorted to love Mary so their ladies are urged to love Christ:

nû ob du ein minnêre bist,
dú sist wîp oder man... (ll. 1655 f.),

[1] *Des armen Hartmann Rede von Glauben*, herausg. von H. F. Massmann (*Deutsche Gedichte des* 12. *Jahrhunderts*, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1837). A more modern edition of this interesting poem is that of F. von der Leyen, *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, XIV, Breslau, 1897.

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and again:

> und den sûzen minnêre (i.e., Christ)
> der gût zu minnene wêre... (ll. 1775 f.),

and in a final exhortation both men and women are enjoined to turn to

> den minner und die minnerin,
> den kunc und die kunegin... (ll. 1831 f.).

The last quotation is reminiscent of the style of Gottfried, and it is only natural that a poet who attacks a certain school of verse should show influences of that very school. Thus there are many places in which the poet of *Marien Himmelfahrt* betrays his knowledge of Middle High German poetry. Of the palm which the angel Gabriel brings to the Virgin we are told that it:

> lûhte alsam der sterre
> der vor dem dage ferre
> durch die wolken dringet
> und sîn lieht der werlde bringet (ll. 577 ff.),

a simile which recalls many a picture in the lyric, though no exact parallel is to be found[1].

The poet was acquainted with Walther as is shown by l. 1699: 'lâz von der minne die dich lât,' which goes back to Walther, 67, 28: 'lîp, lâ die minne diu dich lât[2],' the most telling line of the poem in which Walther renounces the pleasures of this earth.

> swer wider disen vieren strebet (i.e., sêle, lîp, êre, guot)
> der lebet niht, er widerlebet (ll. 1769 f.)

is neatly turned from Tristan, 32:

> die pflegent niht, sie widerpflegent,

where those who *widerpflegent* are people who *daz guote z'übele wegent.*

There is a close connexion between some of the passages in the moral and passages in *Der welsche Gast*, a poem that in many ways has a similar didactic purpose. See ll. 1195 ff.:

> al dasselbe ist um die minne,
> ob sie undermaht die sinne;
> sie blendet wîses mannes muot
> und schendet sêl, lip, êre, guot.

Thomasin insists that no right-minded gentleman should ask favours

[1] Cp. *Minnesangs Frühling*, p. 129, 20.
[2] *Der Spiegel* (Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Karlsruhe, 1846), I, 235 has also borrowed the line from Walther.

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from ladies unless he has been acquainted with them for a considerable time, and he continues (ll. 1410 ff.):

dâ bî sol ein ieglîch man
der guotiu dinc erkennen kan
merken daz er lange sol
mit zuht einr vrouwen dienen wol,
ê er si des dinges bite
dâ von si mac ir guote site,
ir kiusche, ir guot getæte,
ir triwe und ouch ir stæte,
ir pris und ir hüfscheit,
ir guoten namen und edelkeit,
ir tugent gar zebrechen
und sich selben swechen.
der ist ein wunderlîcher man,
swenner alrêst sihet an
eine vrouwen, daz er wil
daz si verlies durch in sô vil.

From the whole tone of this passage and the enumeration of the virtues which the lady may forfeit it is abundantly clear that *des dinges biten* cannot refer to lawful wedlock. Thomasin apparently thinks the knight is justified in asking for reward after having served faithfully, and since the author of *Der welsche Gast* is merely giving voice to the moral precepts drawn from the actions of the courtly society he knew so well, we have yet another indication that not only was the knight's task not all service but under certain conditions (length of service, faithfulness, etc.) his demand for reward was not entirely disapproved. The above quotation may also help to throw light upon the frequently occurring theme of the lover throwing over his mistress because she has proved ungrateful in spite of his long and faithful service. The poet of *Marien Himmelfahrt* thinks otherwise. Illicit love to him is definitely bad, therefore away with it.

At the end of his polemic the poet introduces the word *minne* and its combinations 26 times in 29 lines which deal with heavenly love. This play on words (*minne, lieb, leit*, etc.) is often met with in Middle High German poetry. Heinrich von Veldeke[1] had written a poem in which every line contains the word *minne*. Other flagrant examples of this practice are found in Heinrich von Rugge[2] and Ulrich von Singenberg[3]. Thus it is impossible to point to the exact source, but it is another proof that the author was familiar with the lyric poetry of his times[4].

[1] *Minnesangs Frühling*, pp. 61, 63—62, 10. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 34—101, 6.
[3] K. Bartsch, *Schweizerische Minnesänger*, p. 17, No. 5, 22; but on the authorship of Singenberg cp. Kuttner, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.* XIV, pp. 468 f.
[4] Reference is, of course, made only to such similarities as are to the point here. In my forthcoming edition of the *Himmelfahrt* I hope to show that the poet had an extensive knowledge of Middle High German poetry, both secular and spiritual.

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Mary is referred to as the *minnerin*. That, however, is only in the polemical part of the epic. Otherwise the Mother-Son relationship is much more pronounced, and the importance which the poet attaches to this aspect of the connexion between Mary and Jesus can be shown statistically. The description *maget* occurs 36 times, *muoter* 33, *frouwe* 11, *kunegin* 10, *minnerin* 6, *dierne* 3 (only when Mary refers to herself) and *dohter* once. Christ is 24 times *sun*, *kint* 9 and *barn* 3. He is never called *gemahel* or *briutegam*, and Mary never *brût* or *trût*. The idea of the Heavenly bride and bridegroom meant nothing to our poet. There he differs from Konrad von Heimesfurt[1] who constantly refers to Mary as *brût* and to Christ as *trût* thus making one person of God the Father and God the Son. Our poet is so filled with the love of the mother for the son that he introduces a *planctus Mariae*[2], a beautiful piece of writing which shows deep religious feeling and an original outlook, although the theme is traditional and many of the current images are of necessity employed. This plaint occupies more than sixty lines, whereas Konrad merely mentions that Mary was present when her son was crucified. The Latin versions of the *Transitus* in every case give nothing more than is found in St John xx, 26–27, the ultimate source of the *planctus*, so that the poet cannot possibly have found material for his plaint in the version from which he was translating.

That a poem of such importance and beauty has been almost entirely neglected from the literary point of view may seem extraordinary. Goedeke in his *Grundriss* and Gervinus[3] have no high opinion of its literary merits. Of other literary historians Kober[4] mentions the poem, and his opinion of it stands in marked contrast to Goedeke's scathing criticism. Pfeiffer, the editor of Konrad's *Himmelfahrt*, admits that 'die Himmelfahrt hinter einer anderen, jüngeren Bearbeitung desselben Stoffes [i.e., our poem] weit zurücksteht.' The older poet found his way into literary histories largely on account of the mention which Rudolf von Ems accords him. For the younger poet there has been no Rudolf, and he remained unknown. In modern times, influenced no doubt by Goedeke and the comparative inaccessibility of the early volumes of the *Zeitschr. f. deut. Altert.*, the attack on the Minnesänger has so far been entirely overlooked by literary historians dealing with the thirteenth century.

[1] *Marien Himmelfahrt von Konrad von Heimesfurt*, in *Zeitschr. f. deut. Altertum*, VIII, pp. 156 ff.

[2] Ll. 263 ff. On the *planctus Mariae* see Anton Schönbach, *Über die Marienklagen*, Graz, 1874.

[3] Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur*, II, 215.

[4] A. H. Kober, *Geschichte der Mariendichtung*, Essen, 1919, p. 51.

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For the poem was unquestionably written during the thirteenth century though no date is explicitly mentioned. The complete absence of s : z rhymes which are found already sporadically in *Meier Helmbreht*, the high percentage of feminine lines (31 per cent.), the purity of the rhymes, the correct rhythmical construction of the lines, the acquaintance the poet shows with the literature of the classical period: all these factors point to the middle of the thirteenth century.

Perhaps the poet has hidden his date, though hardly intentionally, in the poem.

> die reine sûze maget clâr
> virzehen wochen unde ein iâr
> unde furbaz an den funften dac
> vil iamers ûf der erden plac
> sît daz er ûf zu himel flouc,
> Jêsûs, der ir brüste souc (ll. 503 ff.).

No such exact date is known since the lapse of time between the death of Mary and Christ is given in years only: 2, 12, 24, etc. If, however, the poet worked out the date for his year, everything becomes clear. Already in the ninth century the Assumption of Mary had been fixed as August 15; the Ascension of Christ, of course, is movable. In our poem Christ is present when Mary dies, and takes her soul to heaven; her body is to be buried at a place which He indicates until He returns for it:

> unde beidet mîn dâ bî dem grabe
> biz ich die lieben sêle habe
> braht in mîn vader rîche;
> so kume ich sicherlîche
> des dritten dages zu uch dar:
> die wîle nemet mîn da war (ll. 1139 ff.).

The apostles carry out Christ's commands:

> unde biz an den dritten dac
> alumbe daz grap sie lâgen
> sô daz sie wachenes plâgen.
> dô quam des dritten dages schîn (ll. 1430 ff.).

This was Assumption day, August 15. Mary, therefore, died on August 13 and the poet must have written in a year when the Ascension fell fourteen days and five weeks before August 13, i.e., May 2. This gives Easter Sunday on March 24. In the thirteenth century Easter Sunday fell only twice on March 24: 1258 and 1269, dates which accord well with the criteria mentioned above. The possible objection that the poet must have been well aware of the movability of the Ascension of Christ is answered by the lines in the poem itself; the poet could never have calculated Mary's death from the Ascension unless he had forgotten to

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recollect its movability. However, additional evidence is forthcoming from the epic. The archangel Gabriel appears to Mary in order to inform her of her impending death. On the day of his appearance we are told:

> Marîen was daz wol bekant
> daz sie den dôt dâ zu hant
> des dritten dages solde lîden (ll. 1007 ff.).

'Des dritten dages' must be August 13, and the day on which Mary is reflecting on this matter must therefore be August 11. In the introduction to this part of the story we are told further about August 11: 'daz was an einem sundage' (l. 743).

Therefore Mary was informed of her death on Sunday, August 11. In years in which Easter falls on March 24, August 11 is a Sunday. There is a slight difficulty about this Sunday. In the source the day on which the apostles are miraculously translated to the dwelling of the Virgin, which is also the day of the appearance of Gabriel, is given as *dies Dominica*. The poet may have accepted this without troubling any further; yet it would then remain curious that in that case the day fits in so well with the fourteen weeks and five days after the Ascension. Perhaps the *dies Dominica* first suggested this singular chronology to his mind. He discovered that August 11 really was a Sunday in the year in which he was writing, and then, deceived by the coincidence, dated the feast of the Assumption from Ascension Day; after all, a very natural thing to do, since both events celebrated a similar occurrence.

Unless other evidence is found both 1258 or 1269 remain possible dates; at present there seems no reason for preferring the one to the other.

No such roundabout methods are necessary in order to establish the locality from which the poet hailed. Dialect criteria which narrow down the search are rhymes of:

(1) e : ä: *geslähte* : *knehte* 77; : *rehte* 465.

(2) e : i: *nibel* (mhg. *nebel*) : *gibel* 817; *wigen* (mhg. *wegen*) : *ligen* 1097.

(3) ie : i: *gesiht* : *liht* (*lieht*) 753; *niht* : *liht* 633, 1121, 1517, 1581.

(4) uo : u: before n—*sun* : *dun* (eight times); before nt—*stunt* (mhg. *stuont*) : *wunt* 233; : *kunt* (five times); *stunt* (hour) : *gesunt* 1325.

(5) h-syncope: *hude* : *nude* (*hiute* : *niute*) 9; *twers* (*twerhes*) : *gers* 1665; *emphân* : *lân* 1763.

(6) h-apocope: *beval* (*bevalh*) : *qual* 777; *nâ* : *anderswâ* 567; : *dâ* 847; *hô* (*hôch*) : *dêô* 1455.

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(7) ng : nn: *dingen* : *gewinnen* 1261, where Bartsch wished to read *sinnen*, an unnecessary alteration.

(8) n-apocope: in the verbal noun—*dar* : *sparn* 1151; *underscheiden* : *beide* 1499; in the infinitive—*ougenweide* : *verscheiden* 371; *algelîche* : *bestrîchen* 1359.

The occurrence of these rhymes and the absence of unshifted t in *it*, *dat*, *wat*, *dit* and *allet* agree with Rhenish Hesse; grammarians who have investigated the dialect of the poem have come to the same conclusion[1].

The only person outside biblical history mentioned in the epic may help to determine in what part of Rhenish Hesse one has to look.

der sûze got vil hêre
der dem gûten sante Sevêre
sante den vil heiligen geist
bit einer dûben zu folleist,
daz er der heiligen schrifte hort,
beide dôn unde wort,
schône sanc unde las,
des er niht gelêret was,
der sende mir ouch solichen sin... (ll. 207 ff.).

From the legend the poet alludes to it is clear that he is thinking of St Severus of Ravenna who was miraculously chosen bishop, although of humble station and unable to read or write.

When Archbishop Otger of Mainz had occasion to visit Italy he caused the remains of St Severus to be removed from Pavia where they had, after removal from Ravenna, ultimately been buried; they were taken to Mainz where they were once more laid to rest in the church of St Albanus. Later, probably still during the reign of Otger (826–847), the reliques were again disturbed. This time they were transported to Erfurt, a city which was under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Mainz throughout the Middle Ages. Here they were deposited in a specially erected St Severus Church.

The introduction of this somewhat obscure saint makes Mainz or its immediate surroundings probable as the home of the poet. The dialect rhymes, as we have seen, agree with this.

Apart from the hint given by the mention of St Severus the poet never for a moment lifts the veil of anonymity. There is neither the name of a patron nor an historical event, and thus the establishment of his station in life is dependent on more or less accurate guesswork. In his introduction to the *Erlösung* Bartsch attempted to prove that the *Erlösung*

[1] Cp. Zwierzina, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Altertum*, XLIV and XLV; Schirokauer, *Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, XLVII, pp. 1 ff.

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and *Marien Himmelfahrt* were written by the same poet; he withdrew this suggestion, however, in *Germania* VII, pp. 1 ff., yet still insisted on a 'schulmässiger Zusammenhang.' If that is really so, it can only mean that the poet of the *Erlösung* was acquainted with *Marien Himmelfahrt*, as the former epic was written towards the close of the thirteenth century.

Citizen, cleric or knight? A citizen could not have written the moral of the poem which is addressed to knights and ladies, unless he had identified himself with courtly society as Gottfried did. The Assumption of Mary seems more properly to be the subject for a cleric, yet Konrad von Heimesfurt, according to Rudolf von Ems 'her Konrad,' had written an Assumption. Moreover, the biblical mistakes seem rather gross for a cleric. Of Ham we are told:

> **wand der alde Nôê**
> **verfluchte sîme sune Kam**
> **der ime den gêren abe nam (ll. 52 ff.),**

which makes Ham blacker than he was. In ll. 87 ff. the poet confounds the return from the Babylonian Captivity and the departure from Egypt, and a few lines further down he puts the Babylonian Captivity before the reign of King David. In l. 897 we are told that St Paul was a heathen before his conversion. This may have been in the Latin source, but a cleric who knew his bible would have corrected the error. Sodom and Gomorrah appear in l. 1374 as *Sodomorra*, an error which is more easily explained (like so many of Wolfram's fantastic names) as a faulty recollection of the ear than of the eye. In this connexion the dating of the Assumption from the Ascension looks suspicious. All these mistakes, added to the complete lack of allegorical interpretation, Latin quotations—except *Gloria in excelsis Deo*—and the reasonable tone of the poet's expostulation in his polemic make it rather difficult, though not impossible, to believe that we are dealing with a cleric.

Yet it is just as difficult to assume that we are concerned with a knight. The courtly tone of the narrative reminiscent of the facile verse of Hartman von Aue, the attitude of Mary to the apostles which is that of a grand lady to her knightly surroundings and the knowledge the poet shows of the classical poetry of the thirteenth century are by no means unheard of in clerical surroundings. The atmosphere of chivalry which pervades the *Driu liet von der maget*, undoubtedly written by someone in holy orders, leaves nothing to be desired, and Ulrich von Zatzikhoven had already in the beginning of the great period of the courtly epic shown in his *Lanzelet* that a parson could turn out a good *aventiure*.

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Perhaps the poet was in some way or other connected with the Order of Teutonic Knights. In this order knights were compelled to take a vow of chastity, the Virgin cult was nowhere stronger than in the Order, and a man—whether knight or cleric—who was in sympathy with its aims may easily have written an Assumption which glorified the Patron of the Order and ended with a polemic against practices the Teutonic knights were bound to view with abhorrence. There is much similarity in treatment and coincidence of phraseology between *Marien Himmelfahrt* on the one hand and the *Passional* and *Väterbuch* on the other. *Passional* and *Väterbuch* hail from the same district as *Marien Himmelfahrt*, and they certainly stood in some connexion or other with the Order even if the connexion cannot be definitely proved. Moreover, *Marien Himmelfahrt*, probably still in the thirteenth century, was bound together with a poem *Von der sunden widerstrît* which is also supposed to be connected with the Order of Teutonic Knights. Was there perhaps an 'Ordensliteratur' during the latter half of the thirteenth century which was written in West Middle Germany?

All this, however, does not take us very far, and the poet, whoever he may have been, will no doubt successfully combat any desire on the part of commentators to inquire into his private life, or to obtain a name which he intentionally withheld.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Who was Sir John Mandeville?

A Fresh Clue.

Mandeville's *Travels* used to be taken as genuine, but modern research has exposed this gentleman as one of those travellers whose 'tales' make the term a byword. Full-dress enquiries into his genuineness are those of Sir George Warner and Professor Hamelius[1].

Mandeville himself says he was living in Liége when he wrote the *Travels*, and his tomb in the church of the Guillemins there was inspected by four independent witnesses. The late Professor Hamelius fixes on 1366 as the date of the writing of the *Travels*. It is the earlier part of his life that is wrapt in mystery.

Sir John and his like are satirised severely by his contemporary, Piers Plowman (Prologue 46/52), a condemnation which he certainly invited:

> Pilgrymes and palmers plizted hem togidere
> To seke seynt Iames and seyntes in rome.
> Thei went forth in here wey with many wise tales,
> And hadden leue to lye al here lyf after,
> I seigh somme that seiden þei had ysouzt seyntes:
> To eche a tale þat þei tolde here tonge was tempred to lye,
> More þan to sey soth it semed bi here speche.

There is, however, another explanation of this Mandeville legend, which would show that he had a good reason for his fabrications. We are told that Mandeville made a death-bed confession saying that he had murdered a Count and therefore had to fly from his native land. Who was the nobleman? Warner makes enquiry, but is not satisfied with his answer. Mandeville states boldly that he is Sir John Mandeville of St Albans; though the coat-of-arms recorded as blazoned on his tomb does not agree with the arms of the English Mandevilles. I have not been able to find any record of the arms of the Irish Mandevilles. It would appear that this statement of Sir John is an attempt to establish an *alibi*.

It is certain that the Mandevilles of Twescard, North Antrim, murdered their lord, William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, in 1333 at the Ford where Belfast now stands[2]. The contemporary Grace[3] says that it was

[1] Mandeville, *Travels*, ed. by Sir George Warner, London, 1889 (Roxburghe Club); by P. Hamelius, Early Engl. Text Soc., 1923. Also article in the *Quarterly Review*, April 1917.
[2] *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, I (1853), p. 229.
[3] Grace, *Annals of Ireland*, ed. Butler, Dublin, 1842.

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Sir John Mandeville of Donnahir or Donnegore who struck the fatal blow. Donnegore is the hill overlooking the town of Antrim. Sir John had been summoned to the Irish Parliament in 1309 by the Viceroy, Richard Earl of Ulster; and on the death of this earl, Sir John was appointed sheriff of County Down (*Cal. Rot. Pat.*). Henry Mandeville as seneschal of Ulster made a truce with Robert Bruce, King of Scotland in 1327[1].

Sir John and Lord William de Burgh were captured by Edward Bruce in 1315 and sent prisoners to Scotland. After they had been released from captivity Lord William was imprisoned by his namesake the Earl of Ulster, and died in Green Castle as a result of this imprisonment. This fatal result caused the wife of Sir John to urge her husband to revenge the death of this brother of hers. Thus came about the murder of 1333, when Sir John struck down his relative. The Countess of Ulster fled to England in terror.

The Viceroy took measures, and the chroniclers say vaguely that he killed many of the Mandevilles. The inference seems to be that the actual murderer was not caught. He would therefore have to lie low, and the best way of doing that would be to take refuge among the Irish. The Mandevilles as a family or clan changed their name somewhere about this time—another significant fact—to MacUighlinn (now written MacQuillin)[2]. This is not really Irish, but means 'the descendants of little Hugh,' that is Hugh de Mandeville who held the Twescard lands in 1272. The MacUighlinns are not Irish. The Irish equivalent to Hugh is Aedh, which would not give the form MacUighlinn.

Evidently Sir John Mandeville got away ultimately from Ireland, because he was living in Liége when he wrote his romance. The murderers of the Earl of Ulster however were specifically excepted from general pardons for many years, so that he must have got away secretly. Did he go disguised as a pilgrim to the Holy Land? He says in his *Travels* that there were two Franciscan friars along with him when they came to a certain valley. One of his manuscripts says he set out to the Holy Land in 1322—the usual date; but another says 1332. Now 1322 is the date when Odoric de Pordenone set out, and Mandeville borrowed wholesale from him. Also the Franciscans Simon Semeonis and Hugh de Hibernia went in that year from Ireland. Why should Sir John fix upon that date for his romance? Was it not that he might plead an *alibi* if anyone accused him of the murder of ten years later? That is

[1] *Cal. Doc. relating to Scotland*, III, p. 167.
[2] Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, Oxford, 1920, p. 123.

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probably the reason too why he says boldly that he belonged to St Albans, although Warner cannot trace any such Mandeville of St Albans.

The danger was evidently real enough to the Mandevilles, as they were specially excepted from the general pardons of that generation. In 1338 Edward III granted to Hugh Byset certain lands in Glynairne in Ireland forfeited by Richard de Mandeville[1]. We also discover from a document in Rymer[2] further confirmation. This is an order from the King in 1347 to John Darcy, Constable of the Tower of London, about the custody of 'Walter de Mandeville de Hibernia, chivaler, in exercitu nostro ante villam de caleys certis de causis captum....'

The latest editor of Mandeville, Hamelius, demonstrates from the Latin text that the *Travels* were written about 1366, because the author speaks of the Treaty of Bretigny, 1360, by inference, 'Now, thirty-three years after my departure...the enmity of the two kings of England and France has been settled.' This exposes the 'lie' of the traveller who set out in 1322 (*sic*); or demonstrates that the date 1332 of his setting out for the Holy Land, in Sir John's other MS., is accurate, though his reference to the Treaty is not so careful; and it clinches the matter about the murder of the Earl of Ulster as being the real reason for this fiction about the date, for 1333 plus 33 years gives exactly the date fixed by Hamelius. Mandeville, then, gives himself away.

Sir John is said to have claimed on his death-bed that he was the Count de Montfort. He was descended from the FitzPiers (Mandeville) Earls of Essex, and was therefore related to the de Burghs who inherited the lands in Ireland that had been in the possession of FitzPiers (Mandeville)[3].

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WEST KILBRIDE.

THE 'VOYAGE À L'AVENTURE' IN THE 'TRISTAN' OF THOMAS.

In his Avant-propos, and in chapter VII of his Introduction, M. Bédier has clearly stated the principles which govern his reconstruction of Thomas[4]. This restitution, he says, works automatically whenever two or more of the five texts[5] agree against the others, provided that these

[1] *Cal. Doc. Scotland*, III, p. 232.
[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, III, pt i, London, 1825, p. 112.
[3] Dugdale, *Baronage*, I (1675), pp. 206, 392.
[4] *Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas, poème du XIIe siècle*, publié par Joseph Bédier (S.A.T.F.), I, Texte, 1902; II, Introduction, Paris, 1905.
[5] The Norwegian *Tristan-Saga*, Gottfried von Strassburg, *Sir Tristrem*, the Oxford *Folie Tristan*, and the *Tavola Ritonda*.

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others differ amongst themselves. But, almost in every page, we find that the three principal texts (the *Folie Tristan* and the *Tavola Ritonda* come only occasionally into consideration) give three different versions of the same episode. How are we to choose? The justice of our choice depends on the accuracy with which we can distinguish and define the methods and the style peculiar to each remanieur. Thus the agreement of Gottfried and *Sir Tristrem* against the saga, or of Gottfried and the *Folie Tristan* against the saga, or simply some consideration of logical probability, will induce us to restore certain traits in Gottfried to Thomas.

The saga is taken as the basis of the restoration. But, unfortunately, it is precisely at the critical points of the story—the *Voyage à l'aventure*, the drinking of the potion, the life in the forest—that the saga is most defective. This paper will take the first of these and examine Bédier's treatment of the problem it presents[1].

Tristan has killed the Morholt, brother to the Queen of Ireland, but in the combat is himself wounded with a poisoned spear. Despairing of cure—in Cornwall at least—he embarks in a vessel, and arrives eventually at Duveline.

Bédier has decided, after some discussion, that in Thomas Tristan was accompanied on this voyage by Governail at least. In the footnote[2] he mentions a crew also, which does not appear in the text. He advances three arguments in support of this view:

1[3]. The agreement of Gottfried with *Sir Tristrem*. In *Sir Tristrem*, Governail goes with Tristan in the boat; in Gottfried, Governail (Kurvenal) and eight sailors. The saga at this point is condensed and obscure. It mentions no companions when Tristan embarks, but it suddenly drops into the third person plural in its description of the voyage. The suggestion is that the author took this over carelessly from the French, forgetting that, as he had told the tale, Tristan was alone.

2[4]. When Tristan returns to Cornwall, it is on the same boat in which he left. The inhabitants recognise it on its approach[5]. If it were manned by an Irish crew, difficulties would have arisen over the embargo, and the secret of Tristan's nationality would have been known. This inconsistency can only be met by supposing that Tristan sailed in the first place with a crew from Cornwall.

3[6]. A reconstruction of Thomas's methods and motives in dealing with his original. In the *Estoire*, the voyage was undoubtedly a solitary

[1] Bédier, I, ch. XI.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 94, n. 5; pp. 95, 96, 'Montée par un équipage suffisant.'
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 94, n. 5.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 102.
[5] Saga, ch. XXXII; *Sir Tristrem*, ll. 1305–6.
[6] Bédier, I, p. 94, n. 5.

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drifting at the mercy of wind and tide, brought by chance or providence to a fortunate landfall at Duveline. Thomas, says Bédier, was embarrassed by the element of the miraculous in this account. For the rudderless boat he substitutes a comfortable vessel, well provisioned and adequately manned, and Governail accompanies his master. He cannot entirely reject the motif of the rudderless voyage, because he is still to a certain extent bound by the established tradition. He is content to invent a speech for the Morholt explaining to Tristan his sole chance of cure, and by this means to indicate a more rationalistic version of the story. He leaves Tristan's motives in embarking cleverly vague; so that his readers may either hold to the old tradition of the rudderless voyage, or else suppose that the hope of recovery held out by the Morholt prompted the whole journey to Ireland. The saga and *Sir Tristrem*, he continues, were either too careless or too indifferent to do anything but reproduce the ambiguity. Gottfried alone saw the device, and, not being tied like Thomas to the traditional version, suppressed the last traces of the *Voyage à l'aventure*.

Gottfried's version is as follows: Tristan had learned from the Môrholt before his death that Îsolt Queen of Ireland, and she alone, could cure his wound. He therefore set sail in a ship with Kurvenal and eight mariners sworn to obey his command; and, having gone out to sea, set his course for Develîn. In sight of the Irish coast, he arranged that he should be cast adrift at night alone in an open boat. He was discovered in the morning by the inhabitants of Develîn. He explained that he was a minstrel attacked by pirates, etc.[1]

It seems clear that Gottfried was struck by the beauty of Tristan's arrival in Ireland, drifting, wounded and solitary, in a rudderless boat, yet harping so sweetly in the still of the morning that everyone who heard paused to listen to him. Gottfried did not wish to lose the romantic effect of this incident. But at the same time he was a rationally-minded man—much more so than Thomas—and could not accept the whole tale of the *Voyage à l'aventure*. Bédier supposes that Gottfried found this version in Eilhart von Oberge, and proceeded himself to combine it with the more rationalised account of Thomas. But it seems to me that this view is inconsistent with Bédier's other theory summarised above. If Gottfried noticed and appreciated an ingenious device of Thomas for leaving the matter undecided, and, feeling himself freer than Thomas to use what version he pleased, deliberately chose the more romantic alternative in the interests of probability, it seems unlikely that

[1] Gottfried, ll. 6943–65 and 7235 ff.

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he should immediately turn to Eilhart, extract from him the very account he had rejected, and proceed to weave it back into the narrative. It is much more probable that what he found in Thomas was the old tale unaltered, and that he invented his own method of rationalising it without spoiling its climax. Moreover, in Bédier's reconstruction of Thomas, the old tradition is already irrevocably lost with the introduction of Governail and the ship's crew; and no amount of vagueness as to the motives of the trip can do more than make these companions useless and inexplicable.

This disposes also of the argument from the agreement of Gottfried and *Sir Tristrem*. Any number of independent remanieurs, rejecting the supernatural in this incident, are bound to have recourse to the same method, for there is only one alternative to a *navigation à l'aventure*. The version of the saga is too confused to be regarded as real evidence. And it is unsound to base any contention upon the assumption that Thomas was a realist, when the main proof of his realism must rest upon his treatment of this passage.

There remains Bédier's second argument. After all, the inconsistency is a minor one. Not one reader in a hundred would notice it, unless he were expressly looking for it. Bédier himself has convicted Thomas of a more serious lapse in the part of the poem which is extant[1].

Somewhere about the year 1270[2], a set of tiles was laid down in Chertsey Abbey representing some thirty-four scenes from the *Tristan* of Thomas. From their similarity to those in Westminster Abbey it is thought that they were the gift of Henry III to the foundation. Most of the fragments that have been recovered are deposited in the British Museum, and a number have been fitted together to form more or less complete tiles[3]. One of these represents the first voyage to Ireland. Tristan is alone in the boat. He is depicted worn by disease, in a reclining posture, playing on his harp. It appears therefore that in the thirteenth century readers of Thomas thought of Tristan as drifting to Ireland alone, at the mercy of the waves[4].

[1] Tristan is jealous of Cariados at a time when he could have no knowledge of that knight's attentions to Isolt (Thomas, l. 856; Bédier, I, p. 315, n.).

[2] W. R. Lethaby (*Annual of the Walpole Society*, II, London, 1913) gives the date as 1260–70; R. S. Loomis (*University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Urbana, II, no. 2) gives 1270 as within ten years.

[3] One tile is in the Ashmolean; others are said to be in the Surrey Archæological Society's museum at Guildford, on the chancel floor of the church of Little Kimble, Bucks, and in private hands. Reproductions are to be found in Manwaring Shurlock, *Tiles from Chertsey Abbey*, London, 1885, and R. S. Loomis, *The Romance of Tristan and Ysolt by Thomas of Britain*, New York, 1923.

[4] This evidence was first put forward by R. S. Loomis, *Sidelights on the Tristan of Thomas*, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, 1915, pp. 304 ff.

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A passage from the Oxford *Folie* tends to confirm this:

> ...Si ke quidoie ben murir.
> En mer me mis, la voil murir,
> Tant par m'ennuat le languir.
> Li venz levat, turment out grant,
> E chaçat ma nef en Irlant.
> Al païs m'estut ariver
> Ke jo deveie plus duter,
> Kar j'aveie ocis le Morholt:
> Vostre uncle fu, raïne Ysolt....[1]

Here definitely Tristan recalls how he put to sea seeking only death, but was driven against his will on a coast that he would fain have avoided. Thus there is a strong body of evidence in favour of the *Navigation à l'aventure*.

The upshot of it all is this: if we admit that Thomas preserved the miraculous element in the rudderless voyage, we weaken considerably the grounds upon which he has been judged a cold and logical materialist. My own inclination is to refer the rationalistic outlook, not to Thomas, but to his remanieurs—vaguely to Brother Robert, very definitely to Gottfried von Strassburg.

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HERALDRY AND THE 'TRISTAN' OF THOMAS.

There can be no question that, broadly speaking, reference to heraldic insignia or lack of reference to them may help to date a literary production in which knights appear, but, from the nature of the case, the armorial bearings being handed down from father to son, they can be of little help in deciding, for example, whether the *Tristan* of Thomas was written about 1170 as the consensus of opinion has hitherto been, or at some time about 1185, as Mr R. S. Loomis, basing his argument largely on the development of heraldry as represented in it, would have us now believe.

In a recent number of the *Romania*[2], Mr Loomis repeats substantially what he had said some years ago in the *Modern Language Review*[3]:

> It (the *Tristan* of Thomas) was certainly written when fully developed heraldic cognizances were in fashion, as is shown by the description of the shield of Tristan le Nain:
>
> Escu ot d'or a vair freté,
> De meime le teint ot la lance,
> Le penun e la conisance[4].

[1] Ed. J. Bédier, *Les deux poèmes de la Folie Tristan* (S.A.T.F.), Paris, 1907, p. 29 (ll. 342–350).
[2] LIII, Jan.–Avr. 1927, p. 100.
[3] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XVII, p. 26.
[4] Ed. Bédier, I, ll. 2182–4.

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On much fuller evidence than the single example of armorial bearings offered in the fragments of Thomas' *Tristan*, the same conclusion might be drawn in regard to the *Roman de Troie*:

7828 Ses armes erent a aigleaus
D'or esmeré en vert asis.
7756 Armes aveit a leonceaus
D'azur en or vermeil asis[1].

The repetition of the design even, is very definitely stated:

8065 En son escu n'ot qu'un lion,
Mais vermeuz fu, d'or environ;
Autreteus sont ses conoissances
Et les enseignes de ses lances.

Mr Loomis tries to support his position further by calling especial attention to the housing on the horse given, according to the Norwegian saga, to Tristan when he was knighted. On the strength of this housing, mentioned only by Robert writing at King Håkon's court in 1226, Mr Loomis would have this housing recorded in his original, Thomas's complete poem, believing that this fact would clinch his argument for its later date: 'The earliest known example of heraldic housings is 1178; and the earliest representation of such a multiplied armory known to me is in the *De Rebus Siculis* of Petrus de Ebulo which cannot be earlier than 1195[2].' Historians and artists follow actualities. In the *Roman de Troie*, which scholars are generally agreed was not written later than 1165, not only do we read of housings on the horses but of *connaissances* as well:

11133 La veisseiz maint heaume a or
E maint destrier baucenc e sor
Covert de riches dras de soie.
9538 Li bon cheval aragoneis
Sont tuit covert de conoissances[3].

That armorial bearings were found on both arms and housings is also evident:

7444 Beles armes e beaus chevaus
Orent, coverz de conoissances.

So far as heraldry is concerned, therefore, there is no proof that the *Tristan* of Thomas was written later than the *Roman de Troie*.

Again, we know that Chrétien's *Lancelot* was written between 1164 and 1173[4]. In this work, heraldry had also reached a high state of

[1] Ed. S.A.T.F.; cf. ll. 6721, 7715, 7815, 23858, etc.
[2] *Romania*, *loc. cit.*, p. 100.
[3] Cf. l. 11,111 and Glossary of S.A.T.F. edition, vol. v, *coverture*, *housse de cheval*, ll. 2366, 2479, 13,918, 22,655.
[4] Ed. Förster, p. xix.

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development. In the famous tourney in which Lancelot now outdid all the knights and now acted the veriest coward at the behest of Guenièvre, the knights are identified to the ladies by the devices on their shields:

5794 Celui a cele bande d'or
Parmi cel escu de bellic.
5798 Qui an son escu pres a pres
A paint une egle et un dragon?
5805 A cel escu vert d'une part,
S'a sor le vert paint un liepart
Et d'azur est l'autre meitiez.
5810 Et cil qui porte les feisanz
An son escu painz bec a bec.
5820 An son escu painte une porte
Si sanble qu'il s'an isse uns cers[1].

In *Cligés*, written certainly before the *Lancelot*, there is also evidence that heraldic devices were fashionable. When Cligés is knighted:

4030 A son col pant par les enarmes
Un escu d'un os d'olifant...
Ne n'i ot color ne painture,
Tote fu blanche l'armeüre.

And when he meets Lancelot:

4794 Cligés li va tel cop doner
Sor l'escu d'or a lion paint.

This last citation leads us naturally to say that it would be very strange if the two great lovers of Arthurian story should have had the same cognizance. If Lancelot's shield bore a lion, the boar, sacred to Diana, the goddess of the hunt, would be the most fitting device for Tristan, from early youth an expert in the chase. Robert in the Norwegian saga, having mentioned the housing embroidered with lions on the horse given to Tristan, the trappings with which he was doubtless familiar at King Håkon's court, could not then well say that the device on Tristan's shield was a boar, even if it were in his original, as we judge it was from Gottfried's version of it[2], so he says nothing about it. The lion appearing on the arms of England, we might well expect that, following the saga, the lion might be the device on Tristan's shield in the Middle English *Sir Tristrem* and the Chertsey Tiles. But, in the older *Tristan* of Thomas, the boar is indicated in the later development of the story, as Bédier points out[3]. The fact that it is a boar that Mariodoc saw in a dream assailing Mark when Tristan had slipped from his side in bed to seek Isolde, and that, in MS. 103 of the Bibliothèque Nationale

[1] Cf. ll. 5815, 5838 f.
[2] Line 4940, ed. Golther.
[3] *Roman de Tristan*, I, p. 61 n.

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of the romance in prose, Isolde sees in a dream *un grand sanglier qui la honnissoit toute* and recognises in it a presage of the death of Tristan, far outweighs, in our opinion, the evidence of the *Sir Tristrem* and the Chertsey Tiles, and prevents us from agreeing with Mr Loomis that he has proved that 'Thomas must have assigned to his hero the cognizance of a gold lion on a red field[1].'

LUCY M. GAY.

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

ST EDMUND'S 'MERURE DE SEINTE EGLISE.'

This Anglo-Norman version of the *Speculum Ecclesie* was published in 1923 from eighteen MSS.[2] Yet another has come to light in MS. 190 of St John's College, Oxford, which I have been permitted to examine. It is here entitled 'Sermon a dames religioses,' and forms part of the collection of prose sermons numbered 144 by Vising, in *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, p. 56.

The MS. is thirteenth-century. The *Merure* occupies ff. 186–95. Thirty-seven chapters are given in the preliminary list, but they are only numbered up to thirty-three in the text. No chapter-headings are given in the text except shortened ones for the Hours.

When compared with the printed text (based on MS. Digby 20), the MS. was found to follow, with some peculiarities, as in other MSS., the shorter versions of the Commandments, Articles of the Faith and Sacraments. There are also only six Works of Mercy. There is some variation, as in other MSS., in the treatment of the Seven Words. The Fourth is given in a mixture of Aramaic and Latin: 'Eloy, eloy, quare me dereliquisti?' The eighth chapter is omitted. (Cf. MS. 32 and many others.)

The other differences are minor ones. Naturally, 'soers,' and not 'freres,' are addressed, and in l. 241 'indignam ancillam tuam' is given instead of 'miserum peccatorem' (cf. MS. 42). At l. 245 no translation is given of the prayer. There is no 'tutoiement' towards the end of the text, but it is usually employed in translations of prayers. Scribal blunders are few, but increase slightly towards the end of the text. Except in the chapters mentioned, the correspondence between this MS. and the printed text is very close.

The MS. ends without the Latin prayer or any mention of the author, but it is followed by a few lines so erased as to be illegible, which may have referred to this text.

[1] Loomis, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XVII, p. 25.
[2] H. W. Robbins, *St Edmund's 'Merure de seinte eglise,'* Lewisburg, Minnesota, 1923.

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There is one small point in connexion with the text which does not appear to have been raised. It is generally supposed to have been written for the monks of Pontigny. But, in that case, St Edmund's references to God as 'vostre espus' have no sense. Perhaps, as in this MS., the *Merure* was originally written for, or preached to, nuns, or perhaps, as Dr Robbins has suggested, St Edmund was working up old material, and died before the final revision.

M. Dominica Legge.

Oxford.

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REVIEWS

The Collected Papers of Henry Bradley. With a Memoir by ROBERT BRIDGES. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928. x + 296 pp. 25*s*.

This handsome volume, produced in a style that only the Clarendon Press can achieve, conveys some idea of the extraordinary range of Bradley's interests and accomplishments, of the thoroughness of his scholarship, of the amazing instinct by which he often arrived at the truth, and solved, once for all, as by a flash of genius, problems which had perplexed generations of enquirers. The papers, of varying length, here reprinted, are grouped under the general headings Place-Names, Lexicography (including the famous 'notices' of the first section of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, published in the *Academy* in 1884, and several important etymologies from the *Dictionary* itself), Language, Literary Problems and Studies, and Conjectural Emendations. This last section contains proposed new readings in Hebrew and Arabic texts, in a Greek inscription, of a passage in Tacitus (*cis Trisantonam* for *castris Antonam*, the new form being identified with the name of the river *Trent*), besides various emendations in Old and Middle English texts. There are a number of articles and short notes in this volume which students will be glad to see republished, and brought together under one cover. They will also welcome the excellent and full bibliography of Bradley's reviews and articles at the end of the volume.

The Poet Laureate's account of Bradley's career as a scholar is deeply interesting, and if, after reading it, we are still left wondering how a man who had left school at about the age of fourteen, had then acted as an informal tutor and companion for four years to two boys slightly younger than himself, and who, finally, at the age of eighteen, became foreign correspondence clerk in a commercial firm in Sheffield and remained in this position for twenty years, could, suddenly, we might say, at the end of that time, take his place among the foremost scholars of his day, able to write contributions such as those which he immediately began to publish in the *Athenæum* and the *Academy*, we must suppose that the materials were lacking for an account of how means and opportunities were found for the profound and extensive studies which must have engaged the rare leisure of those laborious years. We should have been grateful could the veil have been lifted which enshrouds Bradley's life as a student between the ages of eighteen and thirty-eight, had we been permitted to catch some glimpses of the process whereby this remarkable mind was formed into the marvellous instrument that we know in later years, and been told how those vast stores of exact information were accumulated, which made their possessor a prodigy and a portent in his generation. From Dr Bridges' account of Bradley's boyhood, we can see the beginnings, and of the end we already knew something, but the middle period is almost a blank. At the age of four, it was found that

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the boy had taught himself to read by following the lessons at family prayers, seeing the Bible upside-down as he peered over the open page on his father's knees while standing in front of his chair! At Chesterfield Grammar School, his schoolfellows, among whom was the late Bishop Chavasse, were greatly impressed by the mass of information which he already possessed, by the ease with which he learnt his lessons and the excellence of his essays, no less than by 'his gentle manners, his patience, modesty and courage under physical disabilities.' Of Bradley's private studies during his first tutorship, when he was living in a farmhouse belonging to Dr Lennard of Sheffield which contained a good library, we learn a good deal from some old note-books, fortunately preserved. These notes include, in the words of Dr Bridges,

> facts of Roman history, scraps of science, lists of words peculiar to the Pentateuch or Isaiah, Hebrew singletons, the form of the verb *to be* in Algerine Arabic, bardic and cuneiform lettering, Arabisms and Chaldaisms in the New Testament, with vocabularies implying that he was reading Homer, Virgil, Sallust, and the Hebrew Old Testament at the same time. In another group the notes pass from the life of Antar ben Toofail by 'Admar' (apparently of the age of Haroun Al-rashid) to the rules of Latin verse, Hakluyt, and Hebrew accents, whereupon follow notes on Sir William Hamilton and Dugald Stewart, and a translation of a part of Aeschylus' *Prometheus*.

Truly a sufficiently full and varied programme for a boy between the ages of fourteen and sixteen! Thus early did Bradley begin to lay the foundations of his encyclopedic learning.

As we should expect, Dr Bridges' portrait of Bradley in his human relations is drawn with sympathy and insight. It is impossible not to be aware of the warm feeling underlying his restrained and perspicacious account of the man who for twenty years was his intimate friend. The intensity of Bradley's domestic affections, his loyalty to ancient friendships, his scrupulous insistence on fairness and justice as he saw them, his untiring search after truth on the moral no less than on the intellectual plane, are all set forth here so that no one will ever question them. Dr Bridges strikes a deeper note when he says:

> He once told me...that his impregnable faith in the spiritual governance of mankind was, he believed, mainly determined in him by his brave father's example, who, in the early Sheffield days, was living in poverty, having renounced his worldly prospects rather than trifle with his conscience....The significance of this strikes deep; he had come face to face with reality; and his faith in things unseen, and even in a future state, and his reasoned acceptance of Christ's teaching governed his life.

Dr Bridges very properly refers to the deep impression which Bradley made upon strangers who met him for a brief space and saw him at work. He mentions 'a Professor who said he had profited more by observing Bradley than by all his study of books,' and an American schoolboy who declared that his few minutes' conversation with him in the Old Ashmolean was his most remarkable experience in England, 'for,' said he, 'we have nobody like him in America.'

Bradley's influence on English studies may be said to have been world-wide. Quite apart from his work on the *Dictionary*, and from his numerous, all too brief articles, his advice was sought by his own country-

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men and by foreigners, and his knowledge and shrewd judgement were most freely at the service of serious enquirers.

There are few among the older students of English who did not, sooner or later, submit their problems, linguistic or literary, to him, and rarely did they consult him without evoking some luminous suggestion, some ingenious conjecture, or a reference to some source of information which they had either omitted to examine, or from which, under Bradley's guidance, they were able to derive fresh and unexpected light. Perhaps one of the most remarkable qualities in Bradley was the elasticity and youthfulness of his mind which enabled him, to the last, to take a lively and fruitful interest in new work and fresh points of view. The present writer will always remember with pleasure and gratitude the many visits which he paid to the Dictionary room to consult Bradley on some difficult specific problem, or to talk over some general question involving a principle of method. One always found him ready to apply his mind to the subject with which one was occupied for the moment, to discuss whatever difficulty one might be battling with, and to contribute generously towards its solution from the treasure-house of his learning and experience.

The good luck which so often brought what appeared to be complete corroboration of Bradley's ingenious conjectures is so astonishing that one cannot think of certain instances without a sympathetic chuckle.

He makes the suggestion, for instance, that the Place-name *Arundel* is not 'the dell of the Arun' at all, but derived from O.E. *hārhūndel*, fr. *hārhūne*, 'hore-hound,' basing the conjecture on the Domesday *Harundel*, and years afterwards a botanist observes that the plant *horehound* is abundant in the district of Arundel. He points out that the first element in *Dwaraden* is fr. O.E. *dweorga*, gen. pl. of *dweorg*, 'dwarf,' explaining the name by a reference to the old Scandinavian name for an echo, *dwergmāl*, 'voice of the dwarfs,' and sure enough it turned out that one of the most remarkable echoes in the country occurs at *Dwaraden*, a fact which, as Bradley told the present writer, he only ascertained after he had hit on the etymology and its probable explanation.

He rearranges the 'disjointed fragments'—his own words—of the *Testament of Love* in such a way as to form 'a consecutive and intelligible text.' Having rearranged as seemed to him good, he is 'naturally curious to see whether my transpositions rendered it possible to read the acrostic straightforward.' This acrostic had been discovered by Professor Skeat, and is formed by the initial letters of the sections. Professor Skeat taking the old order, and assuming an anagram in the concluding letters, had read *Margaret of virtu have merci on Kitsun*. When Bradley's rearrangement was complete the final letters read *T.H.I.N.V.S.K.*, otherwise *thīn Usk*. Bradley had long believed, on other grounds, that the *Testament* was the work of Thomas Usk who was beheaded in 1388.

It is pleasant to think of Bradley after the strain and anxiety of his early years, living in the peace and security of Oxford, engaged upon work which he was supremely well fitted to perform, and which was eminently congenial to his tastes, becoming ever more widely known

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to scholars throughout the world, loved and revered in a special way by a small but select band of friends, receiving ungrudging recognition from learned societies at home and abroad, and latterly enjoying unchallenged the position of dictator on all questions of philological learning. Of the many honours which fell to him during his later years, none, probably, was so highly prized, nor the source of so much delight, as the Fellowship conferred by Magdalen in 1916.

In concluding our observations upon this remarkable man, it is not uninteresting to speculate as to how it is that Bradley with all his extraordinary powers of mind, his vast stores of knowledge, his breadth of vision, and his grasp at once of detail and of general principles, has left no monumental systematic treatise on English philology as a whole, or, at least, upon some considerable sections of it. Instead of any such constructive consecutive work *à longue haleine*, he has left, apart from the volumes of the great *Oxford Dictionary*, a series of disconnected articles of varying length and degree of elaboration, and many brief notes—in fact a number of splendid unrelated fragments, and isolated efforts, which, brilliant and valuable as many of them are, cannot by any possibility be combined into an organic unity.

The explanation of Bradley's failure to produce a book proportionate in conception and scope to the qualities of his intellect and the range of his learning, must probably be sought partly in the natural bent of his genius, which inclined rather to the solution of isolated problems as these aroused his interest, than to the planning and carrying out of longer works with wider sweep and more complex structure. Bradley loved puzzles of all kinds for their own sake, and was perhaps sometimes lured, by the sheer delight he took in the actual process of unravelling mysteries, into bestowing upon questions of comparatively small moment an amount of time and labour out of proportion to the importance of the issue involved. To the solution of relatively small conundrums which occurred perhaps in the course of casual reading, he would bring all his heavy guns to bear, and exhibit an acuteness and nimbleness of mind, a clarity of judgement, a deftness of treatment, and a perfection of technique worthy of graver issues. The result was usually that the particular puzzle which had caught his roving fancy and insatiable curiosity was smoothed out in such a way that nothing more was left to be said about it for ever. This habit of mind may well have arisen from the circumstances of his early life, and the conditions under which his youthful studies were carried out. It was doubtless fostered by the nature of his chief occupation in later life.

In writing a dictionary the author is confronted, as word succeeds word, by series upon series of problems, or groups of problems, he passes from one conundrum to another, each equally unrelated to what has gone before and to what is about to follow. No sooner is one set of difficulties disposed of, than the mind is switched off on to something entirely different. In such a work as the *Oxford Dictionary*, the treatment of each word constitutes a monograph, separate and complete in itself, and the whole forms a series of separate and often disparate treatises.

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In a sense it is true, though he would not have admitted it, that Bradley was sacrificed to the *Dictionary*. For thirty years it absorbed his chief energies, and the character of its structure inevitably determined his habits of mind and directed his activities into particular channels.

To say this is not to belittle the *Dictionary*, which is so great that it does not 'abide our question.' Neither is it to disparage in the slightest degree the value of Bradley's work outside its pages. It is merely to indicate that the gain to English philology in one direction has been attended by loss in another.

H. C. WYLD.

OXFORD.

The Place-Names of Worcestershire. By A. MAWER and F. STENTON in Collaboration with F. T. S. HOUGHTON. (English Place-Name Society. Vol. IV.) Cambridge: University Press. 1927. xliv + 420 pp. 20*s*.

As this is the fourth volume of English Place-Names that has been published there is no need for it to be introduced, nor is there any necessity to praise the labour and the scholarship of the writers. This volume in no way falls below the high standard reached by the other three, in fact each succeeding volume must gain something from the work put into the previous ones, and from knowledge gained by comparison and by cumulative evidence; we have therefore in the *Worcestershire Place-Names* a book remarkable for the interest it arouses and the accuracy it possesses.

The compilers of these volumes of the English Place-Name Society, taking the names of place, field and farm and presenting to us the history of those names, give us material that is personal, practical and significant. Who has not heard of Pershore and the Malvern Hills or the Vale of Evesham? Yet until we have explored past times how little do we realise the full significance of a town, why it is in a certain position (*v.* 'Stratford, "Road-ford." This carries the Saltway or Worcester-Tewkesbury road over Ripple Brook'), why it has grown, what factors in its life have been strong, what have been fruitful, etc. It is in the place-names that many of the clues to life in the past are to be found; thus we read 'Wadborough, "woad-hill," cf. *wadbeorh* in Cutsdean, *wadbeorges* in Tredington, *wadland* in Hallow, *wadleage*, *wadleahe*, *waddene*, Odell (Beds), Woodhill (W) and Waddicar (La), all with the same first element. These names... would point to the cultivation of woad in O.E. times.' It is obvious that such corroboration is almost essential if we are to discover the truth about the history of our country—it is of utmost value; similarly certain historical facts can be discovered only through the place-names; for instance, we read 'Walcot, "Cottage(s) of the Britons" or "of the serfs." This is another example of the fairly common occurrence of Waltons and Walcots in the neighbourhood of important settlements.' Or again, 'Finstall... the term *vinstal* or *finstal* is explained by an entry in the Charter Rolls (1328) in which Peter de Stodleye

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grants to the canons of Witton in Droitwich two *salinæ*, i.e. brine-pits, and a *finstallus*, i.e. a place for heaping firewood, from O.E. *fīn*, "heap of wood," and *steall*.'

The English Place-Name volumes reveal to us that the names of our English countryside—of road, coppice, hill and dale—are not mere labels, like auctioneers' numbers on some homeless furniture, but are a heritage from the past, and so must not be altered just to please any passing whim; for imagine the consternation that would ensue were the name of Winchester to be changed to—say—Chicago or Clacton. Such an event is impossible to those who know that

> The sign-posts on the roads towards my home
> Bearing familiar names....

tell us also of attractive associations with the past and with the countryside; for in the meaning of the names we can perceive how the countryman's life—the life of the rank and file who are the makers of the names—is bound up with the trees, with *ac* and *asc* and *þorn* ('Rashwood...an estate...in which ash-trees grew.' 'Thorne, "Thorntree hill."...Thorn trees or bushes were very commonly used as boundary marks'); and bound up with the beasts ('Brockhill Farm, "Badger hill"'; 'Gadfield Elm, "Open land of the goats"'); with the woods and the hills and the streams ('Tuts hill, "Look-out hill"; Larford, "Ford where the yellow iris grows"; Merry Brook, "Boundary-stream"; Timberhanger, "Wooded slope from which timber is taken"'). We can perceive, too, biological principles underlying the ways of men, their occupations and activities. Such, for instance, as the persistence of a custom: let us take as an example that still prevalent tendency of the English to push out just a little further than the last man, and to stake out a little claim apart, independent and isolated, a habit that has done so much to characterise a typical English landscape. Surely this pioneering trait is not a modern fashion, but may be read into the evidence supplied by the place-names. For Professors Mawer and Stenton tell us that in Worcestershire the West Saxons pushed up from the south, and Anglian settlers and leaders drifted in from the east and north-east, and that 'the local nomenclature of Worcestershire is that of a region in comparative isolation'; now it appears from the large number of places bearing Anglo-Saxon personal names and the large number connected with places with names meaning a clearing (Beoley, 'Bee-clearing,' i.e. where they often swarm); a nook (Halesowen, 'Nooks' of land; Owen from Owen, a Welsh prince who marries a sister of Henry II); a corner (Hook), or isolated dwelling place, that these early settlers most likely came in gradually along the river plains, family by family perhaps, each little group of peoples making their own clearing and enclosure (*v.* Cutpursey Coppice, 'Cuðbeald's enclosure') on the edge of the forests where the hills begin to rise away from the meandering river levels, there building their stockades (*v.* Stockton-on-Teme, 'Enclosure made of stocks or stumps') and their log-walled homes from which they hunted in the woods (*v.* Hawkley, 'hawks clearing'; Hartle, 'Hart-hill'), pastured their animals in the rich river meadows and fished in the Severn or the Stour.

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To appreciate the quality and the nature of the effort that has gone to the compiling of such a volume as this, one must read between the lines, one can then estimate the enormous amount of careful work that has been done by Professors Mawer and Stenton and by the keen and industrious men and women who have helped them; and one can also understand how the philologist has worked back through the variant spellings, testing the continuity of the word, so arriving at a reliable form to supply the meaning of the name; for instance, he traces the name Offerton Farm back through the sixteenth century to *Auferton* and *Alfreton*, through the thirteenth to *Alcrentone*, *Alfverton*, *Alcretun*, *Alreton*, *Alchrinton*, and through the eleventh to *Alcrintun*, *Alðryðetune*, and finally to *Alhðretune*, and thus arrives at the meaning: 'farm of a woman called *Ealhthryth*.' Or, perhaps, when philology is uncertain, he takes a fresh bearing and turns to evidence outside the word's history and tests the results of philology by examining the physical features of the locality, for instance 'Tanwood... *Twynewood* 1291, *Twenewode* 1290. This house is between two woods and that is doubtless the origin of the name, it is "(be)tween woods"'; or 'Oughton Wells. Houton. It is difficult to say if this is a genuine *hōh-tūn*, "hill-farm," or derives its name from someone bearing the name *Houghton* derived from some place elsewhere. It lies about a third of a mile south-south-west of Alfrick Church on the edge of a promontory enclosed by the 300 ft. contour, so that topographically the first solution is quite possible.' Thus the philologist seeks for corroborative or conflicting evidence. Similarly he supports or disproves his conjectures by turning to the old written records to see if they mention any personal name connected with the locality, thus 'Wribbenhall.... The first element in this name furnishes a difficulty but it becomes somewhat clearer if we bring it into relation with certain other names. In the neighbouring parish of Wolverley we find in the Subsidy Rolls of 1275 and 1327 personal names containing the place-name *Wrobbecumbe* or *Wrybbecumbe*. This place must have been named from someone bearing the same name as the founder of Wribbenhall.... All these names point to an O.E. personal name *Wrybba*.' All this kind of work which needs people on the spot to verify local pronunciations, local names, topographical features and old documents can only be performed by team-work, and obviously the value of this volume on Worcestershire is enhanced by the generous endeavours of a number of people, the preface to the volume attests to the loyal team-spirit which has made possible such a full and useful work.

P. Gurrey.

London.

What is Rhythm? By E. A. Sonnenschein. Oxford: B. Blackwell. 1925. 228 pp. 10*s*. 6*d*.

After the uproarious fun to which Saintsbury treated us in his great *History of English Prosody* we find the manner of the sterner purists of both sides a trifle dull. Perhaps they are right. Perhaps one should not

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introduce fun into a subject which pretends more and more to the dignity of a science, and in any case few writers can reconcile high spirits and hard common sense in the delightful manner of Professor Saintsbury.

Professor Sonnenschein's book, or—as he modestly calls it, essay—is one more round in the eternal conflict of the English metrists. The argument is conducted with great courtesy, and, for such a teasing subject, with admirable clearness. His system belongs frankly to what the older school of Gosse and Saintsbury called 'fancy' systems, being based more or less scientifically on phonetics and the use of the kymogram. One may recall the amusing rage of Saintsbury at the mere mention of such instruments of the devil, and his dogmatic assertion, 'You will gain nothing from Phonetics—which, if they are concerned with anything real at all, are concerned with real things previous to the primary process of prosody itself.' Again, 'always it is the result to the ear which decides.' To do Professor Sonnenschein justice (and to prove that there is not so much distance between those gladiators after all), the rights of the ear are fully protected in *What is Rhythm?* There is an appeal from the microphone and other inventions. Professor Sonnenschein admits that his classification of English syllables into longs and shorts would have been impossible but for a 'psychological principle which I believe to be of the utmost importance in all enquiries as to syllable-measurement in any language. What we are concerned with in rhythm is the effect of sounds or groups of sounds upon the ear; the question, therefore, is not as to the duration of syllables *per se*, but as to the impression of duration which they produce upon the mind of the observer.' A groan must have broken from the kymogram at these treasonable words which give the enemies of the 'system' all they want!

There are roughly three schools of English metrists. There are the fanatics of both sides, the asserter of absolute syllabic values and the accentualist pure and simple who counts by accents. It is easy for the opponents of the latter system to represent it as indifferent to the matter that intervenes between the stressed syllables. It is easy for any school of prosodists to ridicule any other! Then there are the more normal people who hold that the foot's the thing, though not denying a strong accentual element also. Professor Sonnenschein would call it rather the 'pseudo-foot,' for he perceives that even when, as with Saintsbury, the greatest deference is paid to classical prosodic measures, such as iamb, dactyl, anapaest, etc., its lines of demarcation are determined by the stresses and not by the duration of groups of syllables as in the prosody of the ancients. His system would insist on this element of duration in time (which is fundamental to his definition of rhythm), and this enforces on him the formidable task of proving that English vocables have a determinate and comparatively constant duration. Hence the kymogram. The machine settles the matter—the phoneticians are with him—'the distinction which is commonly drawn between "short vowel-sounds" and "long vowel-sounds" is founded upon fact.' We agree however with Professor Saintsbury that the real trouble is only begin-

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ning. 'The subject of prosody begins where the question of what constitutes prosodic material leaves off.' In a language like English, whose pronunciation fluctuates so painfully, can we trust the reading of the most cultured reader?

Professor Sonnenschein's is a gallant and conscientious attempt to get back to the absolute syllabic values which formed the basis of ancient metric. I think it fails. I think Saintsbury's prosody, with its liability to be represented as not a system, but a crude systematisation of exceptions to a supposed system, is more English, and indeed more sensible.

G. KITCHIN.

EDINBURGH.

The Reule of Crysten Religioun. By REGINALD PECOCK. Edited by WILLIAM CABELL GREET. (Early English Text Society; Original Series, No. 171.) London: H. Milford. 1927. xxxi + 539 pp. 35*s.*

Dr Greet's heroic edition of the *Reule* may not find many readers, but is heartily welcomed by the few who care for that astonishing exponent in the vulgar tongue of fifteenth-century philosophy and theology, Bishop Reginald Pecock. The Carfax bonfires seem to have left only six of those numerous treatises (closely inter-related) which formed Pecock's *summa theologica*, and the manuscript of each is unique. Until Dr Greet's edition of the Pierpont Morgan manuscript appeared, the *Reule* was practically unknown in England, students here having to rely on Gairdner's description, and on the *Donet*, a key to the *Reule*, which covers in conciser form some of the same ground. We owe Dr Greet a debt, not only for the *Reule* itself, but for his enhancement of the value of previous editions of Pecock's other works, in which references to the *Reule* abound.

The *Reule* sets out to deal with the Seven Matters, familiar to readers of the *Donet*: four only are treated, the manuscript being imperfect. There is a pleasant Entry, in dream setting, a vision of fair ladies offering to demonstrate theological truths, and sweetening their offer with kiss and embrace. The moral anatomy is tough reading, made more so by Pecock's characteristic involved style and love of subtleties, but we are guided through by Dr Greet's careful marginal summary and adequate index.

Considering the amount of labour this long text has involved, it seems unmannerly to suggest more. Head-lines and line-numbers to the text, and line-references in the glossary would have been an improvement. It is to be hoped that, at some future time, Dr Greet will develop further his notes on Pecock's religious standpoint and relation to Thomas Aquinas. The meticulous critic would find the list of errata incomplete. The text has been very carefully considered; but *templid* for 'temple' (p. 210 and glossary) and *witnessith* as infinitive (p. 231) are surely errors: even if they are in the manuscript, they must be due to *offrid* and *folewith*

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in the immediate context. In a few instances a meaning given in the glossary might be questioned: *azenstonde* is 'withstand,' 'resist,' rather than 'endure'; *morously* is a forceful word, 'painfully,' 'with difficulty,' not simply 'slowly.' But I have not noted any error or omission of serious moment in this excellent edition.

ELSIE V. HITCHCOCK.

LONDON.

The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell. Edited by H. M. MARGOLIOUTH. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927. xi + 347 pp. and vi + 373 pp. 31*s.* 6*d.*

'Marvell's reputation has risen rapidly in recent years.' These are the first words that greet us on the wrapper of this nobly produced edition of Marvell's poems and letters, and they stir in us some sympathy for the editor and some amusement at the effort of the Clarendon Press to ape the latest methods of publicity. This remarkable paragraph closes with the solemn assurance that 'both poems and letters have an especial appeal to Yorkshiremen'—a form of territorial appeal better suited for parody than for serious imitation. The greatness of Marvell is no recent discovery, nor is it the possession of a single county. While the eighteenth century produced the first two attempts at a collected edition of his works, it was Marvell's misfortune to be omitted from the booksellers' list of poets that determined the contents of Johnson's *Lives*. Thus it was that Marvell, like so many others of his age, awaited rediscovery and appreciation until the opening years of the next century. Campbell, Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt and Lamb all have their share in this meritorious service. To be quoted by Elia meant immortality, but it is worth remembering that Hazlitt's selection of Marvell's poems has for the most part been followed and endorsed by all subsequent anthologists. It may fairly be argued that Marvell's reputation as a poet was fixed a century ago, and is the product neither of centenary enthusiasm nor of a revived interest in metaphysical poetry.

Mr Margoliouth's first volume aims 'at giving a trustworthy text of Marvell's verse and a complete commentary.' Although his corrections of previous editions are not very numerous, there can be nothing but praise for this scholarly and laborious recension of the text, especially of the satires, where the work involved a large amount of manuscript collation. To fix the text and the canon of Marvell's poetry is attended by insuperable difficulties, but Mr Margoliouth for the first time has provided the full materials for future editorial judgement. His success in giving us a trustworthy text may be readily granted, and this painstaking accuracy is the most valuable feature of both volumes. His attempts to settle the canon are less satisfying and convincing. *The Kings Vowes*, which Grosart classed as 'unauthenticated,' is here included in the text, but only apparently for the reason that Grosart's particular objection cannot be substantiated. When he comes to annotate the poem

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which he has canonised, Mr Margoliouth's confidence forsakes him, and we are told that 'there is no strong reason for attributing it to him.'

In a special appendix Mr Margoliouth reprints for the first time, from the unique copy at Worcester College, *An Elegy on the Death of my Lord Francis Villiers*. The poem, which is worthy and seemingly characteristic of Marvell, is ascribed on the sole authority of George Clarke, a noted bibliophile and benefactor of Worcester College, who died in 1736. The ascription at present rests on Clarke's reputation for accurate scholarship, and that this is high is proved in an interesting note contributed by Mr C. H. Wilkinson, the librarian of Worcester College.

Of Mr Margoliouth's commentary on the poems it is not possible to speak so highly. To a singular degree he seems to be paralysed by the effects of his own self-denying ordinance to refrain from anything approaching literary criticism. For that, we are told, we must wait for M. Pierre Legouis' literary and biographical study of Marvell. To the reader of the present volumes this is a source of legitimate irritation and dissatisfaction, for when he turns to the commentary for help in interpretation he will find nothing but a brief biographical or textual note. It must be confessed that a great part of Marvell's poetry is in itself arid and uninteresting, so that this limited type of comment is particularly unfortunate and the editor renders no help to his author. In the very few instances where he departs from his self-imposed restriction he is not always convincing. We cannot accept as adequate the following comment on 'To a green thought in a green shade': 'may be taken as meaning either "reducing the whole material world to nothing material, i.e. to a green thought," or "considering the whole material world as of no value compared to a green thought."' If this be the meaning, and we confess to finding the comment more elusive than the text, then the great lines must be added to the melancholy list of far-fetched conceits of which Johnson would have said that the wit was not worth the carriage. Mr Margoliouth observes that 'no two people will agree on what exactly does and does not require annotation.' But we are quite sure that more than two people will consider it needless to be given notes such as '*but* = only,' and may regard it as untimely levity to be referred from one note, reading '*Skipper*: cf. *Character of Holland*, l. 93 and note' to another, reading '*Skipper*: Dutch *schipper*, a shipmaster.'

Of Marvell's letters only thirty-two have much claim to the title or have any literary significance. The remaining three hundred and sixty-three are official documents addressed to the Corporation and to the Trinity House of Hull. Mr Margoliouth has laid all historians at least under a debt of gratitude for this careful transcription from the originals at Hull and for his highly successful endeavour to explain the innumerable and intricate allusions. Marvell, who, as one of the members for Hull, was paid six-and-eightpence a day for his attendance in the House, seems to have done his utmost to justify his salary. He wrote, often nightly, a report of the proceedings of the day to the Mayor and Corporation whom he addresses as 'Gentlemen my very worthy friends.' For the

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most part the letters are 'cruel dull and dry' except to the historian, and it is all too rarely that he indulges the Corporation with a jest or a bit of scandal. It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that Marvell is sometimes laughing up his sleeve, as when he assures the aldermen that ''tis much refreshment to me after our long sittings daily to give you account what we do.' Perhaps his assiduity as a correspondent accounts for his notorious silence as a member: 'it is hard for me to write short to you. It seems to me when I have once begun that I am making a step to Hull and cannot easily part from so good company.' There are only a few needles of wit in a haystack of official intelligence, and the letters rank with Lamb's ledgers among the tragedies of wit and genius. But they do throw considerable light on the character of the writer. The author of the most romantic poems of his century had, to use the most charitable terms, an extraordinarily matter-of-fact side to his character, and it is impossible not to share Grosart's wonderment at the manner in which he reported to his constituents the posthumous indignity to his former friend and hero, Cromwell. ''Tis orderd that the Carkasses and coffins of the foure last named [Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton and Pride] shall be drawn, with w^{t} expedition possible, upon an hurdle to Tyburn, there be hangd up for a while and then buryed under the gallows.'

There is very little of critical interest in Marvell's letters, but on one occasion he expresses sharp disapproval of the untimely use of 'wit.' He condemns a poem on the Great Fire by a clergyman on the ground of its containing 'wit and conceit more than becomes the gravity of the author or the sadness of the subject.' By a happy chance he gives us one fine example in his letters of wit being used with supreme dignity and pathos. The passage occurs in a letter of condolence to Sir John Trott on the untimely death of his two sons.

> I know the contagion of grief, and infection of Tears, and especially when it runs in a blood. And I my self could sooner imitate then blame those innocent relentings of Nature, so that they spring from tenderness only and humanity, not from an implacable sorrow. The Tears of a family may flow together like those little drops that compact the Rainbow, and if they be plac'd with the same advantage towards Heaven as those are to the Sun, they too have their splendor: and like that bow while they unbend into seasonable showers, yet they promise that there shall not be a second flood.

Here surely we have the 'witty delicacy' of Lamb's inimitable phrase.

While his letters give a very inadequate measure of Marvell's excellence as a prose writer, they contain many fugitive hints of what they might have been had they not been addressed to a Corporation and a Trinity House. Specially interesting is Marvell's occasional use of colloquial speech. 'The Earl of Pembroke marryed to Madame Querrouals sister. The King gives 10000^{li} first peny.' This appears to be a rare use of the last expression in the sense of an instalment. Again, speaking of Samuel Hartlib's defaulting son, he tells us 'he hath a moneth ago shot the pit,' a vivid metaphor from a craven cock that bolts from the fight. And referring to the angry Commons who had to obey the Speaker's ruling, he observes, 'those that were not pleased with it are displeased, and may

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turne the buckle of their girdle behind them,' bringing to mind a long misunderstood phrase in *Much Ado*. Surely all these expressions deserved a place in Mr Margoliouth's commentary. It is the absence of such things that creates a sense of disappointment with these volumes and is apt to blind one a little to the labour and the erudition plentifully displayed.

J. H. LOBBAN.

LONDON.

Smollett as Poet. By HOWARD SWAZEY BUCK. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. xiv + 93 pp. 7*s*.

The resurrection of dead poets proceeds apace: and in these days it were wiser to be grateful that poetry receives such acknowledgment at all, than to scan too curiously the motive of posthumous honours. Smollett was one of those who pinned his early faith to the Muse, and cherished it obstinately through long years of 'chopping for the bright stream a channel grand,' but for whom the means in fact destroyed the end. The long pursuit of prose (sedulously avoided by Tennyson), if it did not incapacitate, at least took from him will and opportunity, for poetry; and it is his fame as novelist that now preserves his verses. Professor Buck's position, no less than his previous *Study in Smollett*, guarantees his fitness to collect and assess the *disjecta membra*, or at least to add ornament and inscription to the modest monument long since reared by others. We already knew of: (*a*) separately published (4): *The Tears of Scotland* (? July 1746); *Advice, a Satire* (Aug. 1746); *Reproof, a Satire* (Jan. 1847); and the *Ode to Independence* (posth. 1773); (*b*) embedded in the novels (9): in *Roderick Random*, 1748, the burlesque lines by Narcissa's aunt, two poems 'to Celia' (Narcissa), and Melopoyn's verses to 'Monimia' known as a *Love Elegy*: in *Peregrine*, 1751, a third to Celia, satirical stanzas on tutor Jumble (ch. 22), stanzas to the Lady of Quality (ch. 96), and the unfortunate parody of Lyttelton's *Monody* (ch. 102, 1st ed.): in *Humphry Clinker*, 1771, only the *Ode to Leven Water*; (*c*) four nautical songs in his farce, *The Reprisal*, 1757: and four others in *The British Magazine*, 1760, under his own editorship, *Blue Ey'd Ann*, *Ode to Sleep* (assigned by Professor Buck to his lost libretto *Alceste*), *Ode to Mirth* (also early), and the song 'To fix her—'twere a task as vain'; (*d*) his blank-verse tragedy, *The Regicide*, published at last 1749.

All these Professor Buck's essay now brings into right relation to his life and his novels; while he adds, on what seem very reasonable grounds, four more from *The British Magazine*, 1760—a 'Pastoral Ballad,' a 'political trifle' in anapaests, 'The Junto,' some blank verse lines, 'Morning in Spring,' and an 'Ode to Wolfe, written after the reduction of Lewisburg,' i.e., 1758. He prints all but 'The Junto' for us to judge; and also, of those known, *The Tears of Scotland* and the *Leven Water*, while giving extracts from several others.

We trust it is no obliquity of vision that makes us feel even Professor Buck's quite modest estimate of the more serious efforts a trifle above

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their deserts. The *Leven Water* found a place in the *Oxford Book of Verse*, and derives a pathos from the circumstance of an old man stricken with mortal illness turning back, as he indites his masterpiece in a far country, to his earliest home. But no knowledge of 'Butcher Cumberland's' excesses lifts, for us, *The Tears of Scotland* above a rather commonplace level of expression; the 'Morning in Spring' fragment, quite good in expression, is too exactly in the manner of Thomson, with his fault of a too frequent pause at the fourth or sixth, rather than third, fifth or seventh syllable; and the *Ode to Independence* (fully given in Chambers), in spite of its vigorous opening and fourth and fifth sections, is not very well managed. The distinction between Liberty the mother and Independence the daughter is unreal, or should be reversed; the right relation between strophe and antistrophe is not maintained; and, with all its ingenuity of matter and excellent vocabulary, it lacks the controlling grasp of Gray's Odes. Imitation in poetry is both fitting and inevitable; but, where closest, should also rival, and differentiate. Perhaps the 'Monimia' verses of *Roderick Random*, ch. LXI, though more conventional in diction, are the happiest in effect and in design. But we have no wish to cavil at a serviceable and informing treatise.

R. WARWICK BOND.

NOTTINGHAM.

The Man of Feeling. By HENRY MACKENZIE. Edited by HAMISH MILES. London: The Scholartis Press. 1928. 208 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This attractive edition of *The Man of Feeling* is welcome, for the book has not been republished since its inclusion in Routledge's *New Universal Library* in 1906. The typography and general make-up of this new edition are of the high standard that one has learnt to expect from the Scholartis Press, and Mr Miles' able Introduction gives all that is needed. A short biographical sketch of Mackenzie is followed by an appreciation of his work and of his position in relation both to the 'sentimental' movement and to eighteenth-century 'enlightenment'; short hand-lists are added for the guidance of those who wish to study the author further. Mr Miles brings out clearly the imitative nature of Mackenzie's genius, and discusses the nature of his 'sentiment'; it may be remarked, however, that he does not seem to appreciate the humorous intent of the 'Index of Tears Shed' in Henry Morley's edition. Reference might also have been made to the similar work of Baculard D'Arnaud in France; the hero of *Anne Bell* who faints with ecstasy at the accidental touch of his lady's hand, or the other hero who has a sound leg amputated to satisfy the delicacy of a heroine who refuses to believe that a man could love a wife with one leg, would have afforded an interesting comparison with Harley.

The text has been printed from the edition of 1773 rather than from the first edition (1771)—a choice for which there is better justification than the 'certain modifications of spelling and punctuation' mentioned in the Preface; there are corrections also in grammar and phraseology in the 1773 text. Such changes as 'fallow-ground' for 'lee-ground,'

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'fatter than I' for 'fatter than me,' 'nauseated listlessness' for 'listless nausea,' 'the echo of its own croaking' for 'the echo which its croaking caused'—to mention only a few—point to a definite revision by the author. Moreover, the modernisation of the text is not always consistent: several speeches on p. 45 are left without quotation marks; 'inquire' is changed to 'enquire' on p. 202, but 'inquired' is left on p. 203. There are also definite misprints: for example, p. 102, 'as noted sharpers...as in any town' for '...as any in town'; p. 104, '?' for '!'; p. 204, 'a languid colour reddened her cheek' for '...his cheek'; p. 205, 'I had time to meet!' for 'I had time to weep!' Not one of these can be supported by either the 1771 or the 1773 text, though the last, oddly enough, appears in other modern reprints.

H. WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

LONDON.

Syntaxe historique du Français. Par K. SNEYDERS DE VOGEL. 2e édition, revue et augmentée. Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1927. viii + 443 pp. 7 f. 90.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1919 and was not reviewed in this journal; the publication of the second edition affords an opportunity of making good this omission. The new book is some fifty pages longer than the old (viii + 390 pp.), but the use of a clearer, though less distinctive type, giving much fewer words to the page accounts for most of the extra space. Though the pages differ, the paragraphs are identically numbered, and despite numerous retouches in the way of additions, omissions and occasional rearrangement, identical in content. I have noted seven new paragraphs (e.g., 184 *bis*) of less than three pages all told. Though most of the readjustments have been successfully made, references to the old pagination have occasionally survived, and in one case the insertion of a new paragraph has given us two sections with the same number (268 *bis*). But these are trifles. It is a more serious disfigurement when the additions are, as is sometimes the case, irrelevant or misleading[1].

The book, therefore, remains fundamentally the same and has the same merits and demerits as its predecessor. Its merits are numerous and substantial. Though avowedly only a manual, and so laying little claim to offer the results of independent investigation, it supplies, in footnote form, an excellent bibliography for students with a taste for more satisfying fare than a manual can provide. It has a rich array of examples, of all periods. It gives generous, almost over-generous, room to Latin syntax, makes passing reference to kindred Romance pheno-

[1] Thus: P. 22, 'prendre plus *de* part,' in a quotation from Barrès, where *de* has been inserted for reasons of style, is given as illustrating the survival of older expressions in which the use of *de* is explained by the presence of a negative. P. 26, one fails to see how the new paragraph on epithets (e.g., *Raoul Bon-Voisin*) illustrates 'the omission of the indefinite article in apposition.' P. 65, the example from Barbusse is inappropriate: in 'la tragédie *d'elle* et *de moi*' we have more than simple possessives. P. 142, the new section 187 *bis* concerns morphology and is out of place in a chapter upon agreement between verb and subject.

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mena, and draws occasional illumination from the *Atlas Linguistique* and the modern dialects. For a teacher engaged in textual commentary it provides in a clear, compendious and convenient form a great deal of illustrative matter.

What are its defects? Some of them, as the author himself would be the first to admit, are inherent in the nature of the task. It is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to write a history of French syntax that can in any sense be called complete. Thus it is that, while certain phenomena are treated at length, others, just as important but less fully explored, are perforce dismissed in a few lines. In some cases we move along well-traced chronological pathways, in others we must make shift with one or two straggling landmarks. It is not entirely the fault of the author if, at times, 'Histoire' becomes 'Causerie historique' and a vague 'dans la vieille langue' sums up the past.

Other defects lie more nearly at his door. We miss a guiding principle, some pervading doctrine, throughout this maze of facts. If any can be detected, it is, judging by the place given to Latin, the permanency of Latin modes throughout the matter of Romance. But, as a fellow-Dutchman[1] has recently emphasised, this is a poor guide to the appreciation of what is characteristic or distinctive in modern or mediæval French. But it is doubtless too early to attempt that history of French syntax which will show the gradual marking of the French impress upon inherited stuff and make us feel in what respect that impress is French and not Macedo-Rumanian. Before 'Der französische Geist im Spiegel der Wortstellungslehre' can be written (to parody the title of a brilliant book of Vossler's), monographs of the type of M. Foulet's in the *Romania*, which trace the growth of some particular turn of speech throughout the centuries, will have to be multiplied. 'Chaque mot a son histoire,' Gilliéron used to say, with real if somewhat unjustified disdain for the pure phonetician and the maker of etymological dictionaries; 'Chaque tour a son histoire' would seem a fitting pendant to this dictum, in matters of syntax.

The present work takes as its framework the time-honoured grammatical categories: one chapter to each part of speech, except the adverb and the interjection, a separate chapter on the numerals, on negation, and on word-order, making ten chapters in all. Within this framework there is ample scope for criticism. The substantive is dismissed in three pages. If we wish for information, for example, upon the old use of the objective as a possessive, we must search in the chapter upon word-order, while apparently no mention at all is made of the Old French use of the objective without preposition as a dative. The omission of the adverb is difficult to account for; a discussion of the syntax of O.F. *moult*, of *beaucoup*, *très*, *même*, *assez*, etc., would have been more appropriate in a history of syntax than many of the remarks concerning, for example, the prepositions *apud* and *contra*, which are largely semasiological. The chapter on prepositions makes no mention of the use of *à* and *de* with

[1] M. De Boer, in *Revue de Linguistique romane*, juillet-décembre, 1927.

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verbs; it gives us merely a list of prepositions with historical accompaniment, and the list is incomplete[1].

But to base a history of syntax almost entirely upon the inherited categories of the grammarians is in our view not only unambitious, but also unscientific. For the sake of obvious commodities of arrangement, it tends to do violence to the living stuff of language, and sacrifices interpretation and real understanding to the mechanics of classification and pseudo-scientific tabulation. The author is, of course, aware of the arbitrariness of the grammatical categories, but not sufficiently so to escape from the rigidity which his method of treatment tends continually to impose. One suspects, indeed, that enumeration and classification are more congenial to him than analysis or dissection of the facts of language. For him *qui* is, and remains, a relative pronoun, but for the user of French it is also *qu'y* and *qu'il* (pronounced *ki* before a consonant), and this simple fact is of more importance in accounting for some of the vagaries of popular French syntax in relative clauses than any discussion of the functions of the ancestral Latin pronoun. As for the multifarious *que*, no study of its Latin ancestor or ancestors will throw much light on the present-day functions of this linguistic Jack-of-all-trades, whose versatility is the despair of formal grammar.

The case of the O.F. demonstratives *cist* and *cil* shows in a striking manner the need for more flexible treatment than the author's method or turn of mind allows. Here, again, we see the language obviously breaking bounds and making light of the categories of the grammarian. *Cist* and *cil*, in O.F., divide, theoretically, the domain of demonstrativity between them, functioning both as pronouns and adjectives, *cist* to indicate proximity, *cil* remoteness. But, strange to tell, in Modern French one is an adjective, *ce, cet*, etc., and the other *celui, celle*, etc., a pronoun, while nearness and remoteness are indicated by the addition of the particles *-ci* or *-là*. This forms quite a pretty problem, for which the author has failed to offer a plausible solution, not for lack of material, which is well provided by C. E. Mathews' study[2], but because he is apparently more at home with categories than individuals. Had he not been so, he would have seen that the modern differentiation is, in fact, in germ in the oldest French texts. *Cist* and *cil*, irrespective of their difference in meaning, tend to be distinguished syntactically from the first. *Cist*, as a pronoun, is much rarer than *cil* in this function[3]. *Cil*, used as an adjective, loses ground to the adjective *cist* in the early thirteenth century, and even earlier in some authors, while *cil*, the pronoun, thrives amain. Mathews, p. 105, is puzzled at this phenomenon. The reason is, however, not far to seek. *Cil, celui, cele*, have beside them the pronouns *il, lui, ele*, with which they are felt to be in close relationship; in fact, the two groups are frequently interchangeable[4]. *Cist* has

[1] *Dès, jusque, malgré*, for example, are not mentioned, to say nothing of the rarer O.F. *enz en*.

[2] *Cist and Cil*, Baltimore, 1907.

[3] Statistics in Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[4] Mathews, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–51.

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no such support, the simple *ist* and *este* having died an early death, even as adjectives, it therefore loses ground as a pronoun, save in the inflected form *cestui*, which is saved by its formal parallelism with *celui* and lasts into the seventeenth century, though with how much of its original meaning we are not told. The other forms of *cist* tend more and more to become proclitic adjectives, a process which began very early, witness the form *ces* for *cestes*, which is the prevailing literary form from the earliest period onwards. The 'procliticizing' of *cist* and its confinement within its adjectival function runs parallel, therefore, with the prosperity of *cil* as a pronoun, and is accompanied, in fourteenth-century texts, and doubtless a good deal earlier in speech, by the increasing use of the enclitics *-ci* and *-là*. This latter phenomenon, which M. Sneyders de Vogel explains, mechanically, as a necessity due to the exact equivalence of *cist* and *cil* which he postulates for the middle French period, is thus, on the contrary, seen to be the outcome of the bifurcation of *cist* and *cil* into different syntactical functions[1].

It must, moreover, be said that the author is not always aware of the complexities of problems which he attempts to solve. Thus for him the loss of the Latin future in Romance is a phonological problem, not, as is more likely to be the case, a psychological one. Similarly, he accounts for the increasing use of the pronoun subject with verbs in O.F. by the weakening of the flexional endings, the pronoun being required to mark the person. This may be partly or wholly true, though it is difficult to disentangle cause and effect in these matters[2], but, even if true, it must be substantiated by evidence that *nous donnons*, where the distinctive termination has remained to the present day, is a later phenomenon than *il donne*, and that *je donne* is earlier than *je suis*, *il donne* earlier than *il a*, for the same reasons. No such evidence is forthcoming. It appears tacitly to be assumed that all verbs and all forms must act and react alike in this matter because they fit into the same grammatical sections. But in fact *habet* = 'he has,' which has beside it in Vulgar Latin a rival *habet* = 'there is,' is unlikely to behave with respect to the use or non-use of the pronoun subject in exactly the same way as another verb which finds itself in no such difficulties. Or, to take an instance from modern colloquial French, it would be unwise to conclude, as the reader is apt to conclude from the example on p. 58, 'nous allons *se* promener,' that 'nous allons *se* couper' comes as readily to the tongue, because *couper* like *promener* is a verb[3]. Nor does it follow that, because *ils* is occasionally used for *elles*, p. 50, therefore *il* is used for *elle*; for the gender distinction may become obliterated in and by the idea of plurality, and yet be retained by the same speaker for singular objects, i.e. for

[1] We note, incidentally, that he is in contradiction with Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 56, when he states that *cist* retained its demonstrative functions longer than *cil*.

[2] The author himself gives a case, p. 42, where the pronoun is necessary in O.F., although no flexional consideration arises.

[3] This tendency to confuse language with logic leads M. Sneyders de Vogel himself, whose French is usually beyond reproach, to commit a curious solecism. Arguing doubtless from the expression 'à tort ou à raison' he uses the expression, p. 178, 'remarquer à raison' for '(faire) remarquer avec raison,' because '(faire) remarquer à tort' is current French.

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objects that are clearly individualised. In cases like these, the mere listing of unanalysed facts is not only useless but actually misleading, however accurate the isolated fact may be. It is worse when lack of careful analysis actually produces an erroneous statement of the facts. In a paragraph upon *ceci* and *cela* with its popular shortening *ça*, we are told, p. 74, that 'the adverb can still be occasionally separated from the pronoun': '*ce* n'est pas *là*' or '*ce* n'est pas *cela* que je demande,' and that after the prepositions *de* and *par* the adverb often takes the place of the pronoun: 'c'est par *là* qu'il a réussi.' The whole of this apparently inoffensive statement needs amplifying and correcting: amplifying, in order to make clear, in the first place, that the first phrase when completed is not an exact parallel with the second, for another *ce* has to be added: '*ce* n'est pas *là ce* que je demande,' and correcting in the light of the fact, which has entirely escaped the author's notice, that *ça* is not only a shortening of *cela*, but also a venerable and time-honoured companion and pendant of *là*, the adverb *ecce hac*. To realise the disturbance which the collision of these two words brought about one has only to turn to Littré, who rightly inserts the phrase from Racine 'depuis quinze ou vingt ans *en ça*' under the rubric *ça*, adv., but registers 'voilà bien longtemps *de ça*' under *ça*, pron. Similarly, there is no difficulty in recognising the old adverb in 'Ah, *ça*, que venez-vous me conter' (comp. the English use of *Here!*), but what of an expression like 'Ah *ça* alors, c'est trop fort!'? Now, we know that the adverb *ça* is defunct, except in a few inherited phrases, and that its place has in many cases been taken by *là* (comp. 'viens *là*,' 'come here,' for older 'viens *ça*'); it is therefore not only legitimate but necessary to enquire to what extent the use of *là* in 'ce n'est pas *là* ce que je demande,' and particularly in 'c'est par *là* qu'il a réussi,' 'loin de *là*,' etc., is due to this fusion of two words *ecce hac* and *cela* into one form. In our view, these expressions are still haunted by the ghost of the defunct adverb *ça*.

Thus, under the order and clarity which are the apparent characteristics of M. Sneyders de Vogel's method of arranging and handling his matter, disquieting deficiencies are revealed, deficiencies not only in the historical investigation of the various phenomena tabulated, but also in the analysis, indispensable in syntactical enquiry, of the psychological and linguistic realities behind these phenomena.

In the following remarks we shall endeavour to deal firstly with defects due to a too hasty classification or inadequate analysis of examples quoted and, secondly, with what we consider real errors of interpretation.

Page 2. 'Je demeure rue Richelieu' is listed without comment after 'ils ont marché deux heures' as illustrating functions which a substantive standing alone can 'still' fulfil in a sentence. Historically and in the practice of speech the examples are vastly different. The former is a fairly recent piece of crystallised administrative jargon, the second is a time-honoured construction with all the flexibility and adaptability of a thoroughly organic form.

Page 10. 'A la Noël' and 'Noël arrive,' followed by 'dimanche matin' and 'dimanche au matin,' to illustrate the lack of fixity in the modern use of the article, suggests a parallel which is entirely fallacious and historically misleading.

Page 19. 'Del sanc Saint Estefne' should be distinguished from 'de l'eve,'

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'du vin,' 'de l'avaine,' quoted as further examples of the early use of the partitive article.

Page 21. 'En la lande ot assez herberges' and 'il n'y a rien si facile' are given as examples of the omission of *de* after an adverb of quantity with no attempt at explanation or differentiation.

Page 146. 'Verbes devenus intransitifs.' In this list we find grouped together, with accompanying examples, verbs like *accoutumer, attenter, partir, croire, aspirer, enseigner, renoncer,* each of which has a different history; some, like *attenter,* have always had their intransitive use ('attenter à la vie de quelqu'un'), others, like *enseigner,* still remain transitive in certain uses. What scientific interest or educative value has such a list without comparison or discrimination?

Page 177. After discussing the use of the subjunctive after a superlative (e.g., 'le plus beau qui *soit* au monde'), the author mentions a similar use after the positive, quoting the example 'le fou rire est une des douces choses que je *connaisse*,' but also giving as a similar example a sentence from A. Gide: 'Il est un des rares écrivains qui *sachent*....' The parallel is misleading. The subjunctive in the second case is due to the negative suggestion in the word *rare*; if we put *nombreux* in its place, the indicative would follow, whereas if we read *désagréable,* or any other suitable adjective, in the place of *douces,* in the first example, the subjunctive would remain.

Page 232. In a paragraph entitled 'Participle used as predicate' we find, pell-mell: '*cela dit* maître loup s'enfuit,' 'cent gros canons...*mèche allumée*,' and '*mort* ou vif je l'aurai,' where the last example strikes a particularly discordant note, as *mort* has nothing of the participle about it, compare 'captif ou libre je l'aimerai.'

Page 347. As examples of the survival in French of the meaning 'in the place of,' possessed by the Latin *pro,* we are given: 'acheter une maison *pour* 12,000 florins' and 'il y avait là trop de gens *pour* un si petit pays'; and one finds with similar surprise, p. 354, that 'je vois un air consterné *à* beaucoup de personnes,' 'je donne un couteau *à* votre frère' and 'c'est bien gentil *à* vous' all illustrate the use of *ad* to express the dative.

We note in the following cases a certain lack of insight or similar inadequacy in the author's treatment.

Pages 8, 9. In a paragraph which remains weak, although largely remodelled in this edition, we are led to infer that the article accompanies a proper noun preceded by an adjective only in such expressions as '*le* jeune, *le* vieux Goethe,' 'parce qu'on distingue plusieurs Goethe.' But what of '*le* célèbre, *l'*illustre Goethe,' where the article is rather of the nature of a demonstrative; comp. '*la* charmante Madame X.' and '*cette* charmante Madame X.,' 'Oh *le* (or *ce*) joli chapeau!' Also we are told that the absence of the article in O.F. 'reis Henris' is to be accounted for by the fact that the proper noun is determined by an attribute, *reis*; but would 'granz Henris' or 'li granz Henris' be the more likely in O.F.? If the latter, the explanation is valueless. A more probable view is that 'reis Henris,' 'pape Alisandre' and the like are Latinisms.

Page 23. The omission of the partitive article in expressions like 'sans horreur' is explained by the 'negative idea.' What then of 'avec plaisir'?

Page 147. In a list of verbs which were intransitive in O.F. and have 'become' transitive we find *regarder,* with the following quotation from Montaigne: 'Ne *regardez* pas *à* cette voix piteuse, regardez ce teinct.' No mention is made of the survival of *regarder à* in modern French; e.g., '*regarder à* la dépense,' '*y regarder* de près.'

Page 180. As proof that the indicative can be used in O.F. after *ainz que,* 'before,' when the speaker insists upon the reality of what he is describing, the following quotation from the *Chanson d'Aspremont* is given: 'Ains que li rois *s'assist* desos le pin Ne qu'il se liet del perron marberin....' Nothing in the text indicates that the poet is insisting upon the reality of what he relates. A little further down, he says, 'Ains que li rois *soit assis* al mangier Ne qu'il se liet de son perron d'acier.' It seems clear that for the poet the form *assist* has a subjunctive ring about it, because of the ending, and is equivalent to *aseïst* or *asesist,* or whatever form a modern grammarian would accept; compare line 36 of the same poem, 'Ains que viellece li *tolsist* le mangier,' or line 188, 'Ains que li rois se *dreçast* sor les piés.'

Page 189. We are told that the conditional after *si* is to be found 'indiscutablement' in the following sentence from Pascal: 'S'ils *auroient aimé* ces promesses...et qu'ils

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les eussent conservées..., leur témoignage n'eût pas eu de force.' But this kind of construction is not to be explained without reference to the hypothetical use of the conditional alone: 'ils *auraient aimé*...que leur témoignage n'eût pas (n'aurait pas eu) de force.' Similarly, in the colloquial phrase quoted, 'Si j'*aurais* pas eu la veine de tomber dans une encoignure, y aurait pas eu mèche de rester debout,' we must take into account the current equivalent, 'Je n'*aurais* pas eu...que,' with which it is 'indiscutablement' in close psychological relationship.

On p. 199, the author discusses the conditional in the sentence 'D'après les journaux, le feu *aurait fait* des dégâts considérables,' and is content to suppose an ellipse: 'si les journaux disaient vrai,' to account for its use. But it is impossible to dissociate the use of the conditional here from that found in such phrases as 'Est-ce que la maison *brûlerait*?' 'Est-ce qu'il serait malade?' where there can be no question of an ellipse. Nor does it seem possible to deny any relationship between the use of the conditional in the latter type of sentence and that of the future in 'il *sera* malade,' with a value akin to 'il *doit être* malade,' despite the fact that this type of construction is used in a much more restricted way than the two others. For just as 'je dis que X *est* malade' may become 'il a dit que X *était* malade,' in reported speech, so 'pour moi, X sera malade' may become, when reported, 'd'après lui X serait malade.' Incidentally, the author's explanation of the use of the future in 'il *sera* malade,' p. 265, is difficult to follow. He seems to state that it is used to express doubt. But in reality 'il *sera* malade' is less dubitative than 'il *doit être* malade,' the future being due to a visualisation of the moment when the facts will become apparent. The underlying thought is: 'vous verrez qu'il a été malade.'

Page 248. In 'je *pars* demain à huit heures,' the present is not used because 'un futur très proche' is indicated; for it is equally possible to say 'je *pars* dans un mois' or 'dans un an'; while it is impossible to say, with future meaning: 'la maison *s'écroule* dans un instant.' To be of any value, the author's assertion needs therefore considerable modification and amplification.

Page 250. A similarly misleading statement, misleading for lack of complete analysis, is that which informs us that the imperfect has sometimes 'almost the value of a present.' This is based on the following lines from the lament of Alexis' father over his dead son: 'O filz, cui ierent mes granz hereditez, mes larges teres, dont jo *aveie* assez.' Not only is the imperfect *aveie* not 'almost equal to a present, but any other than a past tense in this apostrophe to the dead would be incongruous. To compare it with the 'diffident' use of the imperfect in Latin and in French ('je *venais* vous prier') is a sad misapprehension.

Not infrequently do the author's examples fail to illustrate what they claim to illustrate. On p. 7, after being shown by O.F. '*homes* sont mortel,' how the substantive in a collective and generic sense may be used without the article, we are led to infer that the same is true of the following example from the *Roland*: 'Paiien unt tort et chrestiien unt dreit.' The opposition of *paiien* and *chrestiien* gives some colour to this view, but l. 1005 of the poem shows that the usage is entirely different: 'Granz est la noise si l'oïrent *Franceis*.' The article is omitted either under the influence of Latin usage or because *paiien* and *chrestiien* are the equivalent of proper names.

On p. 8, we are told that in a sentence like: 'M. Cloporte, lui, était chauve et maigre: *crâne* plus lisse que ses bougies, *corps* plus sec que ses balais,' the omission of the article is an archaism. It is rather due to the phraseology of the identity-card or the passport. The sentence is a 'signalement.'

As further examples of doubtful validity we will mention the following: 'afin que nous vivions en *bonne* amitié et repos de conscience,' quoted, p. 30, to illustrate the agreement of the adjective with the nearer subject, where *bonne amitié* is a complete expression in itself; 'Seignur, fit il, a mei, un petit m'entendez!' p. 57, to prove that the construction 'il m'a vu, moi' is met with in O.F.; 'aimez *qui* vous aime,' p. 82, to show that the use of *qui* in *Roland*, 781, 'Si li truvez *ki* tres bien li aiut,' where *qui* is followed by the subjunctive, is still current; a similar misleading juxtaposition on p. 85, where, after an unconvincing attempt at explaining O.F. 'que je sache,' 'que l'on oïst,' we are told that 'que je cuit,' 'que je pense' are also found; whereas there is really no parallel, 'que je sache,' 'que l'on oïst' implying a preceding negative, hence the subjunctive, 'que je cuit,' 'que je pense' being more analogous with popular

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expressions like 'qu'i(l) dit' in 'nous sommes tous fichus, qu'il dit,' with *que* functioning merely as a connecting link, an articulating medium, summing up and passing on the preceding clause.

In the following instances our disagreement with the author's understanding of his own examples is still more marked.

Page 105. Both M. de Boër and the author have completely misunderstood the line 'Ha, Piramus, quel la feras' from *Pyrame et Thisbé*, 160, which they interpret as 'qu'y feras tu?' giving to *quel* the meaning of *quid* and taking *la* as an adverb. This example no more substantiates the use of *quel* with the value of *quid* than the example in the first edition which it replaces. *La* is a pronoun, both here and in *Eneas*, l. 5145, 'He las, chaitis, quel *la* ferai De mon ami que perdu ai?' Compare also *Eneas*, l. 5805, 'Ha las, fait il, quel *la* feras? Ja mes joie ne pes n'avras.' The line from *Pyrame et Thisbé* has practically the same meaning as the line which follows, 'En quel guise te contendras?' and *la* is used in that indefinite, neuter sense, which it still has in certain expressions in modern French. In later texts we find the masculine, compare *La Queste del S. Graal*, p. 112; (ed. Pauphilet), '...et dist a Perceval: "Comment l'as tu puis fait?" "Sire, povrement"'; see also *ibid.*, pp. 81, 88, 106.

Page 123. In the example from the *Mulomed. Chironis*, 188, 'Hic morbus *se* ad corpora increscens ustione extinguitur,' *se* goes with *increscens* and not with *extinguitur*, and therefore does not illustrate the redundant use of the reflexive with the passive in Vulgar Latin.

Page 95. In the phrase from Varro, *De re rustica*, I, 1, 11, 'circumcisis rebus, *quae* non arbitror pertinere ad agriculturam,' quoted to illustrate a loose use of the relative analogous to that in Vaugelas' phrase: 'dans la confusion *que* d'abord ils se présentent à elles,' we have really a faulty accusative and infinitive: '*quas* non arbitror pertinere.' A similar misuse of a passage of Caesar is found on p. 195.

Page 196. In the lines from Fergus: 'Onques n'orent dol grignor *De* cho que nel porent ataindre,' we are told that the construction is 'plus grand de' for 'plus grand que,' when, in reality, 'de cho que' means 'because,' 'for the reason that.'

Page 224. To illustrate the survival of the accusative and infinitive in modern French (e.g., 'il jugeait cette récréation lui devoir être profitable'), the following example from Donnay is quoted: 'il n'y a rien eu au sens vulgaire où on entend *y avoir quelque chose*.' Would M. Sneyders de Vogel see an accusative and infinitive in the following sentence: 'ce n'est pas comme ça que j'entends "aimer son pays"'?

Page 224. 'Il faisoit Totes les choses *qui* savoit Qu'a la dame deüssent plaire'; here *qui* is for *qu'il* and not the subject of *deüssent*.

Page 343. 'Entre les helz ad plus de mil manguns'; *entre* does not mean 'between,' as the author says, but 'taking them together'; see *M.L.R.* XV, p. 268, and compare *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, ll. 2460 ff.: 'Ja mon anel ne me tolés, Car *entre* l'or et la jagonce Ne valent mie plus d'une once.'

Finally, one is not always in agreement with the author's statement of the facts of modern French.

It is inaccurate to say that popular speech uses the article before the names of famous actors and actresses. If ever this was a popular usage, which is very doubtful, it is not so now, any more than '*le* Tasse,' '*le* Titien,' which the author also quotes, and it is quite erroneous to compare it with such expressions as '*la* Guévin,' meaning Mrs Guévin. The prefixing of *la* to a girl's name, which is undoubtedly Parisian, is not mentioned, whereas '*la* Guévin,' for Mrs Guévin is rather a provincialism. It is even legitimate to enquire whether *Guévin* in this expression is not historically a genitive: 'la femme de' or 'celle de Guévin.' If so, it is reminiscent of that social inferiority of women exemplified by the Roman practice of bestowing upon females only the gentilicium and the cognomen.

Nor is it correct to say, p. 134, that constructions of the type 'je suis dit l'avoir fait' are not found in French; for what of 'je suis réputé, censé'? Comp. also 'se trouver être.' Nor can one agree that in the preposition *vis-à-vis*, p. 357, 'le sentiment de la composition est encore très vif.' How many Frenchmen know the meaning of *vis* in this compound? Elsewhere, the construction 'je ne savais que répondre,' which keeps the infinitive in an indirect question, is stated to be something of a fossil ('a déjà quelque chose de figé') as shown by the use of *que* and not *ce que*. But the

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infinitive is still vigorous in the popular equivalent 'je ne savais (pas) quoi répondre'; compare 'chercher de quoi nourrir mon chat.' Lastly, p. 339, the author talks as if *contre* could no longer express 'la proximité immédiate'; but what of 'rangez les chaises contre le mur, mais tout contre!'?

To sum up, M. Sneyders de Vogel's book stands in need of a good deal of careful revision. But, even if the errors and imperfections in matters of detail were eliminated, we should still consider that the book, though undoubtedly a useful one, would scarcely merit the somewhat exalted title of *Syntaxe Historique du Français*.

JOHN ORR.

MANCHESTER.

Histoire de l'Orthographe française. Par CHARLES BEAULIEUX. Tome I: *Formation de l'orthographe des origines au milieu du XVI^me^ siècle.* Tome II: *Les accents et autres signes auxiliaires.* Paris: H. Champion. 1927. xvii + 367 and ix + 134 pp. 60 fr.

La réforme de l'orthographe! Combien en a-t-on bataillé aux alentours de 1900! Que de passion déployée, que d'encre versée des deux côtés de la barricade—simplification! Que d'éminents champions ont brillé dans les deux camps. Marcelin Berthelot, Gaston Paris, Paul Meyer, Louis Havet, Emile Faguet, Antoine Thomas, Ferdinand Brunot, pour ne nommer que les plus illustres! Et enfin que de polémiques ont été soulevées par le 'Rapport de l'Académie Française sur les projets de la commission chargée de préparer la simplification de l'orthographe'; rapport qui voulait contenter tout le monde et qui ne donna satisfaction à personne!

Et puis les années ont passé. Les esprits se sont peu à peu calmés et à l'ère héroïque à succédé l'ère historique, celle où l'on essaie 'd'établir les responsabilités,' question d'ailleurs assez brûlante en elle-même et qui pourrait bien faire renaître les hostilités. Pour M. Beaulieux, il n'y a pas de doute: les coupables, il les a trouvés: ce sont tout simplement les légistes qui à partir du XIII^e^ siècle sont la cause de tout le mal. M. Beaulieux crie haro! sur ces gens-là et il dresse contre eux un réquisitoire d'une implacable documentation. Les 'gais bazochiens' ont joué un rôle considérable dans le développement du théâtre en France: on le savait. Mais ce qu'on ignorait—et le grand mérite du présent ouvrage consiste à le prouver de façon irréfutable—c'est la part qu'ils ont aussi prise à la constitution de 'l'orthographe française.' C'est à eux que les avocats du Parlement confiaient les 'écritures françaises' et c'est eux qui introduisirent 'les marques du milieu où ils vivaient, de leur origine, de leur ignorance, des nécessités et même des tares de leur profession' dans la graphie qu'ils avaient reçue du XII^e^ siècle. Leur pédantisme et leur stupidité (ces deux défauts vont presque toujours de compagnie) ne réussiront que trop à dégrader, à corrompre et à avilir l'orthographe si saine et si intelligente où les scribes des écoles de jongleurs avaient harmonieusement combiné les besoins de la graphie phonétique et un certain respect de la tradition étymologique. Et dès lors, il en a été de l'orthographe comme il en est de la monnaie: la mauvaise a chassé la

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bonne. Cette orthographe 'légiste,' Robert Estienne la défendit et l'adopta presque intégralement dans son *Dictionnaire*, et ce sont ses principes orthographiques qui servirent de base à la première édition du *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* (1674) et qu'on retrouve presque intégralement dans la seconde édition (1718). Ce ne fut que dans la troisième édition (1740) que l'Académie se décida à introduire d'importantes modifications, qu'on doit surtout à l'esprit avisé et résolument novateur de l'abbé Olivet.

La conclusion de M. Beaulieux est qu'il faudrait 'si l'on voulait procéder à une réforme orthographique modérée, reprendre, tenant compte des modifications subies par la prononciation, la bonne tradition des copistes des chansons de geste, et achever l'œuvre heureusement entreprise par la troisième édition du *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*.'

A l'exposition de la 'formation de l'orthographe' qui constitue le premier tome, M. Beaulieux a ajouté un second tome qui traite des 'accents et autres signes auxiliaires' et qui contient la réimpression des œuvres suivantes:

(1) *Briefve doctrine pour devement escripre selon la propriété du langaige françoys* (par Montflory).

(2) *Résumé de la Briefve doctrine avec quelques additions fait par Jean de la Goutte.*

(3) *Les accents de la langue françoyse par Etienne Dolet.*

L'ouvrage de l'éminent Bibliothécaire en chef de l'Université de Paris est un modèle d'érudition; il est cependant regrettable que M. Beaulieux n'ait pas jugé à propos d'en rendre le maniement plus commode par un jeu de tables et d'index détaillés. Espérons qu'il comblera cette lacune quand il nous donnera la suite de cette histoire de la 'formation de l'orthographe,' pour laquelle il est si compétent et si bien outillé.

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

Das altfranzösische Epos. Zur Stilgeschichte und inneren Form der Gotik. Von FRIEDRICH SCHÜRR. Munich: Max Hueber. 1926. xx + 512 pp. 14 M.

This is a work which provokes reflection. It is an attempt to show that Old French epic poetry, like Gothic architecture, is an embodiment of the spirit of the age which produced it. There is perhaps nothing specially new in this idea, but it is worked out with Teutonic thoroughness by means of an analysis not only of the epic, but of many of the other forms of early French literature.

Literature, it is urged, should not be separated from other forms of artistic self-expression, art being one and indivisible, and being moreover not only a vision of timeless beauty but also a manifestation in time and in material form (stones, words, and so forth) of the ideal as perceived by the men of each epoch. The ideal gradually emerging from the Middle Ages, after the impact of Christian asceticism upon the pleasure-loving Germanic race, was the reality of the unseen 'kingdom not of this world.'

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St Augustine dreamt of the City of God established on earth, and his vision seemed to be on the way to realisation at the time of the First Crusade. This ideal it is which the upward aspiration of Gothic architecture seeks to embody, and which, it is maintained, inspired the early French epic, with its glorification of human failure through loyalty to the divine order of things. The author traces the effect of the grafting of Gallo-Roman Christianity upon the primitive Franks, and connects the birth of French nationality and unity with the earliest literary efforts in the popular language. With M. Bédier and M. Boissonnade he sees the source of the Old French epic in the local legends, 'the little flame lighted on the tomb of the saint,' but considers that the motive-force producing this sudden outburst of expression, this utilisation of hitherto neglected matter in the formation of a national literature, has been insufficiently studied. It was, he maintains, not the jongleurs who turned to the monasteries and their records for epic matter, but the monks who adopted the most popular legends, and gave them back in a new form to the people from whom they came. It was the local legends of saints broadcast through the instrumentality of the Church that created the Chansons de Geste, but the power that inspired the creation was the same as that which manifested itself in Gothic architecture, the aspiration to express the reality of the unseen world which animated all classes of the people. As the Gothic solution of the problem of construction by means of vaulting and ribs served at the same time the desire for ideal beauty in visible form, so the structural character of the Chansons de Geste, with their 'laisses,' their 'répétitions épiques,' their very pauses, together with the means used for the linking of the various parts, not only served the convenience of singer and musician, but were made the vehicles for expressing the world of beauty and reality. As in Gothic so in Old French epic, the essence is repetition with variation, and always the outward form depends for its effect upon the spiritual mood of the spectator or the listener. This has been said by others beside Professor Schürr.

The chapter on the transformation of the 'Gothic spirit' is one of the most interesting, and forms, so to speak, the hub of the work. In spite of the strength of the Gothic and epic inspiration, signs of disintegration, the germs of a new spirit, are to be seen in the late twelfth century. The effect of the Crusades, which at their beginning seemed to make for the realisation of St Augustine's ideal, on the whole was not that which had been anticipated. The Crusaders started as idealists and came back realists. The contact with Arab luxury, the realisation of nationality through mingling with others, the increased attention to classical authors, all tended towards secularisation and disintegration. Further, the Arthurian legends, the 'esprit courtois,' the cult of human love, suggested new solutions to the problems of the universe. There is a growing delight on the part of poets in the mythological, the marvellous, the circumstantial, which has its counterpart in the increase of the decorative and the plastic in architecture. It is true that even Chrestien de Troyes, who is no mystic, in his last romances uses the actual and material as a symbol.

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But the ferment of naturalism is at work everywhere. The influx of the bourgeoisie, with its matter-of-fact outlook, into literary circles which had a different relation to life, was momentous. Realism is gaining ground, even in philosophy. There is a widening rift between real life and the world of ideas and of art, which may be clearly perceived a little later in the two parts of the *Roman de la Rose*. Artistic forms were becoming mechanized imitations, often mere mannerisms, no longer instinct with life. God appears to work conventional miracles. There is a confusion of purpose and of interest, a growing individualism, which will find its vent in the lyric of the fifteenth century. The author, though realising the value of the comparative study of the epic, resists the temptation to study the somewhat parallel development in Greece; the Greek epic was not, he thinks, 'architectonic.' But he notes the same realistic tendency, side by side with a love of the fantastic which takes refuge in the comic, the ironical, and the cynical, in the later prose versions of the Chansons de Geste. The spirit is gone; artistic forms are empty of meaning. The negligent style betrays the lack of unity of inspiration, as it drags its heavy relative sentences along, repeating its ready-made clichés, and slavishly abiding by the petty laws which have been formulated.

Thus the consideration of the Old French epic from beginning to end seems to offer the picture of a conflict between two opposing views of the universe, with many swayings to and fro, and many an uncertain phase. It is shown as a conflict between an extreme idealism and an extreme naturalism, between an outlook on life entirely penetrated by the idea of the Beyond, and one completely confined to the visible and the tangible. This conflict led to a gradual transformation of the artistic forms of expression. For a time St Thomas Aquinas and the new individualism seemed to hold the opposing views in balance, even to incorporate them into the Church system, but the forces of disintegration were too strong, and the Middle Ages end with the triumph of naturalism and the defeat and eclipse of Gothic and Epic. Our own time has shown the futility of attempts to establish laws in the spiritual world; each artist as creator is free, though bound by his own epoch, and guided by certain fundamental timeless ideas which are shared by all those who have the vision of beauty. Thus the author concludes that even a partial reconstruction of bygone times such as the Middle Ages is only possible through an intuitive grasp of the 'inner form' of the period, which underlies its continually changing manifestations.

The book contains good illustrations of Romanesque and Gothic architecture from Caen, Notre Dame (Paris) and Reims. There is no index, but the bibliography will be found useful, as well as the full references at the end of each chapter.

F. C. Johnson.

London.

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La Critique française. Par ALEXANDRE BELIS. Paris: J. Gamber. 1926. xii + 264 pp. 30 fr.

Ferdinand Brunetière, Émile Faguet, Jules Lemaître, Anatole France, were almost exactly contemporaries, there being only nine years between the eldest, France, who was born in 1844, and the youngest, Lemaître, who was born in 1853. They are on the whole the best known representatives of the criticism of yesterday, and as such are suffering from the inevitable reaction which awaits old and honoured favourites. It is therefore well that they should be judged by a writer who can treat them with sympathy as well as with respect. Not that M. Belis's sympathies are equally divided. In the controversy between dogmatism and impressionism, between objective and subjective criticism, which Brunetière carried on against France and Lemaître in the early nineties, though he puts the case for impressionism quite fairly, he is openly on the side of dogmatism, and it is to Brunetière and dogmatic criticism that he dedicates his first and longest chapter.

He is right in beginning with Brunetière, who, although he was the youngest but one of the four, was the first to make his *début* as a critic. He joined the staff of the *Revue des deux mondes* in 1875, and the first volume of his *Études critiques* appeared in 1880. A second volume, which revealed him as a partisan of Bossuet against Fénelon (*La Querelle du Quiétisme*), was published in 1882, and in the next year he opened an active campaign against naturalism. He was always a fighter. As a young man he had failed to pass the examination for the École Normale. It must therefore have been peculiarly gratifying to him when, in 1885, he was appointed lecturer on French literary history at that great institution. His *L'Évolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature*, I. *Introduction*, *L'Évolution de la critique* (the only volume that was ever published), originally delivered as a course of lectures in November and December 1889, first brought his name into prominence, and *Les Époques du théâtre français*, a series of *conférences* delivered in the *Théâtre de l'Odéon* in the winter 1891–1892, made it known to a wider circle, and greatly increased his reputation. In 1893 he was elected to the Académie Française and to the editorship of the *Revue des deux mondes*.

About this time his views on religion underwent a change. He had been greatly influenced by Comtism and he had felt the agony of doubt. But he was attracted to the Church of Rome by his strong regard for unity and authority. In 1894 he had an interview with Leo XIII, of which he gave an account in a famous article in the *Revue* for January 1, 1895. It was not, however, till 1897 that he declared himself a Catholic. His chief remaining publications were volumes VI and VII of *Études critiques*, an excellent *Manuel de l'histoire de la littérature française* (1898), the first part of a more ample history of French literature, and a volume on Balzac (1905).

He died on December 9, 1906, after an illness of two years, of tuberculosis of the larynx. It was a severe trial to a man who was before all things an orator—'l'orateur de la littérature' as Melchior de Vogué said

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of him in the *Revue* for January 1, 1907. His success as a lecturer and his power over his audiences were equally great in Paris, the provinces, Geneva, and America. We are told that, when he lectured at the Sorbonne on Bossuet, the crush for admission was so great that there was danger to life and limb. M. Belis rightly insists that 'his style is that of an orator and that his written word gives the impression of speech.' As a matter of fact his later books are verbatim reports of his lectures. The enormously long sentences, the *que*'s and the *qui*'s, the parentheses, the hits at opponents, are all faithfully reproduced. But he brought to his task not only eloquence, but great industry, wide reading, a wonderful memory, and, above all, logical and synthetic power. In all this he was a worthy successor of Taine.

The chief doctrine that is associated with his name is the doctrine of literary evolution[1], to a consideration of which M. Belis rightly devotes seventeen pages (pp. 86 ff.). Like Taine's famous 'La race,' 'Le moment' and 'Le milieu,' it breaks down when it is attempted to apply it as an absolute law, but in its insistence that all literary forms are largely influenced—either by way of imitation or by way of reaction—by what has preceded them, and on the importance of chronology in literature, it is not only true but it is extremely helpful. In spite of the objections that have been made to it, especially to such doubtful applications of it as the evolution of lyrical poetry from pulpit oratory, it has, like Taine's formulas, unconsciously affected the trend of criticism. Above all it has introduced more method into the history of literature. That was avowedly Brunetière's aim—more method and, as a consequence, greater objectivity.

Unfortunately, Brunetière, however hard he tries to give an objective form to his criticism, is the most personal of critics. He had numerous dislikes—Descartes, Fénelon, La Rochefoucauld, Mme de La Fayette, mediæval literature, the eighteenth century, the romantics, naturalism, the Parnassians, symbolism. In fact, there was little literature outside the latter half of the seventeenth century which he really admired at the outset of his career. But it is to his credit that he overcame some of his prejudices, that he was led to a juster view of Rabelais and to a real appreciation of Molière and Balzac. His hero, as everyone knows, was Bossuet, who, by his eloquence, his reasoning power, his genius for construction, his objectivity, his ardour in controversy, his love of dogma, his masterly handling of moral and racial questions, appealed to all his strongest sympathies. As M. Belis points out (pp. 80–82), Brunetière's loves and hates nearly always have an ethical basis. He was strongly opposed to the doctrine of 'art for art,' and one of his *Discours de combat* is entitled *L'Art et la Morale*.

M. Belis notes that Brunetière's only *book*, properly speaking—that is to say not merely a collection of articles or essays or a reproduction of lectures—is his *Balzac*. His praise of it seems to me excessive; the book suffers from an excess of the combative spirit. The other purely literary

[1] See also *La doctrine évolutive de l'histoire de la littérature* (*Études critiques*, VI), and *L'Évolution d'un genre: la tragédie* and *L'Évolution littéraire de Victor Hugo* (*ibid.*, VII).

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work which belongs to Brunetière's last years is the *Histoire de la littérature française classique*, for which the *Manuel* was a first sketch. But only the first part was actually written by him and published in his life-time. The rest was continued with the help of his notes by some of his disciples. It is on the whole a disappointment. It is a series of essays rather than a history. Brunetière had become so accustomed to writing articles and giving lectures that he had lost the art of narrative. He writes at too great length and in too controversial a tone on the great writers, and, though he does not altogether ignore the lesser men, he deals with them in too summary a fashion. Oddly enough, he excludes from consideration the Letters of Mme de Sévigné and the Memoirs of Saint Simon, because, not having been published in the life-time of their authors, they had no influence on the development of literature. Yet, as M. Belis truly says, 'he possessed in a high degree a sense of the past'—in other words, the historical sense. This is evident from some of his *Études critiques*, especially in the three articles on the French novel in vol. III and that on the 'Formation of the idea of progress' in vol. V.

On the whole, it is doubtful whether posterity will count him as a great critic, as it counts, for instance, Sainte Beuve. But we may at least agree with M. Belis that his criticism is the 'monument d'une intelligence probe et forte.' He was a hard hitter, but his opponents respected and admired him for his honesty and his courage, and his kindness and generosity endeared him to a large number of friends and disciples. 'Mon délicieux ami,' says Faguet of him in a *conférence* delivered in 1911. Possibly his chief title to admiration—and it is no mean one—will be that he contributed at a difficult time to the moral and spiritual regeneration of his country. But we must also bear in mind that his doctrine of evolution in its broad aspects has had a durable influence on criticism, and that he has left disciples, M. Lanson, M. Giraud, M. Michaut, and M. Doumic (his successor in the editorship of the *Revue des deux mondes*)—to name only the chief—who in their different ways are doing admirable work.

The chapter which M. Belis devotes to Émile Faguet is entitled 'Analytical and reconstructive criticism,' thereby signifying that Faguet's criticism is at once an appreciation and a re-creation—in fact the ideal criticism. Carrying into practice his precept that no one should write a line for publication—he means, presumably, no critic—till he is thirty, he waited till he was thirty-five before he published his thesis on *La Tragédie en France au XVI^e siècle* (1885). In the following year he made his mark with his well-known *Études littéraires—XIX^e siècle*, and in 1887 he repeated his success with a similar series of studies on the seventeenth century. The *Dix-huitième siècle* appeared in 1890 and the *Seizième siècle* in 1893. It is, perhaps, by these four series of studies that Faguet is best known to English readers. They are literary portraits in the true sense of the term. The outward life of the author does not interest Faguet, his character interests him more, his general ideas still more, his literary ideas most of all. The result is a complete and penetrating study of the man's literary work, not as a product of his age and

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social environment (Taine) or as a stage in the evolution of his special branch of literature (Brunetière), but as an expression of the man's literary individuality (cp. Belis, pp. 159–160). These *Études littéraires*, says Brunetière, 'have this remarkable and rare particularity' that they are really and in a unique degree 'literary.' Faguet has been accused of not being fair to the sixteenth century, and he is unjust to Voltaire, but, on the whole, he is remarkably free from prejudice and he brings out in a remarkable way all that is best in each author. His study of Victor Hugo, though I venture to question his verdict that Hugo is greater as an epic than as a lyric poet, is still the best that I know. M. Belis rightly says that he helps us to understand a book by analysis and reconstruction, and he gives as an example the admirable analysis of *Polyeucte* in the volume on the seventeenth century.

Though Faguet published nothing till he was thirty-five, he amply made up for this late *début* during the rest of his life. He says himself that his first impulse on meeting with a new book was to read it, and the next to write about it. Consequently at his death he had something like fifty volumes to his credit. Among the more important are five volumes on Rousseau, *Chénier*, *Balzac*, and *Flaubert* in *Les Grands Écrivains Français*, and, what is regarded by many good judges as his masterpiece, the three volumes on *Politiques et Moralistes du XIX^e siècle* (1891–1900). The third series which includes Stendhal, Sainte-Beuve, Taine and Renan, is perhaps the most interesting to readers of the present day, but all three volumes testify to Faguet's power in understanding and sympathising with the most diverse ideas on politics and morals and thought. For Faguet is quite as deeply interested in ideas as he is in literary form. He is perhaps unduly severe on writers who lack ideas—on Gautier, for instance, who at any rate had ideas about art. He finds Balzac and Flaubert, both of whom he admires immensely as novelists, deficient in ideas; he deplores the 'manque d'intelligence' in the Goncourts; and he says that Zola had only one idea in his life. Indeed, in a sweeping generalisation, he declares 'humanity to be essentially stupid.'

I have not yet mentioned his five volumes of *Propos de théâtre* or his other five volumes of *Propos littéraires*. I barely know the former, but the latter, along with a certain number of ephemeral book-reviews, contain many good things. I specially commend vol. III, in which will be found admirable obituary notices of Renan, Taine, Maupassant, the Goncourts, and Zola, and equally admirable articles on Balzac, Stendhal, Heredia, and others. In reading these articles I was especially impressed by their wisdom; it was therefore with pleasure that I found in the fifth volume that Anatole France had presented a copy of his *Jeanne d'Arc* to his friend with the inscription 'Au très sage Faguet.'

One reproach has been made against his criticism—that, in the words of M. Giraud, it is 'too static,' otherwise that it does not sufficiently take into account the development or evolutions, as M. Giraud would call it, of a writer's thought and literary art. M. Belis (p. 163) defends Faguet from this criticism, but it is one which is not unfrequently made and it is, I think, true of some of his criticisms. Faguet's method was to

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give a full-length portrait of a writer as represented by his whole work, but some writers—the names of Rabelais and Montaigne at once occur to me—can only be really understood if you follow them through the different stages of their development. Still when all is said, I, for one, shall not quarrel with M. Belis's final verdict that Faguet 'a droit, entre ses pairs, à la première place.'

Criticism formed only part of the literary activity of Lemaître and France. Lemaître first appeared as a critic in 1882 with his excellent thesis on *La Comédie après Molière et le Théâtre de Dancourt*, and soon after this he began to write articles for the *Revue bleue* which were collected from time to time under the title of *Les Contemporains* (eight volumes, the last being posthumous). He also wrote dramatic criticisms (*Impressions de théâtre*, eleven volumes), and during the latter part of his life (after several years' absence from literature) he gave some remarkable *conférences* on Racine, Fénelon, Rousseau, and Chateaubriand. The critical work of Anatole France is confined to the articles which he contributed to *Le Temps* from 1887 to 1893, and which were collected in four volumes under the title of *La Vie littéraire*. These two writers are treated together by M. Belis as representatives of 'La Critique impressioniste,' and more than half of his chapter on them is occupied with a discussion of their critical attitude and of their controversy with Brunetière from 1885 to 1890. For a frank expression of their views the curious reader may be referred to Lemaître's *Impressions de théâtre*, XI (*Conférence de Brunetière sur Tartufe*), and to the preface to vol. III of France's *La Vie littéraire*. 'Il n'y a plus de critique objective qu'il n'y a d'art objectif,' says France (forgetting that this is as much a dogmatic statement as any of Brunetière's), and he declares that 'Le bon critique est celui qui raconte les aventures de son âme au milieu des chefs-d'œuvre[1].'

The proper title, says Faguet, of a volume of criticism by France should be 'Voyage sentimental de M. France à travers les livres.' In the controversy between objective and subjective criticism, between dogmatism and impressionism, the truth, as usual, seems to lie between the two extremes. So long as human beings are human beings, no criticism can be purely objective and impersonal. We saw that, by a strange irony, Brunetière, the champion of objectivity, was the most personal of critics. So Lemaître and France, for all their belief in impressionism, cannot avoid giving critical judgments with all the finality of a supreme court of appeal. 'Il est poète et grand poète,' is France's judgment (with which I thoroughly agree) on Baudelaire. 'A coup sur le plus inspiré et le plus vrai des poètes contemporains' is his equally sound and equally dogmatic statement about Verlaine. And what is Lemaître's famous article on Ohnet, beginning with 'J'ai coutume d'entretenir mes lecteurs de sujets littéraires; qu'ils veuillent bien m'excuser, si je leur parle aujourd'hui des romans de M. Georges Ohnet,' but a sentence of death, black cap and all, on that popular novelist?[2]

[1] *La Vie littéraire*, I, p. iv.

[2] *Les Contemporains*, vol. I. France also 'executed' Ohnet nine years later in an article entitled *Hors de la littérature* (*Vie littéraire*, II).

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M. Belis's dislike of impressionist criticism leads him to underrate the very genuine critical ability of both Lemaître and France. 'Lisons donc la *Vie littéraire* pour notre plaisir, mais rejetons la cruelle malice d'y vouloir découvrir des articles de critique littéraire.' Well, there is no doubt about the pleasure, but the reader will also find some excellent criticism. And, if he is interested in the history of literature, he will learn a great deal about those important years from 1885 onwards which saw the downfall of naturalism and the rise of symbolism. Especially notable are the two articles in the second volume entitled *Demain* and *M. Charles Morice*. In spite of his passage at arms with Brunetière and of his occasional vindications of the right to personal impressions, Lemaître's theory of criticism is not far removed from Faguet's. It is well stated in the following passage from an article, be it noted, on Brunetière. 'C'est dans un esprit de sympathie et d'amour qu'il convient d'aborder ceux de nos contemporains qui ne sont pas au-dessous de la critique. On devra d'abord analyser l'impression qu'on reçoit du livre; puis on essayera de définir l'auteur, on décrira sa "forme," on dira quel est son temperament, ce que lui est le monde et ce qu'il y cherche de préférence, quel est son sentiment sur la vie, quelle est l'espèce, et quel est le degré de sa sensibilité, enfin comment il a le cerveau fait.' It is more or less on these principles that Lemaître deals with the other writers noticed in this, the first, volume of *Les Contemporains*—with Banville, Sully-Prudhomme and Coppée, with Renan, Zola, Maupassant, and Huysmans. All are treated with sympathy, but with sympathy that can criticise as well as admire. The conclusion of his article on Brunetière is a model of controversial courtesy. 'Ce qui me plaît dans l'article le plus sévère de M. Brunetière, c'est M. Brunetière.... Quoique je ne sente pas comme lui une fois sur dix, je n'ai aucune peine à saluer en lui un maître.' These words are as honourable to Lemaître as they are to Brunetière.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

From Latin to Italian. An historical outline of the Phonology and Morphology of the Italian Language. By CHARLES H. GRANDGENT. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1927. viii + 191 pp. 11*s.* 6*d.*

W. MEYER-LUEBKE. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei dialetti toscani.* Nuova edizione curata da MATTEO BARTOLI. Turin: Chiantore. 1927. vii + 216 pp. 25 lire.

The need of a thoroughly up-to-date Italian historical grammar has been seriously felt by students and teachers alike. The little D'Ovidio and Meyer-Luebke volume in the 'Manueli Hoepli' suffers from an unsatisfactory arrangement of the matter, though this is to some extent remedied by its excellent index. It is, therefore, highly gratifying to find two books issued simultaneously to supply this pressing need. Professor Grandgent has followed up his well-known *Introduction to Vulgar*

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Latin and his *Outline of the Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal* with an admirable volume, attractive in outward appearance and lucid in treatment, which will henceforth be indispensable in every Honours school of Italian. The Italian version of Meyer-Lübke's larger work, long out of print, has been largely revised by its original translator, Matteo Bartoli, and will doubtless have a renewed life of usefulness. Professor Bartoli has rewritten the introduction and the sections on median consonants, but, in other parts of the book, it would seem that—as happens too often with new editions also in England—the exigences of the 'stereotipia' have somewhat interfered with the completeness of the revision, and the index is so exiguous, when compared with its predecessor, that the reader will frequently find it necessary to have recourse to the latter (which the reference to paragraphs fortunately makes possible) in order to make his way about the new volume. This new edition of a work that is a classic in its kind is, nevertheless, very welcome. The two books before us naturally cover a great deal of the same field, but they supplement each other, and the fact that, upon not a few points, the philological theories set forth are at variance, will be a valuable warning to students that Italian historical grammar is still a subject full of uncertainties, and that supposed rules are often no more than debateable conjectures to explain phonetical or morphological phenomena. On the whole, Professor Bartoli represents the more traditional views of Italian scholars, while Professor Grandgent not unfrequently is moving upon new lines of his own.

Professor Grandgent's work, as he says, is 'the result of over thirty years' collecting, classifying, and speculation,' and I feel it somewhat presumptuous in a comparative amateur like the present reviewer to express disagreement on certain minor points of detail. Where the development of a Latin consonant or group of consonants gives two different results in Italian, he seems to me disposed to attach excessive importance to 'conflicting tendencies in different localities or different social strata,' and too little to the influence of accentuation (p. 92). Also I am tempted still to cling to the older view that the normal continuation of a final long Latin *-e* is *-i* in Italian (e.g. *hodiē* > *oggi*), and that the final result of *-as* and *-ēs* in *-i* (*amas* > *ami*, *doles* > *duoli*) is a regular phonetic development rather than a morphological substitution by influence of the verbs of the fourth conjugation. But Professor Grandgent is particularly interesting upon this latter point (pp. 50, 158) with which he has dealt elsewhere. Again, he explains the existence of *moro* by the side of *muoio* as due to the influence of *muore* (p. 151). May it not rather be an instance of two different results of the Latin group *-rj-* in *morior*, the one Tuscan and the other non-Tuscan, *moro* penetrating into Italian literature from the poetry of the South? I find some difficulty in accepting the view here given (pp. 22, 147, where there seems some slip in the printing) as to the *e* in *ebbi* < *habui*. Professor Grandgent holds that the Tuscan conditional originally ended in *-abbi* (*crederabbi*), which became supplemented by *-ei* from the weak perfect (*credei*) of the second conjugation, a contamination of *-abbi* and *-ei*

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giving *-ebbi*, first as a conditional ending and then as an independent form for *abbi* < *habui*. But is it clearly established that *-abbi* was the original ending of the Tuscan conditional? And is the theory consistent with the fact that, whereas the earliest texts from other regions (for instance, the Umbrian 'Formula di confessione') unquestionably have *abbi* or corresponding forms, Florentine itself, from its first appearance with the 'Frammenti d' un libro di banchieri fiorentini,' already has *ebe* < *habuit*? Seeing that many students begin their early Italian texts with the *Vita Nuova*, it might perhaps have been well, when speaking of the vanishing of the imperfect subjunctive (p. 146), to mention the possibility of its survival in such forms as Dante's 'li quali non sapeano che si *chiamare*,' and Rustico di Filippo's 'da che non è chi vi *scomunicare*.'

Some of the standing puzzles Professor Grandgent is content to leave with a query; for instance, the old Tuscan *fuoro* for *furono* (p. 153) and 'the inexplicable *niente*' (p. 124). For the former, it is tempting to fall back upon a hypothetical *fŏrunt* from *fŭerunt* > *furunt* by dissimilation. Professor Bartoli (p. 201, a note which needs revision now that, since the publication of the *testo critico*, it is recognised that *fuoro* is the form normally used by Dante) retains the view that it comes from *fŭerunt* through *fuero* (the two forms, *fuerono* and *fuorono*, appear together in the *Tristano Riccardiano*), the unusual *ue* being replaced by the more familiar *uo*. Giulio Bertoni (*Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.*, LXXXVI, p. 394) has indicated a hitherto unnoticed objection to Ascoli's derivation of *niente* from *ne inde* (*-ęnde* becoming *-ęnte* through the attraction of adverbial participles or adverbial compositions in *-ęnte*), in that in the early southern texts it rhymes with *-ęnte*, whereas the Latin *ĭ* is preserved intact with the poets of the South. I would, however, observe that Folco di Calabria (Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 212), who seems to employ the Sicilian rhymes, makes *sovente* rhyme with *languente*, and the derivation of *sovente* from *sub inde* (whether through the French or otherwise) is generally admitted.

Professor Grandgent's treatment is as popular as the nature of the subject admits; indeed, I think that even the general reader, if there is such of philology, will find his volume by no means without attraction and interest.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

En torno al lirismo gallego del siglo XIX. Por CÉSAR BARJA. (*Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, VII, Nos. 2, 3.) Northampton, Massachusetts: Smith College. 1926. viii + 149 pp. $1.50.

English readers are acquainted with the interesting revival of Spanish Galician verse chiefly through Mr Aubrey Bell's second appendix in his *Portuguese Literature* (1922), the five pieces he has printed in his *Oxford Book of Portuguese Verse* (1925), and his descriptions of the province in *Spanish Galicia* (1922). Being published in an American university series, Sr Barja's account is conveniently accessible to us, and, both in dimensions and critical method, it occupies a half-way position between

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Mr Bell's summaries and D. Eugenio Carré Aldao's fully documented *Literatura Gallega* (2nd ed., Barcelona, 1911). A literature, however, this renascence hardly is, seeing that it affects but one literary form, and that only within certain limits. Dramas, novels and treatises are written, even by Galicians, in Castilian; and, even in lyric poetry, the Muse is inspired only when she treats of popular, traditional and simply affecting subjects. The preciosity of present literary ideals draws away from the Galician dialect such indubitable poets as D. Ramón del Valle Inclán; and as compared with last century the regional literature appears to have suffered a check, in quality, at least, if not in amount. The intensive castilianisation of Galicia commenced with the first railways, and at this time the four principal towns are foci of linguistic unification. Vigo, Santiago, Lugo and La Coruña are, in fact, not necessarily the best centres for the study of Galician poetry, and many of the principal editions and studies have to be obtained from Madrid. The dialect is, like Scotch, in retreat at the very moment when it is sought for as a basis for a literature. It is thus possible to use past tenses in dealing with even a modern movement, while the linguistic and literary imprecision that reigns among the poets, the fugitive manner of their publications, and the indifference of the bulk of Galicians, make formal history impracticable. Sr Barja, therefore, rightly chooses an episodic method of exposition. He gives the necessary background by an admirably phrased and pondered essay on literary regionalism as a political and cultural phenomenon, which makes a clear case for the originality of the Galician inspiration, and the latter is generically defined in a charming chapter on 'Lirismo Popular'; the remainder of the work is occupied by essays of different lengths on each of the principal figures of the movement, from the Floral Games of 1861 to Carré Aldao and contemporary singers of unaccomplished destiny. His object is to determine values; but, as the subject-matter itself is imperfectly known, his more immediate purpose is to give an account of the actual achievements of the Galician renascence as a whole and of each individual writer. Sr Barja's most interesting divergence from Mr Bell lies in his greater esteem for Manuel Curros Enríquez, for which he claims the support of the majority of competent provincials. Mr Bell makes heavier deductions for the prosy violence of Curros' anticlerical diatribes, and gives a higher mark to Eduardo Pondal's natural freshness, having in mind particularly the exquisite 'Bells of Anllons' (which gains by being read at the place of its inspiration) and the melancholy 'Swallows' Homecoming.' The popular lyrism of Galicia has its justification, whether one judges by the Sapphic passion of:

> Cando te vexo n-a veira d'o río
> quédam'o corpo tembrando de frío;
> cando te vexo d'o monte n-a altura
> a todo o corpo lle dá calentura,

or the rustic malice of:

> María Antona a biscoiteira
> querse casar e non ten quen-a queira.

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The artistic elaboration of the dialect requires a more scrupulous defence. It is best when, as in Rosalía de Castro, it is most popular, and its permanent worth must be ascertained from the achievements of three poets, 'Santiña Rosalía,' Curros and Pondal. Their mutual significance has been very neatly exposed by Sr Barja: 'Rosalía es la mujer, el poeta feminino: Curros es el hombre, el poeta masculino...Si Rosalía es ante todo el poeta del sentimiento, Eduardo Pondal es, sobre todo, el poeta de la Naturaleza...Con Curros, la lírica gallega acaba de completarse' (pp. 92 and 124).

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

GLASGOW.

Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis. Paris: H. Champion; New York: Columbia University Press. 1927. xv + 535 pp.

These twenty-nine studies—tributes from England and Ireland, Italy and Germany, as well as from France and America—cover a varied field of mediæval literature, art, and language; while, as befits a volume dedicated to the memory of a scholar whose name is chiefly associated with researches on the sources of the Tristan romance, a large proportion are Arthurian. Thus Professor Pio Rajna deals with the *De Ortu Walwanii* and the *Historia Meriadoci*, the two Arthurian romances in Latin prose edited by the late J. D. Bruce, who is himself represented by an article on Mordred's incestuous birth, a motive which he holds to have originated with the author of the *Mort Artu*. In a more popular essay than the majority of its companions, Madame Lot-Borodine compares Tristan and Lancelot. Dr Eugène Vinaver discusses the love potion in the primitive Tristan romance, holding—with Gertrude Schoepperle and against M. Bédier—that the motive of the limited efficiency and abatement of the 'vin herbé,' as in Eilhart and Béroul, rather than its remaining unchanged in its power throughout, as in Thomas and the prose *Tristan*, represents the archetypal story. Miss M. W. Beckwith writes on incidents in legends of the Punjab which present features comparable to some in Arthurian romance; Dr F. Ranke on 'Isoldes Gottesurteil'; Mr A. C. L. Brown on the Irish element in King Arthur and the Grail; Mr W. A. Nitze on the identification of Brons in the metrical *Joseph* with the Celtic Bran; Miss Laura A. Hibbard, comparing the second book of the *Morte Darthur* with its source in the Huth *Merlin*, defends the artistic and dramatic quality of Malory's version of the story of Balin; Miss R. J. Peebles studies the symbolism of the 'Children in the Tree' in the *Perceval* (a motive which, very curiously, reappears in a picture by Giovanni Bellini, now officially styled 'Allegoria delle anime del Purgatorio,' in the Uffizi). Two Arthurian articles strike me as particularly noteworthy: Dr E. Brugger, 'Bliocadran, the Father of Perceval,' and Professor R. S. Loomis, 'The date, source, and subject of the Arthurian sculpture at Modena.'

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Dr Brugger attempts to show that Bliocadran—the name attributed to Perceval's father in the 'Bliocadran prologue' to Chrétien's romance and its continuations—was originally a double name: Blios Cadroains. A personage called Cadroain or Cardroain appears in the *Atre Perillous* and in *Durmart le Galois*, but not as the father of Perceval. Now Dr Brugger urges that the name of the hero of the *Cantari di Carduino* is certainly identical with Cardroain. It will be remembered that *Carduino* is the Italian representative of the group of poems to which belong the French *Guinglain*, the German *Wigalois*, and the English *Sir Libeaus Desconus*. The account of the hero's youth resembles that of Perceval, and Dr Schofield and Miss Weston urge that the two were originally identical. In all the other versions, the 'Fair Unknown' turns out to be a son of Sir Gawain; but in the Italian poem, where alone he is called Carduino, the influence is apparent of the prose *Tristan* (where Pellinor, the father of Perceval, is slain by Gawain and Gaheris in the feud between the two houses), and he is the son of Dondinello, who has been murdered by Aguerisse (Guerrehes), the brother of Gawain. Dondinello, though described as 'un baron molto cortese,' is manifestly the personage who appears elsewhere in Arthurian romance as Dodinel le Sauvage, whereas here it is Carduino himself 'che a vedere parea un uon selvagio.' Dr Brugger makes out a strong case for the supposition that the names of father and son have been interchanged, and that Cardroain was originally the father of Dodinel, the latter name originally meaning a young simpleton. He further (more questionably, I think) postulates the existence of a lost Dodinel romance (pp. 166, 171), which he considers may have been the source of the Italian poem.

It is indisputable that the now famous sculpture over the Porta della Peschiera of the cathedral at Modena—with its manifestly Arthurian subject and its figures labelled with Arthurian names, 'Artus de Bretania' and the rest—establishes what we may call a 'primato degli Italiani' in the iconography of King Arthur. In the present study and elsewhere—notably in an article in the *Romanic Review* and, more recently, in his *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*—Professor R. S. Loomis has set forth a remarkable theory as to its subject, source, and date. He reads into the scene a somewhat elaborate story of the abduction and rescue of Guenevere (whom he identifies with the Winlogee of the inscription), a story including elements to be found later in *Durmart le Galois* and the prose *Lancelot*. If I understand him rightly, he is reconstructing a Breton *conte* which he takes the sculptors at Modena to have learned from a party of Bretons who spent the winter at Bari on their way to the First Crusade (an artistic relation between the sculptures of the Modenese cathedral and those of San Niccola at Bari seems clearly established). Different views have been held as to the date of the work at Modena, the general tendency of critics being towards the first half of the twelfth century. Professor Loomis would place it even earlier, regarding it as executed at the period of the first building of the cathedral, between 1099 and 1106. In support of this view he brings forward a strong argument, to the effect that twelfth-century iconography seems to show that the helmets of the

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knights are of a style that went out about the year 1109. His theory of the date is—to my mind—more persuasive than his interpretation of the subject. It remains clearly established, at least, that Arthurian stories were known in Italy at a very early period, unquestionably before the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, and very probably even before Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote the *Historia Britonum*.

Turning from the field of Arthurian romance, we find Professor Ferdinand Lot dealing destructively with the historical value of Gildas. Scandinavian studies are represented by Mr H. G. Leach on the relations between *Gibbonssaga* and *Partonopeus*; Celtic by Miss Eleanor Hull on the Helgi Lay and Irish Literature, Mr R. I. Best on the tale of the birth of Brandub and of Aedan, Dr Douglas Hyde on the unpublished story of Antichrist in the Book of Lismore, and Mr Osborn Bergin on the magic staff of the Dagda. Mr G. L. Hamilton writes on the Royal Mark of the Merovingians, Mr J. Fraser on the 'Alleged Matriarchy of the Picts,' M. J. Vendryes on the abbey of Mellifont. In the sphere of pure linguistics, we have Mr D. S. Blondheim, 'Gleanings from the Bible of Alva,' and M. Antoine Thomas, 'Sur une nouvelle étymologie de *Chantepleure*.' Professor Raymond Weeks edits the oldest text of *Le Lai de l'Oiselet*, and Mr Frank Patterson an unpublished hymnal *de tempore* (a fifteenth-century English version of the *Conditor alme siderum*). M. Lucien Foulet writes on the relations between Villon and Charles of Orleans, Miss Louise Ropes Loomis on the Greek studies of Poggio Bracciolini, Professor Mario Roques prints the correspondence between Karl Bartsch and Gaston Paris from 1865 to 1867. The volume closes with an interesting and suggestive study by Professor Grandgent, 'Rime and Rhetoric in the *Divine Comedy*.'

There is a precious statement of the writer of the *Ottimo Commento* that he had heard Dante say 'that rhyme never led him to say anything other than he intended, but that he often made words in his rhymes say something different from what they were wont to express with other poets.' Taking this as his text, and following in Parodi's footsteps, Professor Grandgent investigates a series of passages 'in which a term, form, or image seemed open to the suspicion of owing its place to the suggestion of rime' (p. 514). The condition of the *lingua poetica*, to which various regions of Italy had given contributions, gave the poet a fairly wide field; he could adopt the southern *satisfara* for *sodisfarebbe* (*Par.* XXI, 93), the Bolognese *lome* for *lume* (*Inf.* X, 69), the Aretine *furi* for *fuori* (*Purg.* XIX, 81). I cherish the belief—and I hope that, with his superior knowledge of the matter, Professor Grandgent will bear me out—that Dante's exquisite sense of Latinity kept him from the use of any forms not morphologically or phonetically defensible. A possible exception is *crese* for *credette* (*Purg.* XXXII, 32): 'Colpa di quella ch' al serpente *crese*.' Professor Grandgent, following Parodi, calls this 'a Sienese-Umbrian form.' But surely it is of wider diffusion. Boiardo (*Orl. Inn.* II, XXVI, 44) has the corresponding past participle: 'Che no 'l vedendo, mai non avria *creso*.' I find Professor Grandgent somewhat less convincing when he traces the suggestion of rhyme as affecting

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Dante's figures of speech. For instance, *Par.* XXIX, 37–41, does not strike me as 'awkward and obscure':

> Ieronimo vi scrisse lungo tratto
> di secoli de li angeli creati
> anzi che l' altro mondo fosse fatto.

It is surely unnecessary to take *de li angeli creati* as *post angelos creatos*. It is simpler—and more effective—if we construe: 'Jerome wrote to you of a long stretch of centuries of created angels before the rest of the world was made.' Again, I would suggest that neither the rhyme, nor 'a sheer love of extravagance,' but St Gregory the Great (cf. *Moralia* II, 1; XXVIII, 20; XXVIII, 24; XXXIV, 17) should 'be held responsible' for *Par.* XIII, 127–129:

> Sí fe' Sabellio e Arrio e quelli stolti
> che furon come spade a le Scritture
> in render torti li diritti volti.

Somewhat similarly, though, as Professor Grandgent well says, the figure of speech is one of those that 'defend themselves successfully against the imputation of external influence,' I think that such images in the *Purgatorio* as 'Qui si ribatte il mal tardato remo' (XVII, 87) may owe something to the *De Doctrina Christiana* of St Augustine—a work cited by Dante in the *Monarchia*—with its description of the purification of the mind that it may see God (I, 10), 'quasi navigatio ad patriam.'

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte. Herausgegeben von EDUARD CASTLE. III. Band (1848–1918). 2. Abteilung. Vienna: Carl Fromme. 1927. 160 pp. 14 Sch.

The contents of this second section of the final volume are: 8. Hamerling; 9. Lyriker und Aphoristiker; 10. Die katholische Literaturbewegung; 11. Der Zeitroman; 12. Die alpenländische Heimaterzählung; 13. Das Volkstheater. The final pages of a chapter on Ferdinand Kürnberger, noted in a previous review (vol. XXII, p. 481 ff.) are followed by a well-balanced study of Robert Hamerling. In chapter 9 notice is taken of the 'Taschenbücher,' anthologies, and albums which appeared in profusion between 1848 and 1858. Among the more prominent individuals in this section may be mentioned Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, the unhappy Emperor of Mexico, Feuchtersleben, Friedrich von Schwarzenberg, Joseph Fick ('Wiener Anonymus'), but the period is one of decadence, devoid of outstanding personalities. In fact, the general impression conveyed by chapters 9–12 is one of mediocrity. The monotony of minor names in chapter 9 is broken by a few brighter pages on 'Der Wiener Volksgesang.' In chapter 10 the development of a Catholic literary movement is traced to the Romantic circle of Clemens M. Hofbauer. Through Cardinal Rauscher, the author of the Concordat of 1855, it acquired a semi-political character. In the next generation

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it began to take interest in social as well as political questions. Taken as a whole, this Catholic movement covers a wide field; it is not a mere department of religious propaganda, though it has its bigots and extremists. The features common to the majority of these professedly Catholic writers are a love of mysticism and of exhortation, a strong interest in religious philosophy, and the earnest desire to create a specifically Catholic literature and a specifically Catholic press. Among the leaders of the movement, besides Rauscher, were Graf Leo Thun, Veith, the converted Jew, Wilhelm Gärtner, Ludwig Donin, and Albert Wiesinger. The philosopher and novelist Karl Landsteiner falls into a more normal literary category.

The novel was passing through a dry season even outside the Catholic movement. Many categories are represented by very few names of the first rank. Among historical novels Moritz Terke's *Engel von Laxenburg* (1861) inherits the normal Romantic tradition; Friedrich Kaiser's still more popular *Pfaffenleben* (1871) likewise idealises the past. Among the realists may be noted Eduard Breier and Moritz Reich, the latter a competent exponent of the 'Dorfgeschichte.' The value of Adolf Bäuerle's popular Viennese novels (1854–7) lies in their subject-matter: memories of the Vienna of pre-revolution days, revived with much autobiographical detail.

The discovery of the Austrian Alps by artists had been made shortly after 1800, and from about 1815 they began to be exploited by the pen. As in Germany, the 'Dorfgeschichte' was an offshoot of the local patriotism encouraged by Romanticism and it underwent in Austria the same transformation as in Germany when realism superseded romanticism. August Silberstein's *Dorfschwalben* (1863) may be compared in general terms with Auerbach's *Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten*. Upper Austria is worthily represented by Alexander Julius Schindler ('Julius von der Traun'), Tyrol by Adolf Pichler, and Vorarlberg by Franz Michael Felder.

On the whole this period from 1848 to 1866 is somewhat dreary, but the beginning of chapter 13 ('Das Volkstheater') promises well for an increase of interest in the next section of this comprehensive work.

G. Waterhouse.

Dublin.

Oudfriesche Oorkonden. I. Bewerkt door P. Sipma. (*Oudfriesche Taalen Rechtsbronnen*, I.) 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff. 1927. xv + 392 pp. 16 f.

Both editor and publisher are to be congratulated on this happy inauguration of the important project of rendering the Old Frisian documents more readily accessible and more easily utilisable. The editor, P. Sipma, already gratefully remembered by friends of Frisian as the author of a *Phonology and Grammar of Modern West Frisian* (published by the Oxford University Press for the Philological Society in 1913), has spared himself no trouble in copying and collating and presenting his

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texts in a manner which inspires confidence and rouses hopes. He has been ably seconded by the firm of Nijhoff which has produced a sumptuous volume in which the ordering of the matter and gradation of type are truly exemplary.

In the preface we learn that the West[lauwers] Frisian documents are to be published first and that the third part is to contain a general introduction and indexes to these. Mr Sipma also expounds here the guiding principles he has followed in constituting his texts (resolution of abbreviations, punctuation, use of capitals, treatment of illegible or erased passages, etc.). He has left untouched those cases in which apparently composite words have their constituents separated, as even in modern usage there are no definite norms.

The documents form as it were a chartulary of the West Frisian region and are of somewhat variegated content. Some are concerned with the sale and conveyance of land, some with the appointment of arbitrators for the settlement of disputes. There are also arbitration awards, confirmations of purchases, renunciations of claims to property, deeds of gift and at least one will. Each is headed by an epitome of contents and followed by an indication of provenance, previous editing, sealing and endorsements. Arranged chronologically and dated, the documents cover in this volume nearly two centuries, viz. from 1329 to 1508. Hitherto many of them have been available only piecemeal in very rare books (cf. C. Borchling in his review of the present work in the *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, Heft XLI, No. 3). Mr Sipma has been able to make an autopsy of the numerous original MSS., which he worked at in the archives at Leeuwarden, Franeker, Bolsward, Sneek, Workum and Sloten, as well as at the Hague. Further valuable material was afforded by other libraries in Leeuwarden, the Sint Anthony Gasthuis there and the family archives of Dr E. van Welderen baron Rengers at Epema State bij Ijsbrechtum.

In spite of the circumscribed range of the vocabulary—or in one sense, because of the constant repetition of the same vocable in various spellings—these documents are invaluable as giving us a continuous series of precisely dated forms of a language, West Frisian, the history of which has not yet been systematically treated. The second part, which will contain the public documents, will doubtless supply further workable material for the philologist, who has already been much helped by an edition of the *Altwestfriesisches Schulzenrecht* by Walther Steller, forming the 57th Heft of the *Germanistische Abhandlungen* (Breslau, 1926). Dr Steller is publishing shortly an Old Frisian grammar through the Waisenhaus at Halle, which, by showing the present state of our knowledge of Old Frisian forms, will form a useful background for the more detailed work on West Frisian.

A careful perusal of some of the earlier documents in Mr Sipma's collection will soon convince one that it is a treasure-trove. We see the clash of various orthographical tendencies, such as conservation of archaic forms, accommodation to the currently spoken language and infiltration of Netherlandish spellings. Right back in the fourteenth and

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fifteenth century we find forms redolent of the modern speech, e.g. *fredis, freedsdey, frede* (Modern W. Fris. *freed*); *snandis* < *sunnandeis* (*sneind*). We note many assimilations of the type *upter* < *up der* and *fan syra* (= *synra*) *wegena*. Dutch influence is seen in the use of *e* to indicate the length of the preceding vowel (cf. Steller, *op. cit.* p. 12), as well as in forms like *dundersdeis* (apud *thunresdey*). The following forms (mainly compounds) are not recorded in Holthausen's *Altfriesisches Wörterbuch*—they are of course merely a selection: *cureit* (Holthausen: *kurit*); *kommeldwr* (no. 15) apparently a dissimilated form from *commendator*, i.e. one who holds a benefice *in commendam* till a proper pastor is provided; *bedkemer* (Holthausen gives *kåmer* only, but cf. Mod. W. Fris. *keamer*); *haldel* (Holthausen *halfdêl*, but cf. Mod. W. Fris. *heal*, 'half'); *Palma dey*, 'Palm Sunday'; *eertland*, 'ploughland' (cf. Holthausen *erd*); *persoenaetscip* (no. 334); *yn aldücka maneer* (Holthausen *aldulk, althulk*; cf. *sullik* > *sulk, suk*).

W. E. Collinson.

Liverpool.

SHORT NOTICES

The English Association continues to earn the thanks of students for its annual survey of scholarship in the field of English literature. In the volume recently published (*The Year's Work in English Studies*. Edited by F. S. Boas and C. H. Herford for the English Association. London: H. Milford. 1928. 321 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*) the output of 1926 is reviewed with the skill and competence that we have come to expect of this publication. The editors have been fortunate, as before, in their collaborators. Miss Hilda Murray replaces Professor Tolkien, and Miss Marjorie Daunt Professor E. V. Gordon, in Philology and Old English Studies respectively. The other chapters continue in the same able and generous hands to which we already owe so much. Professor Herford's review of works of criticism is as shrewd and scholarly as it is kindly. Dr Boas observes the absence of works of importance in the field of Elizabethan drama, and betrays a justifiable scepticism concerning the many exercises in disintegration of plays based on stylistic and metrical data. 'Mr Leslie Spence' (p. 140) is in fact Miss Leslie Spence, an understandable error. But Sir Edmund Chambers might have suspected Miss Grete Hjort's sex (p. 127). His critical scepticism, in the chapter on Shakespeare, continues to keep the balance steady. Professor Reed, reviewing the Renaissance, had to resign to Professor Herford the task of recording the most notable book in the chapter, his own *Early Tudor Drama*. Professor Grierson contrives to be as lively as he is weighty in judgment on the Elizabethan period. He will not be alone in his curiosity concerning 'the Vulgar Bugill' (p. 179), and the dictum (p. 160) that 'Scottish poets rarely wrote epithalamia.' There are a number of omissions in the Index, especially concerning the chapter on Bibliographica.

C. J. S.

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Mr Norman Ault's *Seventeenth-Century Lyrics* (London: Longmans. 1928. xii + 524 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*), maintains the high standard of his *Elizabethan Lyrics*. These two admirable collections are the delightful fruit of scholarship, industry and literary discrimination in equal parts. Mr Ault's 'finds' are real 'finds,' and we are grateful for such beautiful things as 'Sleep, sleep, my soul' (p. 65). The Short-title List of poetical collections is invaluable and complete (pp. 493–8). Alexander Brome, however, could hardly have been the compiler of the *Covent Garden Drollery* (1672), for he died in 1666, and the attribution never was anything but mere guess-work. One regrets to find (p. vii) the jargon-word 'reaction' used to mean 'response,' in a sentence which, we trust, Mr Ault will some day develop into a book. Meantime the student may trace for himself, in the chronological order of this original selection, the evolution of the lyric in the period covered.

C. J. S.

The late fifteenth-century MS. Peniarth 53 in the National Library of Wales has been printed by the University of Wales, and edited by E. Stanton Roberts and Professor Henry Lewis (*Transcripts of Welsh Manuscripts*, v. Cardiff: Univ. of Wales Press. 1927. xiv + 79 pp.) It contains some English pieces which deserve notice.

I. *Fol.* 66. 'To staůnche bloode...' 11 lines.

II. *Foll.* 71–3. A Merlin prophecy, 54 lines, containing possible references to Richard III, Henry VII, Archbishop Morton, and the game of tables. Dialect probably West Midland: e.g. *lombe*; *a nox, a negyll*; *wold* = 'old'; *skerrys* = 'crags', 'rocks.' Forms due to Welsh influence are perhaps *folbert* = 'folmart, polecat'; *pebyll* = 'people'; and *cardens* = 'gardens' (cf. T. H. Parry-Williams, *The English Element in Welsh* (1923), pp. 56, 61; 233; 220–78).

III. *Foll.* 103–11. A skit in 167 lines on guilds, hospitals and almshouses, with local and topical allusions. District probably West Midland: e.g. 5 'Non suche o thyssyd lyn' (i.e. Lynn in Norfolk). Among the interesting words and forms are: 94 *synt deny*; 37 *wyll* = 'well'; 126 *mvt* = *mo̧t* = 'must'; 155 *afurst* = 'athirst'; *brethyrn, bredryn, brythyrn, brydrn* = 'brethren'; 147–8 *herte* r.w. *quarte* = 'rest'; *Hom* and *hem* = 'them'; *tho* = 'those'; 3 s. pr. i. in *-(y)th*; pl. pr. i. *-n* usually, once in *-th*; p. p. twice has *y-*; *q̄* and *ō* rhyme in 25, 26; there is assonance in 140–3. Welsh phonetic influence is perhaps seen in *endywr* = 'endure' 27 [Parry-Williams, p. 206].

IV. *Foll.* 131–6. Another prophecy, in English and Latin, beginning:

W^{t} flotyng a[nd] fey*yng þe p[r]ince I schall plese
And all a genst þe law sore schall þey row
þey schall cavs þe comme[n?] to be att... dosese
Anno d[omi]ni Mcccc octogesimo qu[ar]to
Draco cu[m] cauda veniet cu[m] Rubia rosa....

and ending:

...þ^{t} þe holy cros he schall wyn
þ^{e} nobyl p[r]ince of Jesse
God b. h. s. to. h.
Ibi finis.

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Part of this prophecy is plainly about Henry VII and Richard III, with possible references to Archbishop Morton (cf. *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language* (1898), I, p. 404); but another part, beginning: 'Flanfran [con]surgent Albani limine lingent' is earlier than 1471 in origin (Warner's ed. of *The Libelle of Eng. Polycye*, 1926, p. lv) and occurs in several other MSS. Sir G. F. Warner kindly referred me to Ward's *Catalogue of MS. Romances in the British Museum*, I, pp. 320–6. Notable forms in IV are *betoyn* = 'between'; *gryffa(w)nd* = 'griffin'; *blud* r.w. *wod*, adj.

V. *Fol.* 136. 'For to take fowllis w^{t} a man[es] hand[es]....' 6 lines. Notable forms are: *syd* = 'seed'; *sythe* = 'seethe' (cf. *prystes* III, p. 166; Wyld, *Hist. of Mod. Colloquial English*, 1920, pp. 67, 205–7; and Fairfax MS. *Cursor Mundi*, 15063, 25148, 25548, etc.). C. B.

Professor L. M. Riddle's study on *The Genesis and Sources of Corneille's Tragedies from Médée to Pertharite* (Baltimore: Paris. 1926. xii + 222 pp.), forming vol. III of the Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, is one which no student of French seventeenth-century tragedy can afford to ignore; and which does great credit not only to the author but also to his teacher, Professor Lancaster. Professor Riddle's main contention, which I think he makes good, is that Corneille's tragedies from 1635 to 1651 were inspired either by the contemporary theatre, or, in certain cases, by the desire to repeat in a modified form situations already utilised by him in previous plays. This important factor in the genesis of Corneille's tragedies has hitherto received but scant attention, and is not even hinted at in any of Corneille's prefaces or critical writings. It follows that the prevalent view, according to which ancient literature was Corneille's main quarry in his search for suitable dramatic subjects, must be revised in the light of Professor Riddle's researches, from which emerges incidentally the additional fact that Corneille did not tamper with his historical sources in as many instances as he has been credited with. Corneille's favourite method, as Professor Riddle shows, was to take a leaf out of his rivals' book and to choose subjects and situations which the public had already approved or which were the fashion for the time being: he wrote *Le Cid* impelled by the growing popularity of plays based on Spanish sources, witness Rotrou's theatre; he chose the subjects of *Polyeucte* and of *Théodore* (the suggestion came to him from Bartolommei's plays, *Polietto* and *Teodora*) and *Nicomède* (inspired by Rotrou's *Cosroès*), because of the newly-reawakened interest in religious plays. Similarly, successful plays of his contemporaries was the main incentive in the genesis of *Médée*, *Horace* and *Cinna*. In *Pompée*, on the other hand, Corneille worked principally from the historians and from Lucan; while, in *Rodogune*, his favourite piece, he seems for the first time to have found most of what he wanted in Appian and Justin, though he also drew on earlier plays of his own (*Médée*, *Le Cid* and *Polyeucte*). For *Heraclius* he had again recourse to his habitual practice of gauging the public taste by the successes of his contemporaries, his chief source for problem and plot being Du Ryer's

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Bérénice, which had made a hit on the stage two years previously. Lastly, the subject of *Pertharite*, found in Paulus Diaconus, was probably selected because it afforded Corneille an opportunity of writing a play with a dénouement similar to that of *Cinna*. Like the preceding ten tragedies, *Pertharite*, which closes the series, may be said to have its origin, in part at all events, in the theatre of the time, either Corneille's or that of his contemporaries. In the course of the discussion Professor Riddle makes other interesting points which it is impossible to dwell on in the space at my disposal. However, I trust I have said enough to show the importance of his valuable monograph, which sheds new light not only on Corneille's methods but also on his character.

L. E. K.

In her critical edition of Volume v of the Abbé Prévost's *Mémoires et avantures d'un homme de qualité qui s'est retiré du monde* (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée*, XXXVIII. Paris: H. Champion. 1927. 230 pp. 30 fr.) Dr Mysie E. I. Robertson studies the rôle of Prévost in spreading knowledge of England among the French literary public, and supplies full annotations to the section of his novel (*Séjour en Angleterre*) which forms one of the most curious documents we have on English life in the eighteenth century. Miss Robertson's most important discovery, for which she brings forward convincing proof, is that during his stay in England Prévost came under the English law of forgery, and that, but for some technical legal circumstances which prevented his offence being brought home to him, he would in all probability have been hanged in 1733.

D. S.

We welcome the reappearance of the *Studi medievali* of which the first number was published on April 24th (Natale di Roma) by Chiantore (Turin). This excellent review was originally founded by Novati and Renier; it was edited by the former until his death in 1916. After an interruption Professor Ezio Levi took up the editorial duties in 1919, and Zanichelli of Bologna became responsible for the publication. Despite great difficulties, Levi succeeded in bringing out a few numbers at irregular intervals under the title of *Nuovi studi medievali*. Now the original publishers are resuming their duties, and the review will appear twice annually in April and October. Grand. Uff. Luigi Suttina, a staunch friend of Novati, has persuaded several scholars to join Levi and himself as editors. Their names form an imposing list. They include the leader of Provençal studies in Italy, V. Crescini, Prof. P. Fedele, the former Minister of Public Instruction, the Latinists Professors Ermini and Ussani, and that tireless investigator of mediæval law, P. S. Leicht of Bologna. The first number contains an article by Pio Rajna, on the words 'Trivium' and 'Quadrivium,' that every mediævalist will wish to read, interesting contributions by V. de Bartholomaeis, Zingarelli, S. Ricci, A. Sapori, Ermini, Leicht, Monteverdi, Mazzoni and G. Biscaro, and excellent bibliographical notes.

C. F.

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It is unfortunate that books such as Dr Edna Purdie's *The Story of Judith in German and English Literature* (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée*, XXXIX. Paris: H. Champion. 1927. vi + 161 pp. 30 fr.) are too readily set aside by the general public as merely 'academic'; and even reviewers are little tempted by them. And yet the study of a motive or a historical personage in the reflection of the poetic imagination of successive ages and different races, often throws most valuable light on literary psychology. Dr Purdie's investigation leaves the impression that little can have escaped her vigilant search from the Anglo-Saxon *Judith* to Georg Kaiser's *Jüdische Witwe*; and she has brought to light even new manuscript material. The result is that we have here an account of no less than 103 reproductions of the *Judith* story in German and English literature; and of these 76 are dramatic, an interesting fact in view of the general opinion that it is but ill adapted for dramatic treatment. Very many of the items in this collection are, of course, of little literary value; but when Dr Purdie gets her opportunity, as in the case of the most important of all the *Judith* dramas, Hebbel's, she makes admirable use of it: what she has to say of this tragedy is a real contribution to Hebbel criticism.

J. G. R.

A new Quarterly for Romance Languages and Literatures entitled *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen*, has been established under the editorship of Professors Walther Küchler and Fritz Krüger by the Romance Seminar of the University of Hamburg. We have included the principal contents of the first number in the bibliography to the present issue. The journal is published by Messrs Friederichsen, de Gruyter and Co., Hamburg, and the annual subscription is 18 M.

CORRECTION. Mr Louis Cons draws our attention to an error in the review of his *L'Auteur de la Farce de Pathelin*, which appeared on pp. 241 f. of the present volume. It is there stated that he includes the poem *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* amongst the supposed works of Guillaume Alecis instead of regarding it as one of its sources. The author of the review regrets this misstatement. Mr Cons also takes exception to the reviewer's remark on 'the extreme unoriginality of an author who plagiarises his own work,' an inference from the correspondences between the *Feintes du Monde* and other poems of Alecis and *Pathelin*. He writes: 'The "concordances" in question are only a small part of Alecis' works and to consider them as "plagiats" is to miss their humour and their significance. By the very fact that these "concordances" play upon an *anonymous* work their meaning as hints and clues is what accounts most clearly for their existence and character.'

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NEW PUBLICATIONS

June—August, 1928

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MALONE, K., Rose and Cypress (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xliii, 2).

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BEVILACQUA, E., V. Monti: la vita, l' opera, i tempi. Florence, Le Monnier. L. 15.

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FUBINI, M., Ugo Foscolo. Turin, Ribet. L. 10.

GIOBERTI, V., Epistolario. Ediz. nazionale a cura di G. Gentile e G. Balsamo-Crivelli. 4 vols. Florence, Vallecchi. L. 120.

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RIZZI, F., L' anima del Cinquecento e la lirica volgare. Milan, Treves. L. 15.

ROSSI, G., Indice delle opere di G. Carducci. Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 30.

RUSSO, L., F. De Sanctis e la cultura napoletana (1860–85). Venice, La nuova Italia. L. 25.

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